W. J. REVELL
MAYOR PRO-TEM
R. M. CULVERN
TREASURER
ABBOT & ABBOT
CITY ATTYS.
J. M. LIVINGSTON, III
SUPT. UTILITIES
W. T. WEEKS
FIRE CHIEF
W. P. HATTAWAY
POLICE CHIEF

CITY OF LOUISVILLE

"Georgia's First Capital"

T. E. BUCHANAN, MAYOR A. P. LITTLE, CITY MGR.-CLERK
MRS. DORIS W. ETHRIDGE, DEPUTY CLERK

LOUISVILLE, GEORGIA

COUNCILMEN
R. M. CULVERN
HERMAN RASKIN
W. F. HARTLEY
F. E. JONES, JR.
W. J. REVELL

June 25, 1965

Mr. George T. Papageorge
Special Assistant to the Regional Administrator (Community Programs)
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Office of the Reginal Administrator
Room 645, Peachtree-Seventh Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Mr. Papageorge:

Complying with your letter to me of May 24, 1965, I have appointed the following community-wide, representative group to the Citizens Advisory Committee:

1. I. Goldwasser, furniture store owner, Chairman of Louisville Planning Commission.

2. J. P. Morgan, Contractor.

3. T. V. Henson, farm implement dealer.

4. W. F. Easterlin, Jr., bank executive.

5. E. B. Carroll, local Georgia Power Company representative.

6. Odell Hannah, negro, contractor, active civic leader.

To a special committee on minority group housing, I have appointed:

1. Odell Hannah.

2. Alton Spells, negro, schoolteacher, resident in area under consideration for renewal.

3. Roy Fleming, negro, mechanic, resident in area under consideration for renewal.

URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

QUARTERLY REPORT - APRIL 1-JUNE 15, 1966

Consultation Trips: Washington, D. C., April 4-April 14

The primary purpose of this trip was to talk with Secretary Robert C. Weaver, Department of Housing and Urban Development. Mr. John H. Wheeler was instrumental in arranging this meeting which allowed me to explain to Dr. Weaver the purposes and plans of the Southern Regional Council's Urban Planning Project and to ask him how we might work with HUD in an informal manner to further equal opportunity in housing and equal treatment in urban facilities for all people. Our discussion was cordial and, I believe, meaningful. Afterwards I spoke with others at HUD and was impressed with their interest in and openness toward our project.

While in Washington I contacted other groups which have programs related to our interests. Among these organizations were Urban America, Inc., the American Institute of Planners, the American Institute of Architects, and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

In pursuit of further information on the workings of successful neighborhood organizations whose aims have included the stabilization of integrated or integrating

neighborhoods, I spoke with Mrs. Margery Ware of Washington Neighbors, Inc., Mr. Edward Holmgren of Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., and Mrs. Ruth Steele of West Mt. Airy Neighbors, Inc., Philadelphia. Each of these groups represents a different type of organization with individual goals and programs to realize them. It is my hope that we may draw together the experiences of these three organizations and publish their stories in three separate pamphlets which could be distributed together. Mr. Bob Anderson has asked Mr. Holmgren to write an article on housing in Baltimore for an issue of the New South.

Continuing Activities: Fort Lauderdale, Florida

The Urban Planning Project is acting as silent partner to the NAACP group studying the various urban renewal plans in Fort Lauderdale. Mr. James Hibben, Fort Lauderdale Urban Renewal Agency Director, has kept me constantly informed of the progress and difficulties as he views them from his position. Fort Lauderdale will be a test case for SRC-UPP involvement in a specific way with local urban planning problems.

Department of Housing and Urban Development:

A great part of my time has been spent in orienting the UPP toward co-operation with HUD. This seems to be reasonably successful. I have felt immediate and warm response to my overtures, and several Region III HUD officials have been particularly helpful in suggesting ways which might increase the effectiveness of the UPP. Three suggestions have been as follow:

1. Request a group of top men from different academic disciplines and business and professional areas to serve as advisors and consult on various urban problems in the South. With this in mind, I will meet with Dr. Constantinos Doxiadis, internationally renowned urban planner from Athens, Greece, in Aspen, Colorado, the last of July. Dr. Doxiadis will be in Aspen to receive the Aspen Award for achievement in the humanities.
2. Document the ways communities are using federal funds to buttress segregated housing with the idea of writing future legislation.
3. Select carefully four Southern cities to

School Planning District 1103 voting districts

To keep from dodging — or finding means defeats Urban Planning may not be at I State Action or defacto but beyond federal may

B'ham
Louisville, Ga.

approach as "demonstration cities" with the hope of working with the city governments and minority groups for open housing and involvement of the disadvantaged in planning similar to the Fort Lauderdale project.

At the present time we are in the midst of pursuing these suggestions.

Consultations:

Noyes Collinson, American Friends Service Committee - neighborhood stabilization and the Urban Planning Project.

Miss Eleanor Lord, graduate student in the social sciences at Emory University - neighborhood stabilization with emphasis on Atlanta and Stone Mountain.

DeKalb County residents - neighborhood stabilization.

Lewis Black - Urban Planning Project

Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity - Urban Planning Project

Nicholas Read - utilization of visual aids and community

Heads Md Mental Health Program

participation.

Dr. Addison Duval - psychiatry, community participation, and work on community action in mental health.

Publications:

Reprinting of "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program" after some revision resulting from criticism by various people with special interest in this area. We hope to publish a trilogy of experience papers on housing in integrated neighborhoods in Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia.

Education:

I have continued probing discussions with members of institutions of higher learning regarding a new orientation for the indoctrination of planners so that they would be planning with the high ethical concept of responsibility to the total community.

Personnel:

Miss Judy Randall, a student at Kalamazoo College who worked with SRC for the past three months, rendered effective service to the UPP during her

stay in this office. She undertook willingly and enthusiastically the task of indexing those parts of publications by conservative business groups which might help us make our case for an open economy in urban development to the governments of Southern cities.

Miss Susan Bresler will be added to our staff as of July 5, 1966. Miss Bresler is trained in urban planning, having received her B.S. degree in city planning from the University of Illinois and with a graduate seminar in the political aspects of planning. She received her degree in 1965. Miss Bresler worked this past year in the position of Community Planner with the Alabama Planning and Industrial Development Board, Community Planning Division. In addition, during the summers while in college she worked with the following groups: Summer Intern, Comprehensive Planning Department, Moline, Illinois; part-time Planning Intern, Planning Department, Champaign, Illinois; and Summer Intern, Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission. She will aid and assist me in all

technical and creative areas of my work. With her training and experience as a professional I anticipate that she will be able to undertake and direct her own special projects as well as help me in carrying out the programs presently underway. I hope that she will be composing and editing the various publications, research papers, and resource documents in our publication plans. Although her appointment is only temporary, from three to six months, I am confident that the Urban Planning Project will be able to put her considerable talents to good use.

Mrs. Jerry Dell Gimarc, my present staff assistant, will be moving from Atlanta August 15 due to her husband's acceptance of a position with the University of South Carolina. Regretfully we will have to make this replacement. Mrs. Gimarc has been most helpful and effective as a researcher and organizer, developing and expanding sketchy ideas and composing our necessary written material. This has been of inestimable help to the Director.

Projections:

During the summer we will be continuing our present programs. With the consultation of various impartial observors, such as Dr. Doxiadis, I hope to evaluate our gains and successes and to analyze our failures and difficulties in order to formulate our future plans. An informal conference on urban problems in the South for SRC staff and others who share our interests might be the most economical and effective way to confront action with reflection and theoretical solutions with actual problems.

SRC — Urban Planning

TO BE RELEASED
AFTER 12:30 p.m.
MONDAY, August 1, 1966

Address by Robert C. Weaver
Secretary, Housing and Urban Development
National Urban League Annual Conference
Sheraton Hotel
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
August 1, 1966

My first participation in an Annual Urban League Conference was some 30 years ago. At that time, the meetings were much smaller, the setting much more relaxed, and the goals more distant. One of our problems then was the reluctance of the daily press and the magazines to give adequate coverage to racial issues.

Today we are met in a large American City where the racial problem is a primary concern of all well-informed citizens. This audience is large and responsive, and our goals are short-run and pressing. But we still have problems with the media of information. There is no dearth of coverage of racial affairs, but sheer volume does not necessarily contribute to a full understanding of the situation or facilitate constructive action either on the part of the total society or its nonwhite segment.

Until recently, a spokesman for Negro Americans was one who had a significant following, and a leader was one who had an effective organization behind him. Today a publicized spokesman may be the individual who can devise the most militant cry and a leader one who articulates the most far-out position.

This disturbs me for many reasons. In the first place such images undermine those who speak with authority and have earned a significant and continuing following. But more important, in response to a quest for sensationalism, much that is written and spoken today about racial problems misinterprets the actual situation facing this nation.

At the outset, let me make several assertions I believe to be valid. The militant spokesmen do have a significance, for there is a growing

militancy in the Negro community. But that militancy is not yet symbolic of a strong black nationalist movement, or primarily the result of the exhortations of its articulators. Rather it reflects the impatience of a disadvantaged segment of the population in an environment which is one of general affluence. In such a society, class unemployment, inadequate schools, slums, and community neglect become intolerable, and those who experience these deprivations feel outside the mainstream of the nation's progress.

Many nonwhites who have been repeatedly denied meaningful participation in the dominant society now look to a substitute social order which will afford them a significant role and provide a sense of full participation. One of the evidences of a break with the established order and affiliation with the new is the advocacy of a different set of values and the adoption of deviant behavior patterns. The subculture of the ghetto is vociferously championed, and anti-white sentiments are voiced at the same time that black chauvinism gains more converts.

These developments are reinforced by the current tendency of youth to challenge the social order. Young people -- of all races and in many lands -- are expressing their rejection of the status quo through dress, music, behavior, and overt actions of protest. Negro youth, of course, is caught up in this development, and many have additional motivation to rebel since they suffer all the ills and limitations of the ghetto.

Negro youth can be, and has been, constructive and effective in its protest. For the young Negro college students made the sit-ins, assuming a leadership role, displaying phenomenal courage and fortitude. The Negro protest might well have never gotten off the ground had it not been for them. And had it not been for the Negro protest, the progress in civil rights of the last few years would not have occurred.

Thus, I do not ignore the angry words of the new militants. For their tone, their demand for immediate reform, their challenge of dominant values, their repudiation of middle-class behavior are real and basic.

This is evidenced by the dire feelings of hopelessness, occasioning lack of respect for law and order in parts of nonwhite communities. The final expression takes the form of violence and rioting. This anti-social behavior is frequently set off by those whom society identifies as agitators. And we, who have a commitment to law and order, must recognize their existence. Yet, were there not an indigenous disenchantment with the status quo and a disillusionment relative to orderly modes of reform, these apparent instigators would be unimportant. Our major concern, therefore, must be with the situation which permits them to become effective.

It is significant, too, that much of the violence that occurs is often initiated and perpetuated by young people who are chronically unemployed and have little recognizable stake in society as it manifests itself to them. As a matter of fact, violence among youth in the ghetto is no recent phenomenon. Formerly it took the form of gang warfare, largely involving conflict within minority groups. Today the larger society is increasingly the target. Class antagonisms within the minority group accompany attacks upon the power structure. This behavior, in turn, is reinforced when society tends to remain inactive unless or until there is the threat of violence or disorder. Cynicism of the body politic develops even greater cynicism within the disadvantaged.

Yet, unless I read incorrectly the mood of Negro America, most Negroes want to be able to believe in the promises of our democratic institutions. They have deep roots in this nation. Most want to be not only in, but of, the United States. They want to emulate the later arrivals who found in

this nation a real and unprecedented vehicle for social and economic mobility. There is still time to restore their hope.

Racial discrimination and segregation in a democracy cry out for remedial action. The issue is, and has long been, a moral one which should outrage the conscience of all decent Americans. It becomes an urgent matter when the victims of second-class status are losing hope for relief. No democracy can remain strong and healthy if a large segment of its people doubt the possibility of their realizing its promises. Today there are many nonwhites who not only question, but also despair of, this possibility.

We must and we can dispel that despair. This requires our becoming concerned with the inhabitants of our slums and ghettos when they are not in overt revolt. It means that society has to act effectively to redress the deprivations of the environment that occasions despair. We must diagnose the ills of our ghettos and move to heal their sickness before they explode. We must, in short, start to demonstrate that latent talent in the ghetto can and will be identified and developed. We must stop the gross expressions of insult to human dignity.

Meanwhile it is inevitable that differences arise as to fundamental goals. We see this in the apparent conflict between those who call for the development of existing ghettos and others who demand the immediate destruction of the ghetto and the establishment of integrated neighborhoods and institutions. Actually there is no real conflict here. Each approach is one side of the same coin. We must not neglect the areas where the poor and the nonwhites are now concentrated in an effort to achieve the economic and racial integration that has long been our goal. Nor can we become so enthusiastic

about revitalizing the current centers of minority group concentration that we lose sight of democracy's commitment to equality of opportunity and freedom of choice.

X X X

In the areas of housing and urban development, where my energies have long been concentrated, the needs are obvious. There must be an upgrading of areas now occupied by the poor. Additional low- and moderate-income housing, open to nonwhites and whites alike, must be constructed. New areas, outside the central cities, must be open to lower income households and nonwhites of varying incomes. Obviously the latter two objectives are mutually dependent, for it is outside the central cities that most new construction has been, and will continue to be, concentrated.

If we are to realize open occupancy throughout the metropolitan complex, as I believe we must, the image of Negro areas must be changed. We must demonstrate, for all to see, that the most disadvantaged Negro when exposed to human renewal, offered equal opportunities, and afforded decent housing in an attractive and adequately serviced setting, becomes a good neighbor. In the process, we will bring relief, confidence, and hope to a large number of nonwhites. Also, since many areas of existing nonwhite concentration are desirably situated and intrinsically good sites for residential use, their rehabilitation would, if complemented by the other two steps outlined above, be the most effective impetus for their becoming multi-racial.

It is old hat for you to be reminded that the housing problem of nonwhites involves two basic issues: lack of sufficient good housing at rents and prices the majority of them can pay and their lack of access to the total housing market. It must be emphasized, however, that unless action to correct both of these deficiencies is metropolitan areawide, the end result

may be perpetuation of nonwhite concentrations in central cities and expansion of the ghettos or the creation of more ghettos. If we are to reduce effectively the spatial concentrations of nonwhites, they must be dispersed over the widest possible geographic area. In this way, no part of the metropolitan area or no few developments or neighborhoods will be inundated by nonwhites.

During the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations we have encouraged these developments. We have taken the initial steps to effect open occupancy in that segment of new construction benefiting from direct Federal assistance and Federal mortgage insurance or guarantee. We have initiated a successful program of moderate-income housing, so that today some 26,000 units are completed and over three times that number are under way.

During the Johnson Administration our efforts have been accelerated. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1965 requires open occupancy in existing as well as newly constructed public housing and in residential urban renewal areas. The Housing Act of 1965 started a new program for low-income families -- the rent supplements. It was only recently funded but we have over 9,000 units already under reservation. This program will supplement public housing, at the same time that the latter has been expanded and made more flexible. Today in public housing we are leasing existing structures, rehabilitating such structures, and discouraging the planning and construction of large, institutional new projects. And this is occurring in a low-income housing program which is three times larger than that which existed in 1960.

The Congress has before it two new and exciting proposals. The first, the Demonstration Cities program, would attack whole neighborhoods of blight and slum, rehabilitating the people as well as the residential structures and neighborhood facilities. It would, on a pilot basis, restore (among

other areas) some of the racial ghettos, providing a pattern that can be applied ultimately to all slum areas and developing the tools for upgrading them to the status of good neighborhoods.

There is no more important or innovative domestic legislation now before the Congress. We, who have long analyzed and deplored the slums, now have a potential vehicle to initiate a coordinated, all-out attack upon them. The Administration's Demonstration Cities program is not designed to solve the mammoth slum problem in one bite. But it is designed to, and it will, devise programs and approaches that will revitalize whole neighborhoods and which can be utilized in every city where there are pockets of poverty and neglect. It merits your enthusiastic support.

Our cities have varying resolve and even greater differences in their capacity to develop effective programs for dealing with the economic, social, and physical deprivations of their slums and ghettos. The Demonstration Cities program would enable those most ready, willing, and able to start effective action in this vital sphere of urban life. This would not only give hope to the hopeless but accelerate the development of action programs throughout the nation. America, both black and white, needs to be shown that we can rehabilitate our slums in terms of their inhabitants as well as their structures and services. Demonstration Cities projects will provide such evidence.

As you know, Title IV of the proposed Civil Rights Bill of 1966 has a provision banning discrimination in housing. This is the first time that an administration in Washington has pushed for such legislation. While the bill, as reported out of the House, excludes dwellings of four or less units occupied by the owner, it is a significant breakthrough.

In the first place, practically all new construction would be covered. Second, all multi-family units would be included. This coverage would do several things. The inclusion of all new construction would enable HUD to sharpen its enforcement since the operating personnel would not feel that they were reducing FHA volume and thereby endangering their jobs in the process. In addition, FHA and VA -- the Federal agencies with the greatest leverage -- would have a larger sector of the new starts and would thus become more influential in the market. The large volume of older apartments, especially those in the suburbs, many of which are now available at reasonable rentals, would be subject to open occupancy requirements.

Even more significant is the fact that the proposed legislation would prohibit certain discriminatory actions on the part of the real estate industry -- a fact that probably accounts for the all-out campaign of the National Association of Real Estate Boards to defeat the housing provisions of the proposed legislation. Also sources of credit would be included. The enforcement of the law would involve investigations by HUD and referral to a five-man board. The latter, patterned after the effective National Labor Relations Board, would be empowered to issue cease and desist orders after holding hearings.

In short, with the exception -- and it is a significant exception -- of existing one to four family dwelling owner-occupied units, the principal sources of housing are covered by Title IV. While I do not want to minimize the significance of this exception, it has to be weighed against the political opposition which its inclusion would generate. And I need not labor the point that we are dealing with an extremely controversial area in which opponents can effectively wrap themselves in the slogan that a man's house

is his castle. Furthermore, we should not overlook the importance of the things Title IV will do; namely, establish open occupancy as an area for Federal legislation, include all large multi-family units and most new construction, specifically prohibit discriminatory action on the part of real estate operators and sources of finance, and set up effective administrative machinery for the enforcement of the policy.

This legislation will increase existing coverage fifteen fold. It, as all legislation, will not, in and of itself, correct the situation even in areas of its coverage. But it will establish, for the first time, effective Federal law and machinery to change patterns. If it were supplemented by effective citizen and organizational efforts, Title IV of the pending Civil Rights Bill could initiate the first comprehensive national attack upon racial discrimination in housing.

X X X

Over the past five and a half years I have administered the major Federal aid programs in housing and urban development. During that time we have changed the emphasis in urban renewal, placing more reliance on rehabilitation, reducing dislocation, stressing moderate- and low-income residential redevelopment, and upgrading the quality of relocation. Concurrently we have accelerated the production of low- and moderate-income housing and established, in a score of cities, stable interracial neighborhoods on urban renewal sites.

We have begun to open to Negroes existing public housing projects which were planned and operated for white occupancy only. Principally through the resale of FHA acquired properties, we have opened a good many areas to nonwhites in the central cities and in the suburbs. More has been done to meet the housing needs of nonwhites during the past five years than had been accomplished during the preceding quarter of a century.

But in all of this, as you know only too well, the results have been slow and spotty. For the sophisticated observer, thinking in terms of national necessity and the frustrations of nonwhites who are least well-off, results to date leave much to be desired. You are dissatisfied with that pace of progress, and so am I.

Federal officials operate in an institutional setting which has three basic elements. The first is Federal policy as established primarily by law and legislative history and, to a lesser degree, by executive order. The second is the degree of control the heads of departments and agencies have over the agency or department, and the resources -- primarily human -- that are at their disposal. And the third is the amount of know-how their associates and they can develop.

As far as the first of these elements is concerned, I have outlined the major legislative advances we have made and you know the content of the Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing and the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1965. These two latter instruments establish the ground rules for positive action in the area of racial occupancy patterns.

Even within this restricted frame of reference, I have been limited further by the fact that the legal and actual authority of the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency was confused and uncertain. The organization of the agency reflected this. Now that we are a Department, the lines of authority are more clearly delineated, and our reorganization, currently under way, reflects this fact.

When the reorganization is completed -- late in this year -- we will have machinery for carrying out an effective program of civil rights in the Department. It will be under the leadership of a senior official reporting directly to me. In the field offices, the regional administrators, who also

report to the Secretary, will have authority over programs. On their staffs will be a service to evaluate and advance our civil rights goals.

The current limitations on personnel will be offset by our intention to involve the total operating staff in carrying out our policies. We shall develop a system of priorities and concentrate first on those areas which will yield most significant results. Those responsible for programs will be required to produce results in civil rights as in other areas. Obviously this will call for training, technical assistance, and surveillance. Approaches and programs to carry out these vital functions are now being developed.

Over the years -- since I first entered the housing field at the Federal level in the mid 1930's -- the housing agencies have hired and trained intergroup relations personnel. These are highly competent professionals, the most experienced of whom in recent months have been drawing up a program for civil rights for the new Department. For decades they have attempted to make bricks without straw. Lacking legislative or executive policy support, these men and women have negotiated and offered expert advice to widen the sphere of nonwhite participation in housing and urban development. Considering the limitations under which they have operated, their achievements have been outstanding. Now they have some policy directives -- and I hope they will soon have more. In the reorganized Department, they will operate in an administrative organization which will afford them support from the Secretary down to the smallest operation of the Department.

In the months ahead the Department of Housing and Urban Development will be concerned not only with compliance but also with positive approaches. For, as you know so well, it is easier to establish democratic patterns in the planning and development stages than to change discriminatory ones.

We shall move forward.

We shall want your cooperation and advice. Of course, we can be more effective in this field and in achieving our broader charter for housing and urban development when we have the support of President Johnson's proposed Housing and Urban Development and Civil Rights bills of 1966. And we shall, with your effective cooperation I hope, work to get these needed legislative tools.

The Urban League, long concerned with the diagnosis of racial problems as well as their solutions, knows the impediments to social change. It also recognizes the urgency for effective action. And the League is honest enough to face up to the difficulties which lie ahead. In all of these matters I share your realism and resolve. But I also share your belief that we must move ahead -- and at a pace more rapid than deliberate speed.

#

Mr. John R. ~~Bothered~~ ROTHERMEL
Director of Community Renewal
Boston Redevelopment Authority
1108 City Hall Annex
Boston, Mass. Massachusetts 02108

(9) Edward J. Logue, Director

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(10) ARCH - Architects' Renewal Committee of Harlem Inc.
306 Lenox Avenue,
New York, New York
Attn: C. Richard ~~Hatch~~ HATCH

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(11) United States Gypsum Co
J. H. Pintof, Manager — (P.R.)
Market Programs
101 South Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60606

(3) James Cunningham

ACTION - Housing, Inc
2 Gateway Center
Pittsburgh, Penna 15222

~~Edward J. Logue~~

(5) Edward L. Holmgren
Executive Director
Baltimore Neighbors, Inc
One Charles Center
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

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(6) St. Clair Drake

U-W Need for a bridge Kale Wm
Al Ulmer

3 cities — UW-M — Gov. Wh — Charles O'Reilley
Boston

Ed Logue (?)

Block rehabilitation

Actain Housing — Pittsburgh
James Cunningham

Study of citizens with
low threshold of expectancy
but high motivation

ARCH^ulam — Harlem —

Pittsburgh — 5th ward

U. S. System —
NYC. Planning — rehabilitation
Rough pave - fab — pretty fine people book

St. Clair Drake
Kale Williams
Al Ulmer, Charles O'Reilley
Ney Rosenbach

Ed Holmgren —
Hum. Rs Baltimore
now in Chicago —

Morris Milgram — M-REIT
Now purchasing apts.
Financial Mgt. is a
big problem — take
money and run night —

SRC-Urban Planning.

MEMO

TO: MS

FROM: EV

DATE: 2 SEPTEMBER 1966

RE: Matters which we discussed the other day

I am sure you would find Morris Millgram an informed and committed person in the whole field of desegregated housing. As a contractor and entreupeneur he brings especially useful skills to the fight. In his current effort, mutual real estate investment trusts, he offers an opportunity for people to invest and even earn on their investment rather than to just "do good".

I have heard his current effort described as worthwhile and valid but that at least in the northern urban situations that the times have somewhat passed it by in that it is no longer on the cutting edge of what's needed in urban America regarding the problem of desegregated housing. He relies on a locally constituted board and at least in Chicago this group seems to have been reluctant to consider using their resources in other than surburban upper middle class or better situations. This of course touches a part of the problem of symbolical importance but doesn't speak to the heart of the matter. I do not know that Millgram himself would encourage the resources of an M-Reit group be so conservatively used.

Millgram is something of a human dynamo but I have heard it said that he doesn't always follow through on detailed work.

I would personally think that he brings many other qualities which would be useful to a group exploring the kinds of things that might be done in housing. However, any group making use of him would need to be mindful that his main interest is in pushing ~~xxxxxx~~ M-Reit and that this might tend to become the center of attention rather than a general exploration of what

groups might do in the housing field.

Several other names have been suggested to me as people with a varied and practical experience in the housing field who would work well with local groups. Some of these are:

James Twomey who used to be with the Community Renewal Foundation in Chicago and has recently gone with Urban America; I understand that he is able and concise.

Vic DeGrachia who is with the Marymont Foundation in Chicago. They've been engaged in building housing in both Chicago and New York City.

Stanley Hallett is with the church federation of Chicago and is working with the Ford Foundation on a major Chicago program in housing.

Jane Weston is the housing program person for the Chicago regional office of the American Friends Service Committee.

Kale Williams is a man that I would highly recommend in terms of committment, understanding of the use of a wide range of strategies, realism, and his ability to work with groups and individuals. Williams has been the director of the Chicago regional office of the A..F.S.C. and is fully conversant with its programs in housing. He has most recently worked cooperatively with the S.C.L.C. movement in Chicago. Several of his staff people work full time in cooperation with that effort. He himself has been on the policy committee for that push and he has served on the negotiating committee with the city and other members of Chicago's power structure. Such an experience is of course invaluable and I feel that he has been fairly realistic in his appraisal of both the problems and potential accomplishment from that effort. I trust this will be

Birmingham, Ala.
340,000 pop.

RESUME CITY OF BIRMINGHAM

The City of Birmingham has undertaken a new vision of itself since the City government was reorganized from the Commission form of City government to the Mayor and City Council form of government. Mayor Albert Boutwell and the City Council have set high goals to be obtained for the citizens of this great city. Among these goals are:

1. A decent, safe and sanitary home for every citizen.
2. Well planned neighborhoods for the raising of families.
3. A system of major streets and expressways to adequately move the present vehicular traffic and provide for future increases in such traffic.
4. Provide for the cultural and recreational activities through a $25,000,000 civic center complex including a coliseum for sports activities, a theater and art museum for cultural activities.
5. Medical facilities will be expanded in an area known as the Medical Center which will provide some of the best of such facilities in the nation for not only the citizens of Birmingham but also specialized medical care throughout the region.
6. Participation in the relatively recent concept of region wide planning for growth and development through the Birmingham, Jefferson County Regional Planning Commission.
7. Assist and encourage the improvement and beautification of the City through such activities as parks and pedestrian plazas and the improvement of buildings both structurally and aesthetically.
8. Elimination of slums and deteriated housing and the increase of new low rent public housings, housing for moderate income families, and low cost sales housing.

Practically all of the above activities have been brought about to a greater or lesser degree by the Urban Renewal and Public Housing programs being participated in by the City. Through these programs the Federal government has provided many millions of dollars to the City of Birmingham within recent years. Urban Renewal projects which have been instrumental in assisting the City in the achievement of progress are the following:

1. Medical Center Site A completed June 1959. Federal funds provided $261,637.
2. Avondale Site C completed June 1965. Federal funds provided $2,091,002.
3. Ensley No. 1 Urban Renewal Area now nearing completion. Federal funds provided $1,858,698.
4. Medical Center Expansion Area now in the process of planning. Federal funds to be provided $5,816,000.
5. Civic Center Urban Renewal Area now in the process of planning. Federal funds to be provided $2,154,000.
6. Proposed West Park Urban Renewal Area. Federal funds not yet determined.

7. The Druid Hills Code Enforcement Area which was the first such activity approved in the nation will provide grants and low interest rate loans of funds to low income home owners for the purpose of bringing the condition of their homes up to the minimum standard established by City of Birmingham Housing Ordinances. It is expected that Federal funds in an amount exceeding two million dollars will be provided to the City for these activities.

Key People in the City of Birmingham:

Albert Boutwell, Mayor
William Hamilton, Mayor's Assistant
Hugh Denman, Executive Director, Housing Authority of the Birmingham District
James Wright, Director, City Planning Department
Guy Tate, Administrator, Druid Hills Code Enforcement Project
Vincent Townsend, Chairman, Operation New Birmingham

Macon, Ga.
70,000 pop.

RESUME

MACON, GEORGIA

Macon, situated in almost the exact geographical center of Georgia, underwent an annexation program approximately three years ago which resulted in a doubling of population to a total of approximately 125,000. The city, in recent years, is very progressive and in many respects has an excellent record on intergroup relations. The Urban Renewal Program was initiated in Macon under a previous term of office served by the present Mayor, B. F. Merritt. The first urban renewal project was a relatively small project which cleared out some Negro-occupied slums and is now in the process of being sold for industrial reuse. While special studies showed that the area could be used for multi-family housing, a firm decision was made by both PHA and FHA that they would be unwilling to participate in multi-family housing in the first urban renewal project area, Ga. R-12, Tybee.

Macon has pursued a program of city planning for many years and has excellent maps and a very satisfactory city plan kept up-to-date. The planning is accomplished by a constitutionally-established planning and zoning commission, the membership of which is self-perpetuating. The decisions of the planning and zoning commission are final and are not subject to review other than by court. Because of the high caliber of the membership, this decision-making power has worked satisfactorily.

Macon has one of the oldest PHA-aided low-rent public housing programs in the south. It is being added to at the present time and other projects are in the planning stage.

In October of 1963, Macon initiated a General Neighborhood Renewal Plan study covering a large portion of east Macon just across the river from the Central Business District. This study originated as a means of producing a proper site for a new coliseum for which a bond issue had just been passed.

In January and May of this year, Projects Ga. R-94 and Ga. R-95 were approved to enter the execution stage. Ga. R-94 consists of 48 acres all of which should be used as the site of low-rent public housing. It will displace 133 families, 33 individuals, and 9 businesses. Project Ga. R-95 contains 145 acres for total clearance with a reuse consisting of a stadium, a coliseum, an office park, a motel, and various retail commercial establishments. It will displace 420 families, 89 individuals, and 41 businesses. Most of the families in each of these projects are Negro and a small part of the businesses are Negro-owned and operated.

In addition to the members of the Citizens Advisory Committee for which a list of key members is attached, key people in the city are:

B. F. Merritt, Mayor
R. D. Feagin, Jr., Director of Urban Renewal

William W. Hibbert, Director of Planning
George Markwalter, Executive Director, Housing Authority of the City of Macon
Ed Wilson, Professor of Law, Emory University - Immediate Past Mayor
Bill Thompson, Architect

WORK PROGRAM 1965-1966

CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

I. Organization

1. Chairman Mr. Phil Taylor

2. Membership - 12 white, 13 non-white members, plus Secretary, R. Douglas Feagin, Mayor and Urban Renewal Committee of Council, Ex-officio.

3. Sub-committee on Minority Housing, Mr. Frank Hutchings, Chairman

4. Codes Review Committee, Mr. Ed Sell, Chairman

5. Public Information, Mr. Bill Ott, Chairman

6. Speakers Bureau, Dr. William Pound, Chairman

7. Community Improvements, Mr. Richard Domingos, Chairman

8. Welfare, Mr. Willis B. Sheftall, Chairman

II. Work Proposed for Next 12 Months

1. Citizens Advisory Committee - Monthly meetings, committee reports, orientation, recommendations to Mayor and Council, personal contact and liaison with residents affected areas.

2. Committee on Minority Housing - Study of housing resources coordination with all real estate agencies, liaison with Mayor and Council and active participation in rendering relocation assistance.

3. Speakers Bureau - Provide qualified speakers and arrange appointments.

4. Community Improvements Committee - Will concern itself with neighborhood conservation and rehabilitation to prevent neighborhood deterioration. Will work towards a comprehensive community improvements plan for the city.

5. Public Information Committee - Will insure wide and complete news coverage and publicity of all activities to insure public understanding and support.

6. Codes Review Committee - Regular review and updating and recommendation to Governing Body on code enforcement.

7. Welfare - Render special assistance to needy families in unusual cases.

Asheville, NC
60,000 pop.

RESUME'

ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

The population of Asheville, North Carolina, is somewhere over 60, 192 at this time. The city, noted for its many tourist attrations shows the need for a revitalization of its residential and commercial structures. To this end, the city officials have taken on an extensive residential and business improvement program. Specifically, 500 new units of low-rent public housing is programmed for construction; 502 acres of slum clearance through urban renewal; and, a comprehensive and rigid enforcement of housing code on existing structures.

Urban Renewal Project No. N. C. R-13

This 77 acres project will be redeveloped primarily for new commercial and public uses. It is located in the eastern section of the Central Business District and now contains a concentration of 120 dwelling units, all but 15 of which are deficient or substandard.

Having been in execution since 1964, the relocation of some 150 families and 70 business concerns are 87% completed. Community wide cooperation has been evident in relocation of site occupants.

The persons this agency have been working directly with are as follows:

Earl W. Elder, Mayor
Weldon Weir, City Manager
James W. Greer, Executive Director
Vitto F. LaPore, Rehabilitation Officer
Norma Grayson, Social Work Coordinator
Eric Hill, Planning Consultant
Ruth Mase, Contractor for Diagnostic Survey

Urban Renewal Project No. N. C. R-48

This 425 acres project will be redeveloped primarily for residential reuse. It is located southwest of the Central Business District and contains 1,250 dwelling units, of which 1,000 are classified as deficient. Redevelopment will be in the form of rehabilitation and the development of new public and private low and middle income housing resources.

There will be a total of 704 families and individuals and some 50 business concerns displaced and relocated. The relocation process is to take place in stages in order to eliminate to the maximum extent possible, the hardships inherent in moving. Plans are that all displaced families and individuals will relocate back into the redeveloped area.

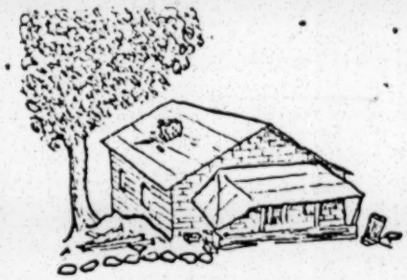
In order to assure orderly and expeditious relocation of site occupants, the local public agency has established an office in the project area where advice and assistance is readily available (see attached bulletins).

All local public and civic agencies of the community have been contacted relative to their providing every assistance possible to project area residents. The local Economic Opportunity Authority is establishing an office in the project area through which assistance will be provided area residents throughout the planning phase of the project - with the view of eliminating individual family problems prior to relocation.

A diagnostic survey is being conducted in the project area, from which the information obtained will be utilized in solving the problems identified.

Following are the persons this agency have been working with directly in the planning of the subject project:

Earl W. Elder, Mayor
Weldon Weir, City Manager
James W. Greer, Executive Director
Vitto F. LaPore, Rehabilitation Officer
Norma Grayson, Social Work Coordinator
Eric Hill, Planning Consultant
Ruth Mase, Contractor for Diagnostic Survey



MARCH, 1966
VOL. I

ASHEVILLE IS ON THE MOVE. . .

PROGRESS THROUGH COMMUNITY EFFORT

THE COMMUNITY IMPROVER

INTRODUCING. . .

Vito F. LePore who comes to us from Chicago via Southern Italy. Mr. LePore received his early education in Italy before coming to the United States, where he studied architecture at Wright Junior College in Chicago and the University of Illinois.

He has been employed by various architectural firms in Chicago and Knoxville. At his latest position he served as a designer for 2 years and later as an associate member with Mr. Hubert Bebb, architect. During this period, Mr. LePore has been involved in the development of shopping centers, resort complexes, churches, schools, motels, restaurants and residences. While in this association, Mr. Bebb and Mr. LePore were commissioned to prepare studies and final design presentations for a workable solution to the ever present decaying conditions in the central business district in Morristown, Tennessee. This rehabilitation and conservation project received 1st prize in the national convention of NAHRO.

In 1964, Vito married Virginia Robison. He and Mrs. LePore are presently expecting the first addition to their family.

WE APOLOGIZE. . .

We intended to print reports from each group in the East Riverside Area - thirteen in all - in this first issue, but we have had trouble procurring them.

The best sources of information this paper has are its group reporters. These people are in a position to get the "scoop" on news in their groups. We want to know what you are doing - and we want to print it for everyone to read. Reporters, we need your help; let us hear from you!

NEW NEWS

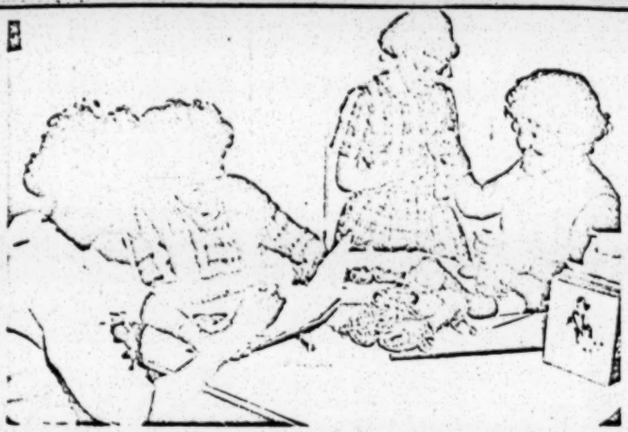
This newspaper is a "first edition." It is the beginning of what we hope will be a long series of papers published exclusively for the residents of the East Riverside Redevelopment Area to promote better understanding of Urban Renewal - especially Urban Renewal in our area.

Some of the articles in this paper are donated by residents of the area; others are written by the staff of the Redevelopment Commission.

The idea is communication. Through this paper our East Riverside citizens can tell the Redevelopment Commission their opinions and questions, and the Commission can more quickly inform the citizens of the latest developments in the program.

It is hoped also that East Riverside residents will make use of this paper to make their

Continued on Page 3



This picture has been repeated many times in past weeks at the "Rehab" office on Livingston Street. Groups get together to talk, joke, have fun, and learn how to knit.

And knitting isn't the only thing that goes on in the evenings at 86 Livingston Street. There are classes in typing, sewing, rug making, and an art class for the younger set.

Give them a ring. Find out what's going on. If you aren't interested in any of these things, tell them what you would like to do. Chances are you're not the only one who would like to see another class started. The number is--------- 253-4745.

ANY QUESTIONS?

Many questions have been asked about Urban Renewal in the East Riverside Project Area in past months. Some of the answers to these questions we feel would be of interest to many people who perhaps have not asked for them but have been wondering.

In the future copies of this newspaper, this column will be devoted to answering the questions of our readers. Naturally, some questions would be of broader interest than others. We will limit our answers to those questions. Other inquiries that are concerned with individual matters will be answered personally.

Please address your queries to Questions, Redevelopment Commission, Box 7148, Asheville, North Carolina. Let us know whether or not you wish your name to be mentioned. If your question is of general interest, look for an answer in this column in the very next issue.

BEWARE OF "SLICK OPERATORS"

Most home building, maintenance and home improvement contractors are honest in their advertising and selling, but there are a few unscrupulous "bait" advertisers and high-pressure sellers against whom you must constantly be on guard. To protect yourself and your family.....

DON'T DEAL WITH THE "BAIT" ADVERTISER WHO offers an unbelievably low price..... then tries to add on "EXTRAS" or "SWITCH" you to something much more expensive.

DON'T FALL FOR THE "MODEL HOME" SALES PITCH. . (the promise of commissions for use of your home as a "DISPLAY MODEL").

WATCH OUT FOR fly-by-night roofing or chimney repair operators who "JUST HAPPEN TO BE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD" and who offer you a "SPECIAL DEAL".

BEWARE OF IMPOSTERS falsely claiming to be "SENT BY THE CITY" or "THE REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION". Remember, CITY INSPECTORS or REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION EMPLOYEES MUST DISPLAY CREDENTIALS ON REQUEST, WILL NOT try to SELL you anything....and cannot RECOMMEND any particular COMPANY or PRODUCT.

DOUBLE-CHECK ON ZONING, HOUSING and legal occupancy requirements and on CITY REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION PLANS for the area BEFORE BUYING OR BUILDING A HOME OR MAKING ANY SUBSTANTIAL EXPENDITURE for ALTERATIONS or IMPROVEMENTS.

DEAL WITH AN ESTABLISHED CONTRACTOR....Ask for a list of previous customers whose satisfaction you can determine.

DON'T HESITATE TO GET ESTIMATES from several contractors (based upon the same specifications) to make sure you will not be OVERCHARGED. FIND OUT the exact FINANCING TERMS, as interest rates VARY. REMEMBER that the FHA and lending agencies DO NOT INSPECT or GUARANTEE the JOB for MATERIAL and WORKMANSHIP.

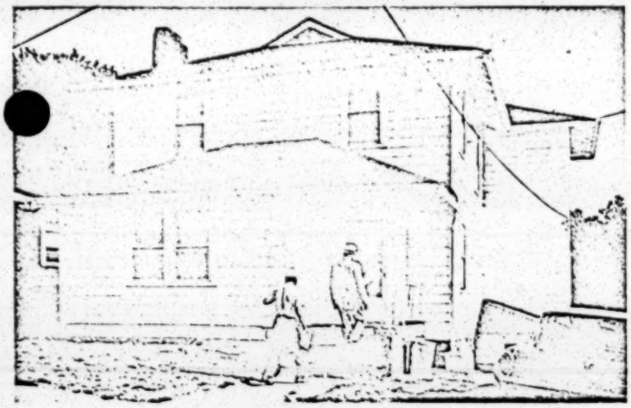
Watch for continuation next month!

The house below is familiar to a great number of East Riverside residents. We'd like more people to become familiar with it.

This address - 86 Livingston Street - is an excellent example of what rehabilitation can do for a badly deteriorated house. Neighbors will tell you that before this house was improved, it was as bad as many of the worst in the area.

Some paint, some gutters, some screens and storm windows made this house a solid one once again. It will last now for many more years.

The Redevelopment Commission saw this house as an ideal location for the east Riverside field office and rented it for the purpose. Vito LePore, William Roland, Norma Grayson and Leilani Littlejohn, all Redevelopment Commission employees, want you to visit and see how rehabilitation can save an old house.



86 Livingston Street

COMING DIAGNOSTIC SURVEY

Starting toward the end of March and for the following weeks, the Redevelopment Commission will be sponsoring a Diagnostic Survey of the East Riverside area. The first part of this survey will consist of meetings and discussions in the area to inform you, the resident, as to what questions will be asked and why they need to be asked.

The purpose of this program will be to promote better understanding of Urban Renewal, to find out what services are needed and wanted in the area, and to give YOU a chance to have a part in making your area a better place in which to live.

MOVIES

We are fortunate in having the Mental Health Center participate with us in the presentation of a film series, concerning the family, its members, and some of their problems. These films are both entertaining and informative.

Dr. Richard Pallazza, Psychologist with Mental Health Center, will conduct an open discussion period following each program.

We invite all teenagers, young adults, and adults to attend at Livingston School at 7:00 p.m. on the following dates:

Wednesday, April 6
- *Family Life* - 15 min.
- *Palmour Street* - 21 min.

Wednesday, April 13
- *Meeting Emotional Needs in Childhood* - 30 min.

Wednesday, April 20
- *Roots of Happiness* - 25 min.
- *Family Circus* - 8 min.

Wednesday, April 27
- *Borderline* - 27 min.
- *Sibling Rivalries and Parents* - 11 min.
- Alternate: *A Family Affair* - 31 min.

Jointly Sponsored by -
MENTAL HEALTH CENTER
CITIZENS PARTICIPATION LEAGUE
REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

Continued from Page 1

school and church announcements, to tell of new births, to announce weddings, and to make any other announcement of public interest.

This newspaper will set aside space for "letters to the editor" in which everyone is encouraged to speak his mind. Let us print your approval - and your criticism.

This is not a Redevelopment Commission publication. It belongs to the people. It needs give and take to make it work. This is your Urban Renewal Project. This is your newspaper. Help us make them work to your benefit by contributing questions, letters, announcements, and opinions.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Mr. Clarence Nearer, the grandson of Mr. and Mrs. Cannon, 216 Asheland Avenue is attending Asheville Buncombe Tech., taking the Data Processing course.

Miss Diane Blakely, the niece of Mrs. Eleanor Carpenter, 31 Blanton Street is attending Livingston College in Salisbury, North Carolina.

Miss Julianna Calhoun, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Willie Calhoun, 249 Asheland Avenue is attending Winston-Salem Teachers College in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Miss Sandra Nicholas, the niece of Mrs. C. N. Harris, 62 Blanton Street is attending Asheville-Buncombe Tech., taking the Executive Secretarial course.

Mr. and Mrs. Archie King, 20 Blanton Street are happy to announce the marriage of their daughter Olivia Frances to Mr. Ronald Dean Cook on December 7, 1965.

The Sunshine Neighborhood Club met Sunday January 23, 1965 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert McAdams. The topic of discussion was a "Spring Tea". The next meeting will be held Sunday, March 27, 1966 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. James Ferguson, 97 Blanton Street. They gave money to the needy at Thanksgiving as their last project. *Group IV, Sandra Nicholas, Reporter*

IMPORTANT MEDICARE INFORMATION

IF you are 65 years old or older, you are probably eligible for medical and hospital insurance that is financed mostly by the Federal Government. This program is operated at no cost to you if you are not working. It is like Social Security in that respect.

If you are 65 or older, the Medicare program will help you pay your hospital bills. BUT YOU MUST SIGN UP. THE DEADLINE IS MARCH 31, 1966, and that is not far away. For information, call Mrs. Grayson at 253-4745, or come by the Rehabilitation Office at 86 Livingston Street --we have a limited number of informational pamphlets. Or call the Social Security Administration at 252-8773.

THIS IS IMPORTANT AND THE TIME IS NOW!

REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION OF THE CITY OF ASHEVILLE

P. O. Box 7148
604 City Building
Asheville, N. C. 28807

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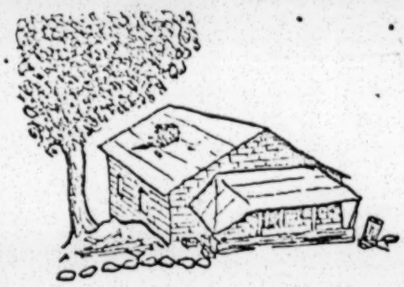
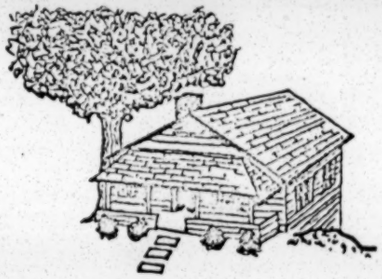


APRIL, 1966
VOL. II

ASHEVILLE IS ON THE MOVE. . .

PROGRESS THROUGH COMMUNITY EFFORT



THE COMMUNITY IMPROVER

MAY WE INTRODUCE. . .

W. E. Roland, a native of Asheville and a graduate of public schools here. After his early training, he attended vocational schools in Norfolk, Va., Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pa. After returning to Asheville he operated a jewelry store from 1948 until 1965 at which time he accepted a position as Rehabilitation Advisor with the Redevelopment Commission of the City of Asheville.

His interest and continual contact with the people of the East Riverside Area have made him one of the Commission's most popular employees. His civic efforts to improve his community have made him a public figure.

He is a member of the Hill Street Baptist Church where he serves as Superintendent of the Church School. He is on the Board of Trustees of both the Church and the Hill Street Nursery School, which is located in the Church. He is also a member of the Board of the Youth Advisory Council

Mr. Roland is a Shriner, and he is Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Service Credit Union of Asheville. He continues to be very active in community affairs. In 1962 he received the annual Man of the Year award from the Omega Psi Shi Fraternity for his outstanding achievement in the area of social action.

WHAT IS URBAN RENEWAL?

When anything big is in the wind (and urban renewal is BIG), rumors start blowing around, too. We've heard some of them, and we know there must be others where those came from

Some people think a bulldozer will sweep away their house, leaving them to shift for themselves. Others think it is a gift from Heaven that will put them in a good house and pay all their bills.

Neither idea is true. Urban renewal is neither all good nor all bad. It is a program of our federal government for the City of Asheville that we all support through taxes. This program is designed to help cure the problems of bad housing in our cities.

Urban renewal can do this better than any other program, public or private, because it has the revenue of the federal government behind it, and also because of the great fund of experience that has been amassed for the last number of years by redevelopment authorities all over the nation. Urban renewal is a specialist when it comes to curing sick cities.

Some parts of our city have become so dilapidated through misuse or neglect that only a major operation such as clearance and rehabilitation can save them from complete decay. In order to save these areas, many houses must be bought and demolished to provide space for modern, well-planned housing. This is not profitable. Even if private builders could afford it they

Continued on back page

BEWARE OF "SLICK OPERATORS"

(This article is a continuation of last month's article on how to avoid being "taken" by dishonest home improvement contractors.)

NEVER SIGN A CONTRACT IN BLANK! READ BEFORE YOU SIGN...AND AND KEEP A COPY. INSIST that all PROMISES and GUARANTEES be confirmed in WRITING. CHECK the CONTRACT with an ATTORNEY BEFORE SIGNING FOR MAJOR PURCHASES.

REMEMBER THAT YOU...THE HOMEOWNER... ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE for the proper correction of violations and you must also make sure that any alteration or improvements are in conformance with housing and building regulations.

DON'T GIVE the work your final "OKAY" until it has been passed by the CITY INSPECTOR and the REHABILITATION OFFICER of the Redevelopment Commission.

DON'T SIGN A "COMPLETION CERTIFICATE" before the job is finished to your satisfaction and the required CITY and REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION REHABILITATION OFFICE INSPECTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE. IF YOU DO, the contractor may collect his money from the financing agency, BUT FAIL TO COMPLETE THE WORK.

DON'T SELL YOUR PROPERTY.

CONTACT YOUR REHABILITATION OFFICE BEFORE STARTING ANY TYPE OF REHABILITATION WORK.

THE AGENCIES LISTED BELOW ARE READY AND WILLING TO SERVE YOU:

REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION
REHABILITATION OFFICE
86 LIVINGSTON STREET
TELEPHONE - 253-4745

CITY DEPARTMENT
Codes,Permits,Inspections, and Zoning
CITY HALL BUILDING
TELEPHONE - 253-3611

FAMILIARIZE yourself with the above guide lines. If further explanation is needed contact your neighborhood chairman or the Rehabilitation Office.

THE REHABILITATION OFFICE has been established to serve and guide you, take advantage of it - it can save you money.

Vito F. LePore
COMMUNITY RENEWAL ADVISOR

WHO ARE THEY?

In the next few months, the faces in the picture above will become more familiar to everyone in the East Riverside Area.

Dwight Patterson and Morris Johnson will be calling on people at home, talking to organizations, and getting small groups together to find out what should be done to make East Riverside an even better place to live.

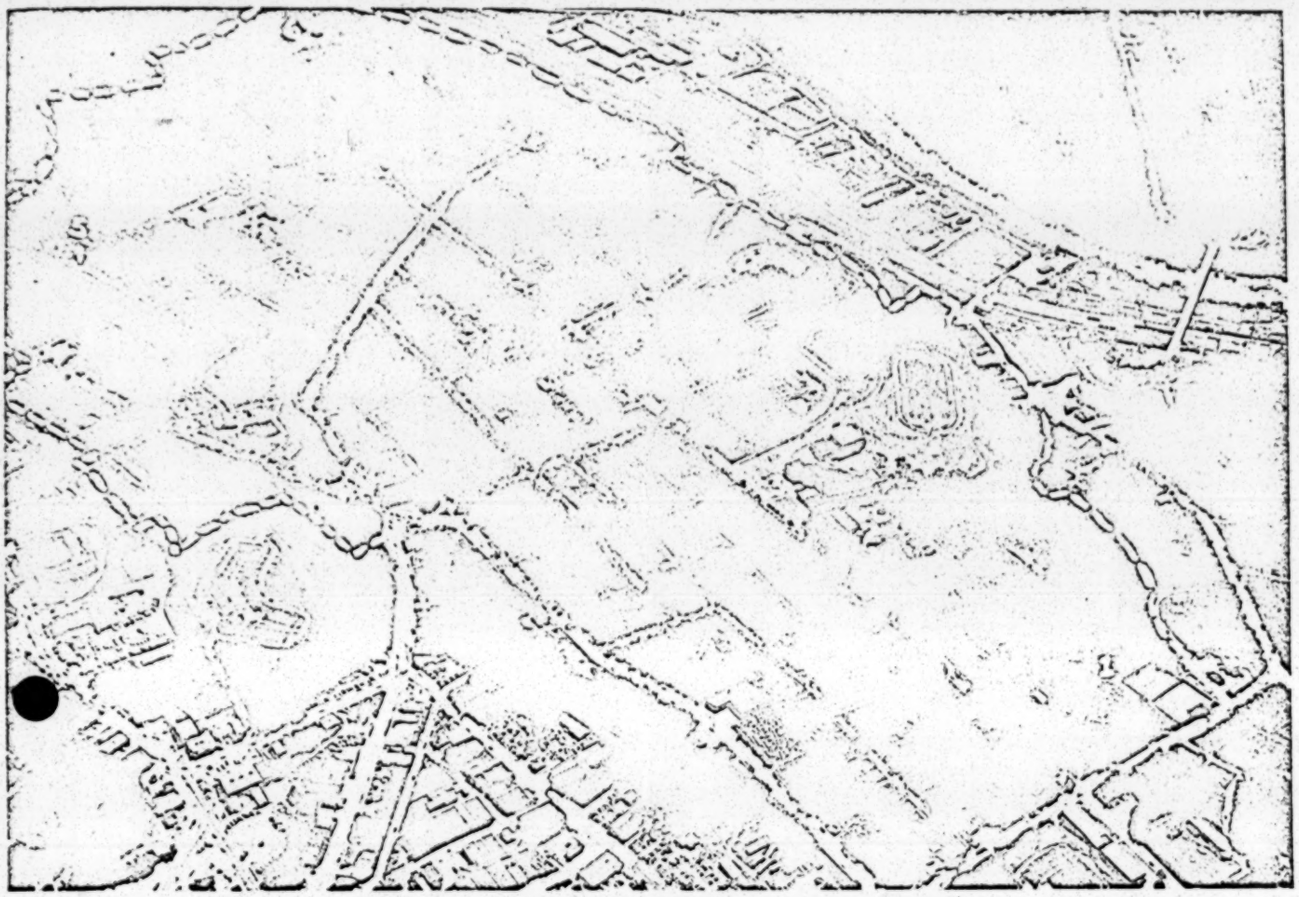
A survey of the area will be made by interviewers going into each home in the early part of June. Dwight Patterson and Morris Johnson are working to make everyone familiar with the material in the survey.

Look for them. Let them know what you are thinking...and ask questions!

APRIL IS YWCA MONTH

During this month, visit your YWCA and find out what you can do. Make new friends - learn new skills!

There is a program for all ages. Join today! Just come to 13 Grove Street or 185 S. French Broad Avenue - or give your membership to one of the campaign workers.



CAN YOU FIND YOUR HOUSE IN THIS PICTURE?

This is a bird's eye view of the East Riverside Area. It was made from a small plane last fall. It shows almost all of the project area from Hilliard Street (lower right hand corner), to Walton Street Park (upper left hand side) - from the tracks (those tiny little oblong things are box cars), to Coxe Avenue. The landmarks numbered on the picture are: 1. Aston Park, 2. YWCA, 3. South French Broad High School, 4. Livingston Street School, 5. The Rehabilitation Office, 6. Walton Street Park.

PTSA BEAUTIFIES

The Parent-Teacher-Student Association of South French Broad High School has entered whole-heartedly into the program of the Redevelopment Commission.

Recently, two projects, a talent show and a tea, provided $198.25 to pay for shrubbery which has been planted around the school. This shrubbery helps beautify our school and at the same time indicates the Association's cooperation with Urban Renewal. --Miss M. E. Jones

MOVIES

Educational movies will be shown at the Livingston Street School on the nights of April 20 and April 27 at 7:30 p.m. Dr. Pallazza, a psychologist, will lead a group discussion after the films are shown. All East Riverside residents are cordially invited.

More than 1½ times as many babies die in the East Riverside Area than in other sections of similar size. Greater care needs to be taken with our newborn.

URBAN RENEWAL - *Continued from Page1*

could not make much profit. Urban renewal is not designed to make money, but to use it to improve our city and to help provide better housing for our citizens.

Urban renewal is an Asheville operation with most of the money coming from the federal government. The City of Asheville makes all the important decisions concerning where renewal is to take place, when it will happen, and what the new land is to be used for. In this way Asheville is sure to do what her citizens want.

When the plans that are now being made are completed, probably by January, 1967, the Redevelopment Commission will start buying the houses in the East Riverside Area that are too dilapidated to be repaired. Owners will be offered a fair price, based on two or three separate appraisals. No one will be left homeless. Each family, whether it owns or rents, will be given assistance, both personal and financial, in finding a "standard" place to live. By "standard", we mean a place that is as good or better than the city housing code requirements. It is a place as good as or better than the house that must be torn down.

There are other houses in the area that are in fair condition and can be improved to "standard" through rehabilitation. In some cases, this work can be done with low-interest rate government loans to include rehabilitation while actually lowering monthly house payments.

Urban renewal is not a "gift". It will cost some people money. In some cases, it causes people a certain amount of inconvenience. It is not a program which will help everyone, but it will help almost everyone. It is the only way to turn our run-down neighborhoods into communities that once again offer the citizens a decent, healthy place in which to live and work.

LIVINGSTON STREET SCHOOL PROJECT

A beautification project was launched by the Livingston Street School PTA, Student Council, and Grade Mothers. Mr. Edington, principal, said the PTA hopes this project will spread. This project is in cooperation with the city-wide Beautification Project.

The PTA meets next-April 19, at 7:30 p.m.

REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION
OF THE
CITY OF ASHEVILLE

P. O. Box 7148
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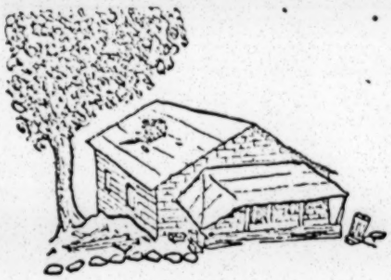
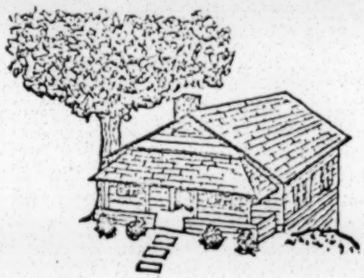


MAY, 1966
VOL.III



ASHEVILLE IS ON THE MOVE. . .

PROGRESS THROUGH COMMUNITY EFFORT

REHABILITATION OFFICE
86 LIVINGSTON STREET
PHONE: 253-4745

THE COMMUNITY IMPROVER

MAY WE INTRODUCE. . .

Mrs. Norma Grayson was born in Alabama but raised in Asheville. She is the daughter of the late John and Leila Michael. Her father was for 30 years a principal of Hill Street School where her mother also taught for the same number of years.

Mrs. Grayson is a graduate of Stephens Lee High School and Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee. Later she received her Masters Degree in social work from the Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta, Georgia. She has studied at the New York School of Social Work and attended workshops at University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. For some years she was case worker with the Family Service Society, St. Louis. She next was an interviewer with the State Employment office in N. C. During the war she was a Field Director of the Red Cross Prior to her present position with the Redevelopment Commission, she was a clinical social worker with the Veterans Administration in New York City for 19 years. While with this agency, she served as a supervisor of Trainee Social Workers of Fordham University and the New York School of Social Work.

PLANNING FOR RENEWAL

Many plans are being made to improve the area in which you live. The East Riverside area is the center of attention nowadays. Much time, effort, and money have gone into plans to make it one of the nicest sections of town.

There are two stages in any Urban Renewal Project. One phase is "survey and planning." The other is the action phase in which the plan is carried out and the area is renewed. We are presently in the first stage. We have not yet completed all the plans and preparations necessary for intelligent action. No buildings will be purchased or land cleared until these plans are completed.

When plans are finished and the time comes for renewal, we hope each person will support the effort to make East Riverside a better place to live. -- *Editor*

MOTHER'S DAY

This is the time of year I stop for just one day to appreciate the First Lady of my life; the lady who always thinks of me as her "baby".

If I have done wrong, it is always Mother who sees the spark of goodness in me through all the shabbiness, and loves me still. If I have done well, it is Mother who beams with pride.

It has been jokingly siad, "A man is never truly old until his Mother stops worrying about him." -- *Kent Washburn*

THE FABLE OF A CITY CALLED ASHEVILLE

Long, long ago, in a high enchanting valley in the Blue Ridge Mountains, was a city called Asheville.

Its climate, location, and scenic beauty made it famous as a tourist attraction the world over. It soon acquired the nickname "The Land of the Sky."

Asheville was a simple community consisting of a commercial or shopping cone surrounded by a residential area, which again was surrounded by farms and timberland.

The demands of this uncomplicated society were adequately met by the City Administration.

But the coming of the industrial revolution, automobiles, and the population explosion changed the city of Asheville drastically.

Lack of city planning and code enforcement produced insurmountable problems which the city administration could not overcome financially and administratively without state and federal loans and grants.

Since World War II, growing decay at the heart of Asheville has been the Number One problem. For 25 years, slums have grown and real estate values and municipal tax income have dropped.

The affluent and then middle-income families headed for the suburbs and the downtown and the surrounding residential area deteriorated.

Industry has brought its share of problems, hodgepodge land use, industrial stench, air pollution, water pollution, besides contributing to the crowded and unsanitary living conditions.

The automobile has produced junk yards, traffic congestion, strip development, parking problems, air pollution, decentralization of cities and wholesale slaughter on the highways.

Well aware that these conditions have become a nationwide trend, in 1963, the City Fathers decided to investigate the possibility of using the urban renewal program in the hope of renewing the vitality of older and worn-out neighborhoods - a task financially impossible by the City Administration. A few months later a conference was held between the urban renewal people and City Administrators to determine which area would best be benefited by this program.

The area known as East Riverside was chosen for two reasons:

(1) The cost of building the South French Broad High School $1,400,000 - will provide the City of Asheville with the majority of her one-third share of the cost of this urban renewal project.

(2) 55% of the structures in this area can be rehabilitated feasibly now - but not later.

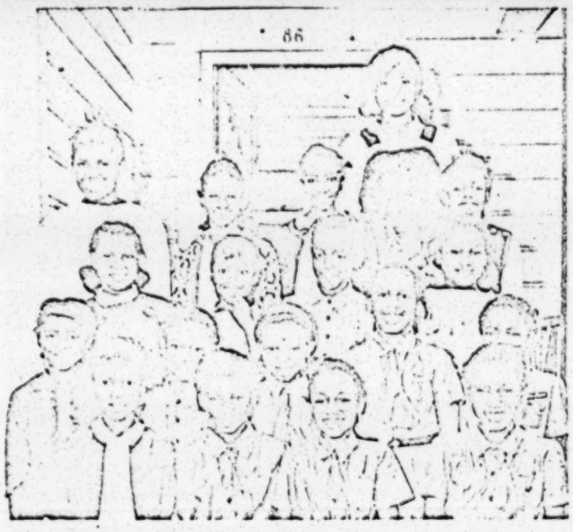
In January 1965, the City of Asheville received advance funds to begin its survey and planning work. We are presently in this phase of the operation.

SOMETHING TO GET FIRED-UP ABOUT

What if someone told you that the possibility of your house burning is 100% greater than the average Ashevillian? If you live in one of the 1,000 blighted houses in the East Riverside Redevelopment Project, your chances of having a major fire are just about twice those of the average person in Asheville.

The major cause of fires in the Project Area seems to be careless smoking. Be careful! Many houses in this area are like kindling waiting to be lit. The second major cause is faulty wiring. This is a problem that must be corrected by Community Improvement. Too many houses have no electric outlets on the walls. Drop cords alone provide electricity in many cases. This wiring is not meant to furnish power for such high-drain appliances such as toasters, frypans, refrigerators, or television sets. Something must be done if this appallingly high incidence of fires is to be checked.

The Young Women's Christian Association, founded 110 years ago in London, England, now is at work in 75 countries around the world, including 5500 locations in the USA. In Asheville the YWCA has been serving women and girls for 59 years.



These smiling faces belong to Brownie Troop No. 127. They have good reason to be smiling; they just have come downstairs from a meeting of games and songs.

These girls meet in the same Rehab Office room each Tuesday from 4-5 p.m. Besides singing and playing games, they discuss good citizenship and plan hikes and outings.

This past Easter, the Brownies made and delivered Easter cards to the patients at the Silent Rest Nursing Home.

Troop No. 127 is sponsored by the New Mount Olive Baptist Church, and is under the leadership of Gail and Betty Sligh. (Miss Sligh is pictured in the back.)

LIVINGSTON STREET SCHOOL REPORTS

Mrs. Mary R. Sligh represented the Livingston Street School PTA at the State PTA Convention in Lumberton, North Carolina, recently.

Those of you who are interested in finding out what went on there may find out when she gives her report of this meeting to the Livingston Street School PTA at the regular meeting Tuesday, May 17, at 7:30 p.m.

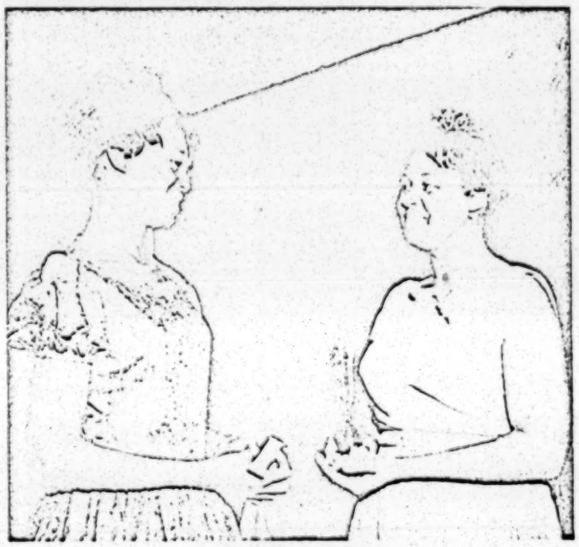
Also slated for this meeting is a report from the First Grade teachers on an experimental reading program they have been conducting with their students. This should be interesting.

MEDICARE - AGAIN

So many people failed to sign up for the benefits of Medicare in March that President Johnson asked to have the deadline extended.

If you have not signed up, you may do so until May 31. Don't wait until the last minute!

For information, call Mrs. Grayson at 253-4745; or call the Social Security Administration at 252-8773.



Y-TEEN QUEENS

Marche Forney (right), of the Shiloh Y-Teens, was crowned at the Y-Teen Extravaganza which was held at the South French Broad YWCA, Saturday, May 30. Judy Foster of the Livingston Y-Teen Club, was the runner-up.

The program consisted of a "Fashionetta", "Fashions of Yesterday, Today," by the South French Broad Y-Teens (advisor, Mrs. C. P. Chandler); a skit entitled "A Y-Teen Dreams," involving all Junior Y-Teen clubs; and a dance number by Carolyn Lyles of the South French Broad Club.

Sherrie Stevens, a Livingston Y-Teen, played the leading role in the skit, and Brenda Gibson, Miss Y-Teen of 1965, crowned Miss Y-Teen for 1966.

The program was sponsored by the YWCA Teenage Committee, Miss Delores Carnegie, Chairman.

NEW APARTMENTS FOR THE ELDERLY

The Housing Authority of Asheville has revealed plans for a new hundred-unit apartment building for the elderly. This structure will be located on three and one-half acres of land next to Aston Park on South French Broad Avenue. A general administration building is also planned.

The main building will be 7 stories high and will contain 335 rooms. More than half of the apartments will be used by people who will move from substandard houses in the Redevelopment Project Area.

This building will be an attractive addition to Asheville housing. It will provide space for meeting and recreation, an area with automatic washers and dryers to be used by the occupants, and quiet, roomy apartments. There will be a range and refrigerator in each apartment, and two automatic elevators will carry people quickly and safely to and from their rooms.

We should be seeing the beginning of construction late this year. This is real progress!

THANK YOU!

For the past several weeks, the "Rehab" Office at 86 Livingston Street has reported a great number of visits and phone calls by East Riverside residents who are interested in the Urban Renewal plans. We welcome this kind of interest.

As plans for the project progress it appears that more and more people are taking a personal interest in these plans. Many want to know how Urban Renewal will affect their houses. Others are asking the Rehabilitation staff what they could do to improve their property. Some have already started a program of improvement.

In an area as large as East Riverside, success will come only with your interest and effort. Thank you for your visits and phone calls. Let us hear from more of you!

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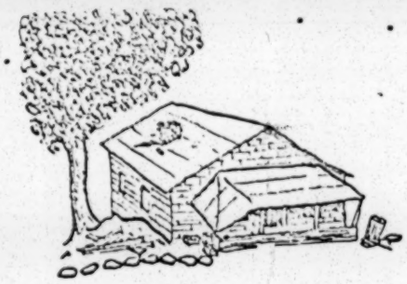

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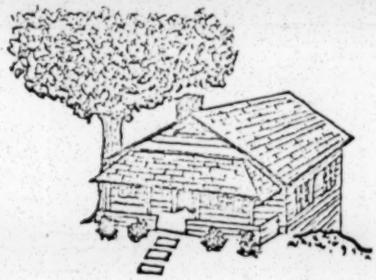


ASHEVILLE IS ON THE MOVE. . .

PROGRESS THROUGH COMMUNITY EFFORT

REHABILITATION OFFICE
86 LIVINGSTON STREET
PHONE: 253-4745

THE COMMUNITY IMPROVER

May We Introduce . . .

Leilani Littlejohn was born in The Bronx, New York City, but was reared in Asheville where she attended and graduated from St. Anthony's Parochial School. She later attended Notre Dame Academy in Cleveland, Ohio, but returned to Asheville where she completed her high school education at Allen High School, in 1955.

Leilani then went to New York City where she became employed by the R. H. Macy Company and was employed there for several years. During this time she attended secretarial school furthering her skills in secretarial work. She has worked in the secretarial-receptionist field since her graduation in 1955.

Miss Littlejohn is now employed as secretary-receptionist with the Asheville Redevelopment Commission where her professional demeanor and winning personality are an asset to the Rehabilitation Office.

DIAGNOSTIC SURVEY PROGRESSES

Thirty-five surveyors have been selected to conduct the East Riverside Diagnostic Survey. The survey will begin Monday, June 6. We ask for your cooperation in this important program.

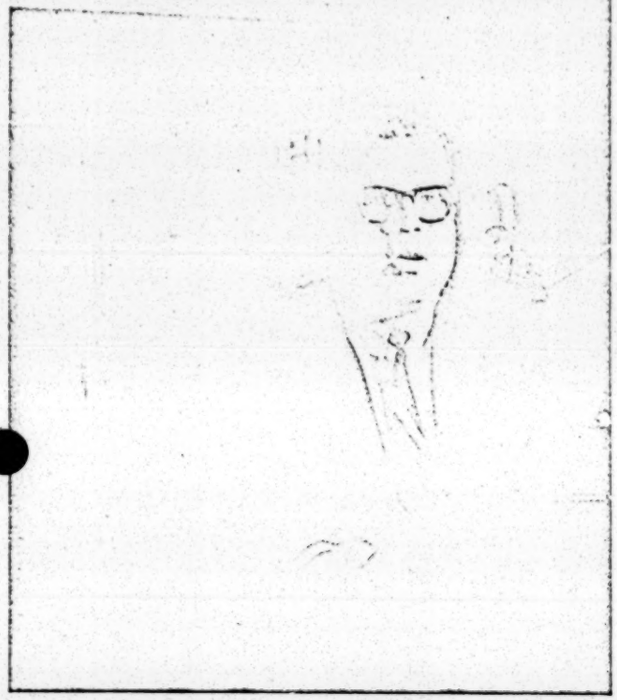
PUBLIC HEARING

A Public Hearing will be held in the Court House on May 31, 1966, in Room 409, at 7:30 p. m. The Urban Renewal Plan for East Riverside will be discussed, and everyone will have a chance to voice an opinion. This is your opportunity to see first-hand exactly what is being proposed and to be heard on the matter. More than any other single group of citizens in Asheville, the East Riverside families will benefit from this program. The East Riverside Project needs your support at this meeting.

URBAN RENEWAL PLAN SUBMITTED

At a meeting of the Redevelopment Commission on Tuesday, May 17, the Urban Renewal Plan for the Redevelopment of East Riverside was approved for submission to the Federal Government. What this means is that the program for East Riverside is on its way towards being endorsed. Before the project actually gets under way, the citizens of Asheville must be heard at the public hearing to be held May 31, at 7:30 p.m. in Room 409 of the County Court House, the City Council must approve it; and a bond issue will probably be held to provide the city's share of the cost. All of this will be accomplished by December of this year — if the citizens of East Riverside and other citizens of Asheville join in support of this program.

SPONSORED BY
E CHAMBER OF



CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MEETING

On Wednesday, May 18, the "Mountain Boomer" Club, an offshoot of the Chamber of Commerce, held a regular breakfast meeting. The program was presented by the Redevelopment Commission. Photographs of some of the conditions in East Riverside were shown along with a plan to renew the area. James W. Greer, Executive Director of the Commission, spoke for a few minutes concerning the blight and deterioration that are present in the area, and gave his opinion as to how the area might best be redeveloped. Concerning urban blight, he said:

> I can think of no better illustration for the effects of urban blight than the well-used comparison with cancer. Deterioration of housing in a neighborhood is to the health of the whole community what cancer cells are to the health of a person. Without treatment, blight spreads . . . left alone, blight will engulf all of East Riverside.

He further stated that:

> The only answer at this point for the cancer of urban blight in East Riverside is major surgery and rehabilitation. The pockets of decay must be cut out. The weak areas must be given a chance to revitalize themselves.

Mr. Greer indicated that the costs of renewal would be only about 1-¼ million dollars compared with its total cost of about 10 million dollars. He said further that this project would bring in additional new construction of private and low-rental housing costing about 10 million dollars more — at no cost to the City of Asheville. Therefore, the East Riverside area will receive the benefits of 20 million dollars worth of renewal at a cost to the city of a little more than 1 million dollars. He said, "It doesn't require the new math to tell us that this is a good exchange of money."

As fortunate as Asheville is in the financial arrangements for the East Riverside Program, Mr. Greer was quick to state that financial considerations are not the main reason for the project. He said:

> Specifically, the prime consideration for the East Riverside Project is the opportunity of improving the living conditions of almost 5,000 citizens of the City of Asheville. (The people who live in East Riverside)

In closing, he commented:

> I know that in East Riverside there is a nucleus of proud and intelligent citizens . . . who would seize the opportunity of transforming their neighborhood, if it were offered.
>
> The Urban Renewal plan offers East Riverside this opportunity.

SPACE PROGRAM

URBAN RENEWAL is a little like the American space program. Our country has launched a series of rockets and tried a number of experiments in order to reach the moon and advance modern science. The moon program has taken and will take months of planning and experiment and action and infinite patience. It is a big and important project.

In East Riverside, we are not trying to reach the moon, although it might seem like it to look at our extensive plans and surveys. But we *are* involved in a big and important project. This program involves our homes and our everyday lives. And it will take patience.

A big step forward has just been made. The plan for East Riverside has been submitted to the Federal Government. This plan is the result of months of study and hundreds of visits with the residents of East Riverside.

This plan includes better streets, new storm drainage to keep Southside and Depot from flooding in heavy rains, two new parks, new houses, a new fire station — and "Nasty Branch" will be cleaned up.

Many old and unsafe houses must be taken down. The owners of these houses will be helped to find a good place to live that is safe and clean. The moving expenses of these people will be paid, and in some cases, a "relocation adjustment payment" may also be paid by the Redevelopment Commission. The houses these people will move into will be "standard", that is, they will be screened, will be heated, and will have good plumbing with hot and cold running water.

The Redevelopment Commission will do its best to help the people that are displaced find places to live that are suitably located. Since there will be many new houses built in the area, this should not be hard to do.

This program will be very expensive. It will cost about 10 million dollars. But only a little more than one million dollars of this money will come from Asheville. The federal government will make up the difference. There are other costs that cannot be counted in dollars. Some people will be inconvenienced in having to move from houses they have lived in for many years. Other people may dislike the necessity of repairing their homes. But to renew an old neighborhood, to make our homes safer and our neighborhood better, and to give our children better places to play, live, and grow up in, we feel is worth the trouble we'll be taking.

We expect that actual work can begin on the East Riverside Area in the early part of 1967. At that time, the Redevelopment Commission will begin to approach the owners of the property to be acquired. There is just a certain amount of space in East Riverside, and Asheville's "space program" is designed to make the best use of it.

SOUTH FRENCH BROAD HIGH SCHOOL EVENTS

The 1966 Senior Class of South French Broad High School will present its class night program on Friday evening, June 3, at 8:00 p.m. in the Lee H. Edwards Auditorium.

The class will hold its Vesper Service on Sunday afternoon, June 5, at 4:00 p.m. Dr. G. Gordon Mahy, presently instructor of English at Warren Wilson College, will be the speaker.

Commencement Exercises will be held on Monday evening, June 6, at 8:00 p.m. in the Asheville City Auditorium. The speaker will be Dr. Kenneth R. Williams, president of Winston-Salem State College. There are 141 candidates for graduation for 1966.

LIVINGSTON STREET SCHOOL PTA ELECTS OFFICERS

The Livingston Street School PTA held its final meeting of this school year on Tuesday evening, May 17. Mrs. Pauline Seabrook presided over this important meeting at which new officers for the coming year were elected. The new officers are:

President—Mr. Charles Samuel
1st Vice President—Reverend J. T. Jones
2nd Vice President—Mrs. Bertha McAdams
Secretary—Mrs. Marguerite Shivers
Asst. Secretary—Miss Margaret Orr
Chaplain—Miss D. C. Williams
Treasurer—Miss F. M. Owens
Program Chairman—Miss Pauline Seabrook
Reporter—Mrs. A. M. D. McElrath

THANKS MRS. SZITTYA

Our thanks to Mrs. Sandar Szittya, one of our volunteer teachers who has completed her instructional period in a ten lesson typing course for adult students. Now that Mrs. Szittya has fulfilled her commitment, she will be giving full time to her place of employment. We feel that she has made a real contribution toward the goal of helping people help themselves. As to date at least one student has found a place of employment in this capacity. Mrs. Szittya leaves with this group's sincere appreciation.

IN CASE OF FIRE DIAL "0"

Sometimes in an emergency people don't think too clearly. It is hard to remember that to report a fire, the number to call is 252-5311 - in order to get the Fire Department. Or to get the help of the Police Department, one should call 252-6411. But it is always well to remember the magic number "0" for Operator. You can always dial "0" and tell the operator the nature of the emergency and the location.

YWCA SUMMER DAY CAMP SCHEDULE

This year the YWCA has announced that it will expand its "Summer Fun Camp" to include programs at the Skyland Community Center and Weaverville Community Center in addition to the regular camp at 13 Grove Street, so that a greater area may be served. The two community center programs will be coeducational.

Courses in skills such as crafts, music, dancing, camp craft, nature, swimming, games, land sports, fishing, and boating will be taught, depending upon the facilities available at each location. The hours will be from 9:00 to 3:00 Monday through Friday.

Later in the summer, an enrichment program will be offered for Junior High age girls. This program will expose the girls to a combination of cultural, social, mental, spiritual, and physical enrichment.

Information on rates and dates may be obtained by calling 254-4343 or 254-7206.

REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION OF THE CITY OF ASHEVILLE

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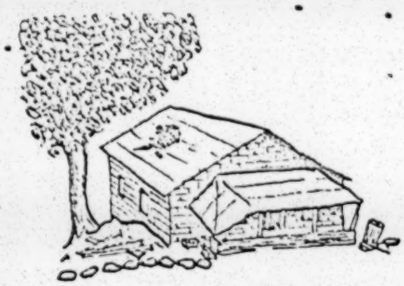

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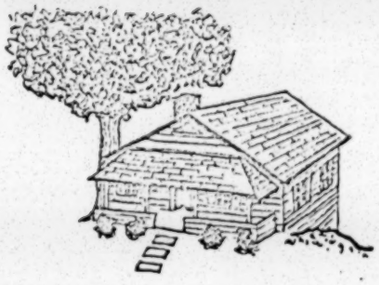


ASHEVILLE IS ON THE MOVE. . .

PROGRESS THROUGH COMMUNITY EFFORT

REHABILITATION OFFICE
86 LIVINGSTON STREET
PHONE: 253-4745

THE COMMUNITY IMPROVER

ANOTHER PUBLIC HEARING

Another public hearing will be held for the East Riverside Urban Renewal Area. This time it will be held by the City Council in City Hall. The hearing will be held on the 2nd floor, at 4:00 p.m., on June 23rd. Again, all interested citizens of Asheville are urged to attend and voice their opinions. We especially urge the residents of East Riverside to appear at this very important meeting. This will be the last chance you will have to support the East Riverside Urban Renewal Area at an official Public Hearing.

Three R's Revisited

At Livingston Street School next year, some first-grade pupils will not be reading such things as "See John run. Run John, run." Instead they will be reading from books such as *Riding by Pony Express, The Tree is a Plant, The Boy who Drew Birds,* or *The Maverick Cow.*

Dr. R. E. Robinson, Assistant Superintendent in charge of Instruction in the City Schools, has designed a program to stimulate the minds of our young readers. "We do best what we are most interested in," Dr. Robinson asserts. All over the country, it has been proved that children treated as individuals and given reading material interesting to them improve their reading skills more rapidly than children given the standard 1st Grade Reading course.

According to the Principal, Mr. Edington, the 2nd and 3rd grades of Livingston Street School have adopted this successful program for this fall. So 4th graders, don't be surprised if your 1st grade brother or sister wants to borrow your books to read.

APPROVAL EXPRESSED AT PUBLIC HEARING

The Public Hearing that was held on the last evening in May was very successful. The feeling was that a number of questions were answered, and on the whole, there was a response of wholehearted approval from the people of East Riverside in particular and the city in general.

The meeting began as Mr. Alfred Miller, Chairman of the Redevelopment Commission, called the meeting to order and explained the rules by which members of the group could speak concerning the project.

Mr. James Greer, the Director of the Redevelopment Commission, was introduced next. Mr. Greer presented the plan for renewal of the 410-acre East Riverside Area. According to Mr. Greer, it will include a large neighborhood park of about 12 acres, two or three small parks of from 1 to 3 acres, provision for neighborhood shopping area, for expansion of the two schools in the area, for a YMCA branch, a new fire department and community center. With regard to housing, the Public Housing Authority will construct 500 units designed to blend in with private housing, and it is expected that private builders will build from 150-200 units, both single family and apartment type.

Mr. Greer stated that it was the Redevelopment Commission's intention to preserve as much of the existing neighborhood as possible. He said that the 4,800 people of the area are the most important consideration.

Mr. Greer indicated the net cost of the project (after sale of land) to be $8,742,002.00. Asheville's part of this is less than $3 million. But due

to some credits that the city [illegible]able to claim from the construction of South [illegible]ch Broad High School and the anticipated Public Housing, the cash cost will be only $1.4 million. For less than 1½ million dollars, the East Riverside Area can see many million dollar's worth of improvement.

Mr. Miller, the chairman, then opened the floor for any questions or comments.

A question was asked concerning whether a library would be provided. Mr. Greer said that plans on this matter were uncertain as yet, but that some facility would be available for the loan of books.

Miss Fannie McCoy spoke in opposition to what she termed "Metropolitan Government." She said she believed the Redevelopment Commission was out to control the land and the man. She took her stand against "high taxes and poisoned water." She stated her opposition to a "socialized, communistic, collectivist government," and feared that perhaps this would be the last time the people of Asheville would be allowed to vote for their sheriff.

Mr. Michael of 64 Phifer Street indicated his support of the East Riverside Urban Renewal Project, and made a request of the realtors that they begin dealing more in Negro real estate.

Mrs. Pickard of the Buncombe County Planning Council stated that her agency was primarily concerned with the needs of the people, that she had been working with the Redevelopment Commission in this program, and was pleased that the Commission also was primarily concerned with the needs of the people. She said that she and the Planning Council favored the contemplated Redevelopment Program.

Mr. Ruben Dailey, a well-known lawyer from the area, made the statement that he was one of the first to vote for the project. "I was for it then, and I am for it now," he said. "I think it's going to really do something for this section." Mr. Dailey said that the people of East Riverside must be on their guard for the "hawks" who would try to spread rumors and false information in order to buy and sell real estate. He warned that the people must not listen to the "street lawyers" and others who pretend to know about the program, but that they must listen instead to the trained personnel of the Redevelopment Commission who could give them the facts and save them needless worry. He deplored those "hardship cases that you create yourself." He said that Washington is made up of people like ourselves, some of whom come from North Carolina, who are interested in the people. He said this project is a good project—"You are going to be benefitted by it." He said that Asheville will now have a chance to get some of her tax money back, as we have a right to. He closed by again warning the residents to be levelheaded: "I am concerned about the errors that we make in panic." And he again urged the people to listen to the advice of the Redevelopment Commission employees.

Dr. Joseph Schandler, the Asheville Housing Authority Chairman, then spoke about the new kind of housing that will be built. He said the new housing would be completely different from the Lee Walker Heights, Pisgah View, and Hillcrest housing. "You won't see any more of this type of public housing in Asheville." He spoke about the modern, 7-story high-rise apartment near Aston Park and the 100 units of housing near Walton Park. "You won't be able to tell these from the finest homes in Asheville."

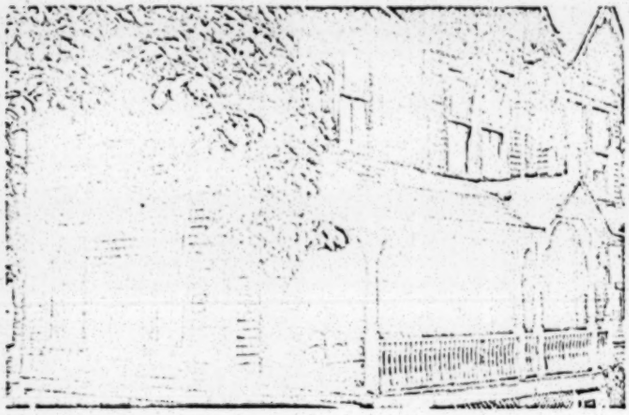
At this point, Mr. Allen, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Citizens Participation League, (who is one of those property owners to be displaced by project activities), made a motion that the program as recommended by the Redevelopment Commission be approved. The motion was seconded by Mr. Wilkins and was then passed almost unanimously.

Mr. Algary, a member of the City Council of Asheville, said that the people now had the opportunity to make of East Riverside, not just a nice place to live, but a "showplace" in Asheville. He said that with the loving care that the area deserved it could be a place where anyone would be glad to live.

After only one hour, the meeting was adjourned, and the overflow crowd began to leave.

ON THE VERY NEXT DAY, a special meeting of the Redevelopment Commission was held to adopt a resolution approving the plan for East Riverside. The resolution was adopted and sent that same afternoon to the City Planning and Zoning Commission, where it also received the approval of that body.

THE NEXT STEP toward redevelopment of East Riverside is the submission of the project to the City Council for a public hearing to be held by the City Council on June 23. After this hearing, the City Council will then approve or disapprove the project.



from THIS, to...

A NEW PLACE TO LIVE

One of our East Riverside residents, a lady who will be unable to read this story because she is blind, will soon be benefitted by the activities of the Housing Authority and the Redevelopment Commission. For a long time, she has lived in a very large, very old house. She made her living by renting rooms to tenants she was unable to manage because of her blindness.

The Housing Authority of Asheville will soon approach her to buy her property as a site for new housing. Because of this, she is now preparing to make her home elsewhere.

Recently she applied for additional aid from the Welfare Department to supplement her social security so she would be able to live without her tenants until she receives payment from the Housing Authority for her property. It will then be up to the Redevelopment Commission to pay her moving expenses and to see that she is suitably relocated in a house or apartment that is clean and fully equipped for her.

It will be a pleasure to see her receive a fair price for an old house that she would probably not be able to sell otherwise and to see her moved from that dangerous old house to a safe, much newer place. She tells us she is looking forward to moving.

SAINT ANTHONY OF PADUA SCHOOL

"Toward a Better Christian Education and Building of Character"

June 3rd saw another crop of fine young ladies and gentlemen passing from the hands of the Allegany Franciscan Sisters into Asheville High Schools. These youth have had the advantages of an education integrated and permeated with the teachings of Christ.

The graduates and their teacher, Sister Mark Francis, O.S.F., were honored at a Mass in the morning followed by a breakfast in the school hall. During the breakfast the parents and guests of the graduates enjoyed the reading of the Class History, Will, and Prophesy.

The graduation exercises in the evening were dignified and impressive. Alma Burson, Robert Dorn, Joselyn Goodwin, Glynis Holmes, Cathy McAdams, Vernelle Ray, Freddy Ryans, Cherri Samuel, and Gerald Smith received their diplomas from Reverend Joseph L. Howze, pastor and administrator of the school.

The valedictory address to the graduates was by Robert Dorn. His talk was followed by that of Dr. Otis B. Michael, guest speaker and alumnus of Saint Anthony's School.

The graduates recessed to the notes of "Pomp and Circumstance" after Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

SOUTH FRENCH BROAD COMMENCEMENT

On June 6th at the Asheville City Auditorium, 144 young men and women graduated from South French Broad High School. These graduates listened attentively to the commencement address by Dr. Kenneth R. Williams, President of Winston-Salem State College, and then received their diplomas from Mr. Sales and Mr. Schell (both members of the City Board of Education), and Mr. W. P. Griffin (Superintendent of the City Schools).

Hal Guess was the Valedictorian and also received the Alumnus Award. Others receiving awards were Patricia McKinney, who received the W. S. Lee Citizenship Award; and Walterine Elaine Morehead, who received the Pearlman Family Award.

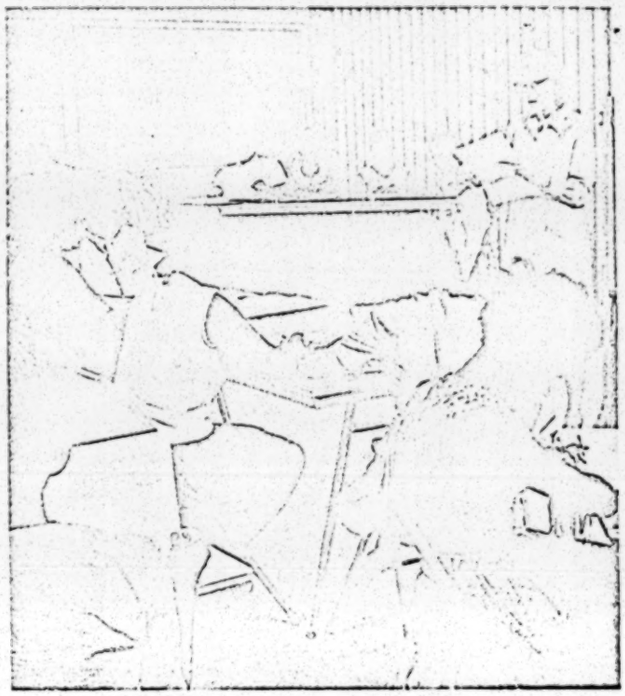
WE APPRECIATE . . .

All the many residents of East Riverside who took time out to attend the first Public Hearing for the East Riverside Area. You performed an important service for your community and for your city. Any project of this great size and importance depends upon the interest and involvement of the people, and the overflow crowd at the hearing certainly proves that you are interested and involved.

We owe a special "thank you" to those individuals who spoke at the meeting, who either asked questions or made a statement.

DIAGNOSTIC SURVEY

In the next couple of weeks, surveyors will be completing their assignments in the East Riverside Area. Residents have been most helpful to them in allowing them to come into their houses and ask many questions. All of these questions are important in helping the Redevelopment Commission prepare for the coming renewal program. We thank you for your assistance.



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Paris, Ky.
18,000 pop.

RESUME'

PARIS, KENTUCKY

Paris, Kentucky, has a population of approximately 7,800. The City has completed two Urban Renewal projects with the reuse of the land being primarily for Public Housing.

Urban Renewal Project No. Ky. R-57

An estimate of approximately 29 white and 92 non-white households reside in this area. It is planned to stage the redevelopment of this area to provide low-rent housing for the elderly in the initial stages of the project for occupancy by households living within the area.

The City is presently planning a project of approximately 13 acres of slum clearance and a comprehensive codes program. Approximately 60 new units of low-rent housing are planned for this area.

The persons this Department has been working directly with are: Emil Rains, Mayor, Frazier Haddix, Director of Urban Renewal, James S. Wilson, City Attorney.

An active Citizens Advisory Committee is working with City Officials and residents of the proposed Urban Renewal area to insure that each family is fully appraised of the progress of the project.

Corinth, Miss
7,000 pop.

RESUME'

CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI

Corinth, Mississippi is located in the extreme northeasten section of the state (approximately 90 miles southeast of Memphis, Tennessee) and currently has an estimated population of 13,500.

The Corinth Urban Renewal Commission was organized early in 1960 and has been an active and vibrant force in the community. Initial Urban Renewal discussions began in early 1961 with the Workable Program for Community Improvement being initially certified in September of the same year.

A Survey and Planning application for the Highway 45 Urban Renewal Project (Project No. Miss. R-6) was filed in late 1962 and approved in April 1963. This project has since entered the execution phase and the LPA is now acquiring property. Reuse of the land is planned for Public Housing, lots for private low-cost housing and commercial.

In November 1963 an application for a Community Renewal Program was approved and this study is now nearing completion. The Study will outline objectives and methods for the undertaking of a broad range of Federal programs and badly needed public improvements.

In addition to the two Urban Renewal Programs, the Corinth Urban Renewal Commission has administered several activities or programs authorized by the office of Economic Opportunity.

Principal contacts in the community:

1. John D. Mercier, Mayor
2. Troy Norris, Chairman, Corinth Urban Renewal Agency
3. James Billingsley, NYC Director
4. Lew Miller, Chairman, Planning Commission
5. Hugh Hopper, Executive Director, Corinth Housing Authority
6. Professor E. S. Bishop, Principal, Easom High School and Member, Citizens Advisory Committee
7. Mrs. Viola Lusk, Housewife and Member of Citizens Advisory Committee

Louisville, Ga.
2,500 pop.

RESUME'

LOUISVILLE, GEORGIA

The population of Louisville, Georgia, is somewhere over 2,500 at this time. The city officials have taken on an ambitious residential improvement program. This can be broken down into three categories: 70 new units of low-rent public housing; 31 acres of slum clearance through urban renewal; and, a comprehensive codes program for compliance on new construction and rigid enforcement of housing code on existing structures.

Urban Renewal Project No. Ga. R-103

This project will be redeveloped primarily for residential reuse. It is located about two blocks northwest of the Central Business District and now contains the largest concentration of substandard housing in the county.

There will be a total of 103 families and 8 businesses relocated. The city's plans at this time are to stage the urban renewal program to provide for persons to be relocated back in this area or adjacent to it.

This community appears to have made use of a relatively unfamiliar program of the Department of Agriculture. The local Farm Home Administrator has encouraged the use of Farm Home Administration loans, and the local bank has established a referral service for persons not able to meet the requirements of bank policy, or Federal Housing Administration type loans. This cooperation has shown much benefit to the community on a whole.

The persons this agency have been working directly with are listed:

T. E. Buchanan, Mayor
A. D. Little, City Manager
Mike A. Cox, Jr., City Administrator
W. F. Easterlin, Director of Urban Renewal
James Abbott, Attorney

February 10, 1960

Mr. Marvin D. Wall
Acting Executive Director
Southern School News
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Wall:

I wonder if you could enlarge upon the figures presented in February Southern School News regarding desegregation in public colleges and universities in the South. We want to use such information in a small publication that we are getting out, and are having a bit of difficulty in reconciling figures from various sources. It would be very helpful, therefore, if you could give us the following information:

1) You report that 124 of 195 formerly all-white institutions in 14 states are desegregated in practice or principle. We assume that the 14 states are all the old 17 state region plus the District of Columbia, less Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, in which no schools of higher education are desegregated; but could you please confirm this?

2) Do your records show how many formerly all white institutions in Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia are desegregated in practice or principle? How many formerly all Negro institutions in these same states?

3) We assume that both the 195 formerly all white institutions and the 30 formerly all Negro institutions mentioned in your article are tax-supported schools.

4) Are junior colleges included in your figures?

We hate to bother you with this sort of meddlesome question, but we would appreciate your help.

May I take this opportunity of extending our contratulations to you on moving into the editorship of Southern School News.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 17, 1960

Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send us four copies of Southern Schools: Progress and Problems in the paper back edition, and bill the Southern Regional Council at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

May 17, 1960

Mr. James T. Leeson, Jr.
Assistant to Director & Editor of Summary
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tenn.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY SAYS 126 DISTRICTS TEXAS DESEGREGATED:

WE COUNT 123 IN YOUR LIST. WHICH IS CORRECT ?

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

Charge: Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156 ACKLEN STATION
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE 12, TENNESSEE

May 23, 1960

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RICHMOND, VA.

L. W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Here's more of the detailed information I promised you. Our Oklahoma correspondent reports that the state has two bi-racial counties with no integrated districts: Choctaw and McCurtain, both in the extreme southeast corner.

Fourteen counties have an all-white population: Adair, Alfalfa, Beaver, Cimarron, Delaware, Dewey, Ellis, Grant, Harper, Ottawa, Roger Mills, Texas, Woods and Woodward.

That leaves 61 counties (out of a total 77) with bi-racial populations and at least some school integration. These counties are the ones listed in the Statistical Summary, plus Major and Tillman counties.

I hope this information reaches you in time to be incorporated in your map. Still no word from the Kentucky correspondent as to whether he will be able to run down the specific figures. If he has any luck, the information will be forwarded to you.

Sincerely,

Jim Leeson

Jim Leeson
Assistant to the Executive Director

May 24, 1960

Mr. Marvin D. Wall
Acting Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Wall:

Just a note to express our many thanks for the help which you and Jim Leeson have been to us in gathering data these last few weeks.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Correspondence

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156 ACKLEN STATION
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

May 5, 1960

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L.W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

The enclosed clipping from the May SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS shows the Maryland bi-racial counties that have not desegregated. But we haven't had any luck on the other states.

Any detailed information on Missouri appears out of the question. State officials there don't keep records by race. However, the Kentucky and Oklahoma correspondents may be able to come up with something. I have asked them to check if any information is available on the bi-racial counties not desegregated. I will forward whatever information they report.

Please excuse my delay in answering your call. We've been shorthanded during our busiest time--putting out SSN. If we can be of help again, let me know and your request will get much quicker action.

Sincerely,

Jim Leeson

Jim Leeson
Asst. to the Executive
Director

file

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156 ACKLEN STATION
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

May 25, 1960

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Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Marvin and I appreciated your letter. We're always glad to help SRC anytime.

Have you completed the map project yet? If not, let me know and I will continue trying to locate the information about Kentucky.

Sincerely,

Jim Leeson

Jim Leeson
Asst. to the Executive Director

Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. BOX 6156 ACKLEN STATION
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
PUBLISHERS OF
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS

July 20, 1961

Dear Subscriber:

You recently received the latest edition of our Statistical Summary, revised to include developments in school segregation-desegregation since last fall. Every item in it was rechecked for accuracy, and much data not included in previous editions was added.

This is the last edition of the Summary that will be sold on a subscription basis. In its expanded form, the Summary will be issued once a year--in the fall. The price will be $1 a copy. The current edition is being sold for $1 to all except those who, like you, had previously subscribed for two editions, issued semi-annually, at the annual rate of $1.

You will be notified when the next revision of the Summary is ready. We hope that you will agree with us that in its new format and with its expanded content, it is well worth the $1 price.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy C. Whitaker

Mrs. Hunter Whitaker
Circulation Manager

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM

1965

An Evaluation Prepared For
The Southern Regional Council

By

Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor of History
The University of Virginia

November 3, 1965

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Evaluation

The Southern Teaching Program was created early in 1964 by a group of law and graduate students at Yale University to provide instructors for summer sessions in predominantly Negro colleges, primarily in the South. In the summer of 1964, fifty-three graduate and professional students (called in this report "Student Instructors" or "SI's") taught at thirteen predominantly Negro colleges (twelve in the South and one in Ohio). The 1964 program was evaluated by the Southern Regional Council in a report dated January 29, 1965. That evaluation was prepared under the direction of Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, with the collaboration of six consultants who visited the campuses where the SI's taught.

Since the summer of 1964 the Southern Teaching Program has been incorporated and a full-time executive director, Mr. Fred Schulze, has been appointed. Foundation aid was secured for enlarged operations for the 1965 summer. Mr. Schulze broadened considerably the area of recruitment of instructors, and the requests for them from the colleges increased markedly. In the outcome, 144 SI's taught at 26 colleges (24 in the South) and in two community programs, both in the South.[1]

---

[1] In mid-August Mr. Schulze learned that two instructors, engaged at the eleventh hour, taught at Bluefield State College in West Virginia. No information has been received from either the institution or from the instructors. The statistics and generalizations in this report consequently

This evaluation of the 1965 program was requested by one of the supporting foundations, as well as by the STP. Dr. Dunbar engaged me to make the evaluation. My conclusions are based largely on four sources: (1) visits to eight of the colleges;[2] (2) interviews at a week-end conference in Atlanta attended by thirty-nine SI's from thirteen campuses; (3) questionnaires completed for me by the presidents or other administrative officers of the receiving colleges; and (4) questionnaires completed by the SI's for the STP which Mr. Schulze made available to me.[3] The special circumstances at Bishop College, discussed in Section IV, required extensive investigation through letters and telephone calls.

B. General Criteria of the Evaluation

The chief purpose of the authors of the 1964 report was to discover "how well STP is adaptable to the basic needs of the predominantly Negro colleges." They wished,

---

omit this institution. Were it included, the number of institutions receiving STP instructors would be 29, and the number of SI's, 146. A complete list of institutions and the number of instructors who taught at each is reproduced in the appendix.

[2]The eight institutions visited, with the total number of SI's at each indicated in parentheses, were: Benedict College (7); Dillard University (6); LeMoyne College (6); Miles College (10); Philander Smith College (9); Tennessee A & I State University (15); Texas Southern University (11); and Virginia Union University (3).

[3]Replies were received from 25 of the 28 institutions; one of the non-reporting institutions, Dillard University, was visited. The other two were Central State College and Friendship Junior College. Responses came from SI's who taught at all institutions except one, Wiley College. Eighty-three SI's submitted evaluations.

moreover, to evaluate the STP in the light of two contemporary concerns: (1) the need to provide direct assistance to Negro colleges; and (2) the feasibility of using graduate students to alleviate the shortage of trained college teachers.

This evaluation is written with these questions uppermost in mind. Granted the discouraging, sometimes appalling, conditions that obtain in many Negro colleges, we need to know in what ways the STP can help to generate constructive reform. We need to look carefully at ways in which the STP has affected the students who were taught; the regular faculty members who stay on after the SI's leave; the curricula, standards, and administration of the receiving colleges; and the SI's themselves. Beginning with a description of the way in which the STP functioned in 1965, this report discusses each of these questions, highlights some of the principal difficulties that were encountered, and concludes with a summary of recommendations for the future.

II. SCOPE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STP

A. Recruitment and Orientation

Recruitment of SI's was carried on, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and care, at more than twenty-five university campuses. In some cases both recruitment and interviewing were extremely casual, requiring the Executive Director of the STP to rely almost exclusively on the written applications of the candidates for placement purposes. In other cases interviewing was taken seriously and the recommendations of the local committees proved useful. There is no doubt that a serious interview, going beyond the question of academic ability, should be an integral part of the selection process, and the STP should persuade responsible administrators of the supplying universities to appoint a faculty committee for the purpose of screening applicants. The announcement of such a policy would, in addition to improving the chances of appointing qualified persons, alleviate some of the concerns of the receiving colleges over the non-academic qualifications of the SI's.

The staff of teachers recruited for 1965 was, both on paper and in practice, well qualified academically. About two-thirds had had previous teaching experience. All but three had had at least one year of graduate work. Ninety-three held master's degrees and five had earned doctorates. The table below shows the academic qualifications of the SI's, breaking them down into three groups: (1) those who came directly from graduate studies; (2) those who came from established teaching positions; and (3) a miscellaneous group

of persons who were neither in graduate school nor presently teaching (several of these were wives of men in the first two categories).

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS OF SI'S

	Total	B.A./B.S.	M.A./M.S.	Ph.D.
From Graduate Schools	118	40	77	1
From Teaching Positions	13	2	7	4
Miscellaneous	13	4	9	0
Totals	144	46	93	5

Of the 118 who came directly from graduate schools, 68 (about 58%) came from three universities: California (26), Yale (25), and Harvard (17). Known last year as the "Yale" Southern Teaching Program, this year's enterprise was frequently called the Yale-Berkeley program (Harvard does not appear to have stamped its image on the STP). Other universities supplying more than one SI were Columbia (8); Virginia (7); N.Y.U. and Wesleyan (4 each); Brandeis, M.I.T., and Michigan (3 each); and Cornell, Howard, and North Carolina (2 each). Twelve universities supplied one SI each. In all, twenty-five universities supplied SI's from their graduate schools.

The broader recruiting program which these figures reflect was a distinct improvement over the previous year, when nearly all of the SI's came from only one institution. To bring instructors from a variety of universities is to introduce more teaching ideas and practices, considerably increase the number of instructors who may be supplied, and involve more persons and institutions in the cause of the

Negro college. Despite the broader appeal, however, relatively few Negroes and white Southerners were recruited. The experience of the few who did participate, and the reactions to them of both students and administrations, suggests the need to recruit more vigorously in these two categories. Potential Negro SI's will come from the universities already in the program, plus ones similar to them. They need to be sought out. White Southerners can most easily be recruited in the southern universities, such as Duke, Emory, North Carolina, Texas, Vanderbilt, and Virginia. Only Virginia had a satisfactory recruitment program for 1965.

Once recruited the 1965 SI's faced a variety of orientation problems, few of which were satisfactorily met. Knowing little about Negro colleges in general, and even less about the specific institutions to which they would go, the SI typically arrived at his college with only the vaguest notion of what he was expected to do. The orientation programs at New Haven and Berkeley were judged by the SI's to range in value from extremely helpful to useless. One can safely say that these meetings did help to bridge the gap from innocence to involvement by acquainting the SI's with some of the general problems and conditions which they might encounter. The principal complaint -- a rather general one -- was that the meetings did not orient the SI toward his specific situation. Although general orientation meetings cannot remove this deficiency, there are some ways of improving the situation. For one thing, the STP might prepare brief sketches of the salient characteristics of each of the

receiving institutions, based largely upon reports filed by the 1965 SI's. It could also make available a list of the persons who taught in 1965 so that the 1966 SI's could contact the veteran whose experience should prove most helpful. Finally, the orientation meetings would be more helpful if they included special sessions for each discipline to be taught. Such meetings could be directed by a person who taught successfully in 1965.

A large measure of responsibility for the lack of advance knowledge rests upon the receiving institutions themselves. Most of them failed to supply their new instructors with adequate information on courses to be taught, books to be used, number of students in the classes, living accommodations, and other relevant matters. To remedy this situation the STP should urgently request each receiving institution to state as early and as explicitly as possible exactly what it expects from the SI's. Such requests were made in 1965, but they should be pressed vigorously in the future.

B. <u>The Colleges and the Programs</u>

The twenty-six colleges that employed SI's represent a cross section of the Negro college in America. They included two from the non-South, and southern institutions both large and small; state supported and church related; urban and rural; aggressive and lethargic. They had in common, whatever their relative academic positions, an awareness of acute problems which cannot easily be resolved. They looked upon the STP as an inexpensive means of bolstering

existing programs, adding new programs, infusing new ideas into the institutions, and garnering prestige for themselves.

At only eight of the colleges did the SI's function exclusively in the role of teachers of regular summer school courses. At seven places they taught both regular and pre-freshman courses, and at eleven institutions they were engaged exclusively in pre-freshman work. Almost two-thirds of the SI's taught pre-freshman courses. Typically these were in the fields of mathematics, reading, and English. Most of these programs were aimed at the sub-standard student not normally admissable without remedial work. Some were designed for the more talented, and some indiscriminately mixed their students with little reference to ability.

At most of the colleges where pre-freshman programs were offered the SI's constituted a substantial portion of the teaching staff; at some places they did virtually all of the teaching. Without the STP the receiving colleges either would not have had pre-freshman programs, or would have had ones significantly inferior to those which were offered. Every institution reported that the STP was crucial to its program. One dean, for example, reported that the "STP made it possible to fully staff a pre-college program for over 200 high school graduates who will enter college in the fall." Another declared: "We were able to offer an experimental program for high ability freshmen by having STP instructors." The evidence is overwhelming that, considered in terms of new programs offered and/or old programs strengthened, the STP made a considerable contribution.

As teachers of regular courses, the SI's came generally well prepared by their graduate studies. Those who taught elementary and remedial courses in the pre-freshman programs, however, typically had had no special training and little, if any, relevant experience. Extraordinary enthusiasm and an admirable dedication to teaching, however, generally overcame these deficiencies. Bright people with large capacities for work, the SI's taught effectively in difficult and, to them, novel situations. This is not to imply that specialized training is not to be prized. Time after time, SI's commented that they could have made more progress more rapidly if they had not had to work out techniques for themselves. Precisely how the STP may address itself directly to this problem is not clear, but one possibility would be to engage several experts in remedial instruction, particularly in reading skills, to counsel with the SI's before the summer sessions begin. It might be well, also, to engage an appropriate number of "experts" to travel from college to college, early in the summer, to work for brief periods with the SI's.

C. Two Community Programs

The STP also furnished instructors for two non-collegiate programs, the Charleston County Tutoring Center, in Charleston, South Carolina, and Wider Horizons of Orange County, Daytona Beach, Florida. Both of these community programs were created prior to the 1965 summer in response to demands for remedial and/or enrichment programs for Negroes which the total school boards were unwilling to undertake.

we need. For these reasons it is felt that an advisory committee will bring to the project the best available thinking and information resources, which will cut across boundaries of place and special interest.

The committee will be composed of persons with no direct civil rights organizational identity but who are more than conversant with the work of the organizations and have some appreciation of the problems of competition for credit in this area. The committee members will also have some direct involvement in the areas of registration, voter education and politics, either through study or personal participation. The project would like to solicit viewpoints and the committee meetings should be in the fullest sense an open forum. Provision would be made for a minimum of four meetings annually.

Advisory Committee Members

What this committee can do for the project is perhaps best illustrated by listing those persons who have, thus far, agreed to serve if such a committee is formed. They are:

Norman Hill, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
Russell Sugarman, Memphis attorney
Frank Smith, Director, Tennessee Valley Authority
C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

the SI's, to make substantial academic progress.

Both the reporting SI's and the director, however, indicated the achievement of significant academic gains, although not as striking as in the Charleston case. With the younger children, many from rural backgrounds, non-academic adjustments often seemed more important than, or at least prerequisite to, academic progress. One SI wrote that "Although the children . . . had great educational needs, their psychological needs were in some cases more basic." The same instructor felt "strongly that graduate students are badly needed to teach elementary school in the South -- even students with no experience teaching. These children need so much more than just teachers -- they need someone to emulate, someone who can increase their scope of interests, someone who cares about them." Echoing this sentiment, the director, noting that the program would have been impossible without the STP, praised the SI's as being "warm, sympathetic, creative, and responsive to the needs of the students." They were "completely absorbed by the problems of the children and devoted their time unceasingly to improving the conditions confronting them."

Both community programs appear to have been highly successful. Both improved the academic skills of the students and paved the way for an easier transition from segregated to integrated school situations. The question facing the STP must be: shall projects of this sort, which are in great need across the South, be assisted on a wider scale? Some of the dangers are obvious. If the STP is to address

itself to all educational problems facing southern Negroes, and attempt to lend a hand wherever asked, it invites the danger of dissipating its energies and lessening its effectiveness. To restrict itself to the colleges, however, is to overlook the obvious truth that many problems of the college student are created in the lower grades. A happy compromise, which would maintain the essentially experimental spirit of the STP, would be to retain primary emphasis on the college, meeting first the demands that arise there, and then accommodate other programs on the basis of individual needs and merits and the availability of suitable teachers. What is recommended, in short, is a cautious expansion in 1966 of the non-collegiate programs undertaken in 1965.

III. THE IMPACT OF THE STP

To assess authoritatively the impact of the STP at this early stage in its history is all but impossible. Much depends upon the perspective from which one views its operation. To expect it to make long-lasting and profound changes in Negro higher education in a short period of time will inevitably lead to a sense of frustration and a negative evaluation. Realism rules out viewing the STP with such anticipations. The most sensible way of evaluating it is to ask what contributions it has made and how these contributions may be continued and augmented. If the impact, however limited, is constructive, and if the cost is not out of proportion to the results, one may safely declare irrelevant to the evaluation the larger question of how Negro colleges may be brought up to desired standards.

A. On the Students

All sources of information underscore, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, the most obvious generalization about the student reaction to the program: appreciation was profound and the quality of the enlightenment was beyond expectations. One student put it this way: "Any of us would give his right arm to go to Yale. We can't go to Yale, but they sent Yale to us." Students are not adequate judges of the competence of their teachers or the success of their programs, but the insights they furnish are often unique and can be ignored only to the detriment of an effective evaluation.

While it is no doubt true that the evidence accumulated

ignores some students who were oppressed by the academic demands placed upon them and resentful of low grades, it remains clear that those who did speak out -- and they were in large numbers -- responded affirmatively to their experience. They commonly remarked on the friendliness of the SI's, their patience and dedication to teaching; and, almost without exception, they noted both surprise and pleasure at the extraordinary amount of time, outside the classroom, which the SI's were willing to devote to them. In some institutions, where little or no extracurricular activities were planned for them, the students found that the SI's -- despite their heavy teaching loads -- organized social, cultural, and athletic activities which enriched the summer.

At many institutions, the novelty of the SI -- his eagerness to raise fundamental questions in the minds of the students, and his frequently unorthodox means of jolting them -- caused the students to question for themselves the institutions in which they were enrolled and the quality of the education they were receiving. Two very different kinds of results were observed. At one institution, for example, several of the brighter and more advanced students tended to resent the implied criticism of their college which they felt in the remarks of the SI's. As one young man put it, "We know we're not Yale; we know, in fact, that we're not a very good college. But we're not worthless!" Proud of their institutions, students like this one testified to the excellence of the SI's teaching but wished for more tact

in their assault on the deficiencies which now appeared more clearly than ever before.

At the other extreme were a group of students in another college who found spiritual allies in the SI's. Resentful both of the regulations of the administration and the lack of concern of their regular faculty, this group spent many hours in exciting conversation, exploring ways of bringing about reforms. In between these two examples were the majority of the students interviewed. They questioned both themselves and their institutions without having their pride in either seriously damaged or without being moved to undertake protests and reforms.

The most common -- and in one sense the most revealing -- student observation described the quality of the education offered by the SI's. Almost everywhere one encountered the stock phrase: "They have taught us new ways of looking at our subjects; they have brought new techniques of teaching." Those who spoke in this fashion felt the excitement of intellectual achievement and reaped the rewards of hard work, intelligently directed. What they meant by "new" ways of looking at subjects and "new" techniques of teaching almost sums up the educational problem which the STP is facing. A "new" way of studying history meant asking "why" a particular event occurred; a "new" way of studying poetry meant examining "how" a poem was structured; a "new" technique of teaching physics was conducting an experiment to discover "why" one physical phenomenon occurred instead of another. The novelty with which these "techniques" appeared to the

students, and the inability of good graduate students to teach in any other way, says a great deal both about the deficiencies which are to be met and the qualifications of graduate students to meet them.

The immediate impact of the STP on the students, then, was a positive one. How lasting it will be cannot, of course, be determined. One of the chief regrets of the students, and one of the serious inadequacies of the STP, is that provision is made for summer instruction only. Returning to conventional instructors, most of whom are quite different from the SI's, the students will come better equipped for progress in the future. They may, however, develop frustrations which will sooner or later dissipate the achievements of the summer. Much depends upon the impact which the STP has on the institutions themselves.

B. On the Institutions

Discussion of the impact of the STP on the twenty-six colleges may begin with the observation that the administrations of these institutions were, on the whole, more than satisfied with the SI's and eager to continue the program. Twenty-three of the colleges completed questionnaires prepared for this evaluation. Twelve declared the teaching job done by the SI's to be excellent; eleven rated it good. None found it fair or poor. Asked to describe their general attitude toward the STP as it operated on their campuses as very favorable, favorable, satisfied, unfavorable, or very unfavorable, thirteen responded very favorable; seven, favorable; one, satisfied; and one, Bishop College, very

unfavorable; one cannot be classified.[4] All but Bishop College and Claflin College responded affirmatively to the question, "Do you expect to request STP instructors for next summer?"

Asked what they considered to be the chief contributions of the SI's, most colleges rated first their enthusiasm, willingness to work long hours, and ability to inspire the students. Typical were the following statements:

> New ideas together with zest for teaching has made a healthy impact on our regular teaching program.
>
> . . . their youthfulness, zest and desire to make a contribution in this particular kind of setting were very effective in motivating our students.
>
> . . . these instructors helped to widen the horizons for many of their students. They also demonstrated in a very practical way a number of worthwhile traits which could help to influence the students favorably.
>
> They have been able to identify with the students and express concern for the total life of the students.
>
> STP instructors brought new vigor and enthusiasm into the classrooms. They demanded and obtained relatively high academic performance from our students. They inspired students to read and study and exhibited a genuine interest in student development. They brought new ideas to the campus.

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[4] At Claflin College two SI's were originally assigned. One was dismissed by the president early in the term. The dismissal apparently stemmed from a personality conflict between the president and the SI. The dean of the college, in preparing his evaluation, stated that the college's attitude toward the SI who remained was "favorable" while it was "unfavorable" toward the dismissed SI. No reason was given for the decision not to request SI's for next summer.

Half of the institutions also indicated that they had been able to undertake new programs or significantly expand existing ones because of the STP.

An attempt was made to determine the extent to which, if any, the availability of SI's made it possible for regular faculty members to pursue further study of their own. Eleven institutions reported that the STP had made this possible. The phrasing of the question, however, probably led to misleading replies, for it is highly doubtful that the STP did more than make it possible for faculty members to be relieved of teaching duties. Unfortunately, no reliable information was obtained to indicate the way in which further study was financed. It is probable that the instructors involved had to make their own arrangements. There is no indication that their salaries were met by the colleges.

Rumors, not easy to confirm, suggested that some faculty members who desired to teach were replaced by low-cost SI's. One definite example of this was uncovered; there may have been more, for certainly the temptation was there. To some undetermined extent, this aspect of the STP has an unsettling influence, not necessarily constructive, on the colleges. It certainly does not help faculty morale. Both faculty members and administrative officers expressed the wish that the STP, in addition to supplying instructors, would also make available matching funds to underwrite the cost of summer study for some members of the regular faculty. Such a program would increase appreciably the

usefulness of the STP and significantly augment its long-range contribution to improved educational standards. Supporting foundations should consider financing a well-conceived program along these lines, perhaps one which would require some contribution from the receiving college, although not one substantial enough to discourage the addition of new programs and the expansion of existing ones.

The impact of the STP on curricula, standards, and other aspects of the institutional complex was probably very slight, for several obvious reasons. Apart from the fact that institutions do not change easily, it must be remembered that SI's were relatively few in number, seldom integrated into policy-making echelons of the colleges, and often isolated from other members of the faculty. Their brief tenure and the non-typical nature of the summer session itself are further impediments. At some of the colleges the administrations requested, and received, critical evaluations of the curriculum which may serve as stimulants and guides to constructive reform in the future. Probably the most direct, tangible benefit which can be ascribed to the STP is the upgrading of students in the pre-freshman programs. Despite the limitations of these programs, noted earlier, they will supply a better student for the regular session.

The impact on regular faculty members is difficult to assess. Two science teachers at one college described the ideal result: a happy interchange of ideas and teaching techniques conducted in an atmosphere of mutual respect. SI reports and a few interviews with regular faculty members,

however, suggested that there was little contact between the two groups at most places and some apprehension at a few.

An essential development, if the institutions are to be improved substantially and fairly rapidly, is a continuation through the regular academic year of the kind of contributions made by the SI's. This raises the question of the degree to which the STP should restrict itself to summer employment. The advantages of recruitment for summers only are obvious. Relatively few graduate students can be persuaded to sacrifice an entire year of work toward graduate degrees, while many are anxious to accept summer positions. Perhaps the most that the STP can do at the present is to apprise SI's of available opportunities and hope that a significant number will choose to become regular faculty members in one of the Negro colleges. How likely this approach is to bear fruit can better be understood by examining the reactions of the SI's themselves to their experiences.

C. <u>On the SI's</u>

The written evaluations supplied by the SI's run to almost three hundred pages and constitute a rich source of information. They make an interesting contrast to the shorter evaluations submitted by the institutions themselves. In general, the SI's were less optimistic about the future and more critical of their own achievements than were their employers. There is a two-fold explanation for this. First, the SI's were largely unacquainted with academic

backwardness when they encountered it, while the institutions were all too familiar with it. These dissimilar perspectives inevitably produced differing evaluations. Second, many of the SI's -- although certainly not all -- exhibited a common expectation of young people in believing it possible to make great changes in a short period of time. They were inevitably frustrated when the record of progress, though often remarkable, was woefully incomplete. The institutions, on the other hand, accustomed to a long history of student mediocrity, noted with sensitivity the slightest signs of breaking out of old patterns.

Most of the frustrations, criticisms, and bitternesses expressed by the SI's will be noted below, in Section IV. Numerous and varied though these disappointments were, virtually none of the SI's came away from the summer with a sense of despair. Even the most critical felt that some progress had been made; frustration arose from realizations of how little it was and how difficult it would be to achieve more. At several places -- notably Miles, LeMoyne, Lane, and Texas Southern -- the sense of achievement was especially high.

Whatever their evaluations of the programs, most of the SI's felt personally rewarded by their experience. One wrote:

> My summer . . . was very enriching for me personally and professionally. Lasting friendship grew between me and the members of the student body, the faculty, the administration (!), and the colored community . . . not immediately related to the university.

Typical of many was the reaction of another SI who wrote that the summer teaching "was one of the most fascinating experiences I have ever had." Others described their reactions with such adjectives as "unusual," "fresh," "vigorous," and "challenging." One SI, probably reached more deeply by her experiences than most, wrote:

> Teaching psychology at Miles College this summer was one of the most worthwhile, exciting, and difficult things I have ever done. I feel very lucky to have been sent to Miles . . . I am grateful for being given this first opportunity to teach, and to discover that I love it. I am very glad to have been able to be in the South, where I gained, if not a better understanding of the white point of view toward segregation or of the issues involved . . . at least a great love for my students and for the staff and administration of Miles College, a sad realization of the difficulties of educating the southern Negro, and an appreciation of the great satisfaction to to be gained from contributing something to this great need.

Another Miles SI described her work there as "one of the most rewarding experiences of my life and one of the most enjoyable, too." She has accepted a position on the regular faculty as a direct result of her experience.

An SI from Tennessee A & I, after reviewing both the disappointments and pleasures of his work, concluded:

> In sum, this has been a summer of mixed reactions. I've enjoyed teaching and found pleasure in many of my students. The people I've worked with are going to be fondly remembered. Most important of all, I'm sure that after a couple of nights' deep sleep in a less hot and humid climate, I will realize that the assumption which compelled me to seek this job, namely, that only through education will the Negro be able to maintain the equal rights he has won, has been vindicated.

No systematic attempt has been made to determine exactly how many SI's moved directly into Negro colleges, either their

own or another, as a result of the summer, or how many now feel inclined to return later to a Negro college. Several have in fact taken permanent jobs this year. Of the sixty or so who were interviewed during the summer visitations, ten indicated a rather strong desire to return later to a southern Negro college. Among these were several who appear to have bright professional careers before them.

To conclude this discussion of the impact of the STP, one may assert confidently that the graduate students recruited by the STP performed with extraordinary effectiveness as teachers and that the experience they had is likely to encourage a significant number of them to enter into full-time positions in Negro colleges.

IV. SOURCES OF CONFLICT

The generally favorable evaluation of the STP, summarized above, was reached despite evidence of a plethora of irritations and conflicts which diminished the effectiveness of the SI's in some places, caused serious crises in others, and a nationally publicized debacle in one. A brief survey of some of the principal sources of difficulty may be helpful in preparing for future summers.

A. Institutional Irritants

Anyone familiar with the *modus operandi* in most (not all) Negro colleges could have predicted a series of frustrations for the SI's and might reasonably have anticipated feuds of varying intensity. Coming from universities that are both wealthy and academically alert, the SI's were not prepared for the situations they would face. Many of the problems sprang directly from poverty. Libraries were generally poorly stocked and inadequately administered. Book stores commonly offered poor fare and their staffs, either inadequately trained or undermanned (or both), were often slow and inefficient in placing orders. Frustrations arising from these deficiencies caused bitter complaints in a few colleges. Where complaints were tactlessly aired, resentment on the part of the administrations frequently followed. Most of the SI's, however, accepted these and similar irritations with maturity and some worked intelligently and effectively to point the way toward constructive reform.

More serious were the irritations that sprang from the heritage of segregated education itself. In most Negro colleges, for example, the tradition of immense presidential authority -- autocracy, according to some critics -- resulted in what often seemed to the SI's arbitrary rulings which adversely affected the welfare of the students. Stern social regulations, rigid academic requirements, and an authoritarian faculty-student relationship -- all part of an ancient tradition of academic paternalism -- frequently seemed to the SI's to stifle self-expression and hinder intellectual development. There were conspicuous exceptions to this generalization, of course, but variations on the pattern occurred with uncommon regularity. In their zeal to break their students loose from these "oppressive" patterns, many SI's aroused suspicion and a measure of hostility from their Negro colleagues and superiors. Not unnaturally, many of the Negro faculty members felt defensive and insecure while the administrations, though maintaining a facade of confidence, reacted uneasily to the challenge to their authority. How prevalent this pattern was is not easy to determine. The safest generalization is that signs of it appeared at all but three or four institutions, but that at all but perhaps seven or eight the SI's muted their criticisms and relationships were generally constructive.

Finally, there were several miscellaneous irritants, present at enough institutions to warrant noting here.

Inadequate registration procedures and poor planning meant that some SI's were asked to teach courses other than those for which they had been hired, or that they had significantly more or fewer students than they had been told to expect, or that they had a heavier teaching load than they had agreed to. Directions from department heads or program directors were sometimes inadequate causing the SI's to prepare their courses without knowledge of what was normally expected. Salary payments caused difficulties in some places. The SI's had been led to expect $50 a week, but this did not, in fact, always result in weekly payments. Some were paid monthly, others at the end of their service. These arrangements worked a few serious hardships.

The STP is no doubt already aware of most, probably all, of the institutional irritants and, in fact, Mr. Schulze worked diligently to remedy many of them in advance. Not all of them, however, can be directly approached by the STP, and future SI's should be instructed carefully in the kinds of problems they may encounter.

B. <u>The Instructor as Agitator</u>

Given the institutional irritants, sketched above, the prospects for harmonious and constructive teaching situations depend to a very considerable extent upon the attitudes of the SI's themselves. To oversimplify complex reactions, one might delineate two polar positions which characterized SI attitudes. One position, which was occupied or approached by a significant majority of the SI's, held that the instructor's job was to

teach well and to work within existing frameworks in order most effectively to reach the students, gain the confidence of the faculty and administration and thereby make a positive contribution. Accompanying this attitude was the notion that, after all, the SI was a temporary employee with little experience in a complex institution with a long and involved history. One SI, displeased by the behavior of his colleagues, put it this way:

> Some of the teachers seemed to channel their frustrations into cutting satire about the school and trying to get students to rise in dissatisfaction.... I always thought we were there to reform students through good teaching, not to change the administration through satire and bitter, petty gripes.

The second position, cuttingly suggested by this criticism, was occupied by a minority of SI's. No less committed to "reform" than the others, they grew impatient with their superiors and became convinced that frontal assaults of one kind or another were the most likely approaches to yield dividends. Almost without exception, their first loyalty was to the student and they struck out at impediments to his progress. That so few administrations, in the questionnaires or in the interviews, expressed concern over this behavior suggests that the administrations were often more tolerant than the more militant SI's believed. It also suggests that the militants were a distinct minority and that, even when they did nettle their superiors, the desire for STP assistance in the future greatly outweighed the impact of the criticism.

In a few of the institutions which were visited, and

probably at about a third of those which were not, some SI's appeared as agitators in social as well as academic roles. Here their mode of dress and casual forms of behavior were distinctly out of keeping with the traditions of their host institutions. This pattern of behavior was evaluated in the 1964 report as follows:

> It is tempting to say that SI's should conform to local styles of dress and behavior, but we would not stress it. Repeating our earlier point that the SI's should regard themselves always as faculty, we would add here that he who isn't conforming should know that he isn't. SI's should, at least, find out what is customarily expected of faculty, and non-conformity should be deliberate.

The observations of the 1965 program lead to a slightly revised version of this recommendation. Certainly the SI should find out what is customarily expected of him so that his non-conformity is not accidental. He should also have the right of a faculty member anywhere to be a non-conformist. However, evidence collected this summer would indicate that, in many instances, non-conformity, especially in matters of dress and hygiene, has its price in undermining the confidence of the student in his instructor. The SI who dresses conventionally seldom runs the risk of creating obstacles to his teaching techniques and "new" ideas. The unconventional dresser frequently does create such obstacles.

In conclusion, one must be wary of stressing too heavily the importance of the summer's irritations and conflicts. With the primary emphasis on teaching programs and teaching obligations,

the net gains in the future -- as in 1965 -- are likely to be considerable. Only in one institution this summer did the conflicts result in a real debacle, but even there the evaluation of the academic progress was favorable.

C. The Bishop College Debacle

Two days before the pre-freshman program at Bishop College was scheduled to end, most of the program faculty, including all eleven SI's, was dismissed. "We separated the entire group," the President explained, "for rank insubordination." As the President saw them, the SI's were "rebellious, uncooperative, and set on the idea that the members had no obligations to the institution." He found their personal hygiene wanting, their dress deplorable, and their "extraordinary efforts to incite the students against the college" unpardonable. For their part, the SI's regarded the President as the "adversary," and described their battle with him and Bishop College in language quite as vigorous as his.

The bizarre events of the summer, as interpreted by several participants, make for serious strains on one's credulity. From various SI's came hair-raising tales of administration-inspired raids on faculty parties, puritanical administration suppression of normal boy-girl relationships, hoodlumism of various sorts, robberies, intimidation, interference with the mails, and an allegation of SI plotting to bring shame on the college by implicating a Negro student in a rape charge against a white teacher. These "extracurricular" activities provided the

backdrop for a series of intense academic quarrels that ultimately produced an SI-led demonstration, involving over one hundred students, and the subsequent dismissal of the SI's.

It would require a separate report, quite as long as this one, to deal adequately with the Bishop affair. The following summary merely attempts to highlight some of the principal aspects of the story which are relevant to the future of the STP.[5]

Bishop College is in a stage of transition. The appointment of a distinguished scholar, Professor C. P. Cuttino of Emory University, as Academic Consultant, led to the drafting of a long-range academic plan and the inauguration of a pre-freshman program in 1964. SI's joined Emory graduate students to launch the program that summer. The same combination, with the addition of a few Dallas school teachers, staffed the operation this year. Mr. James W. Anthony of the Denver Country Day School was engaged as Program Director.

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[5]My evaluation is based on the following sources: (1) the President's questionnaire and covering letter; (2) Mr. Schulze's statements on the nature of the negotiations and arrangements with the college; (3) a lengthy evaluation prepared by the Program Director, supplemented by a personal letter from him; (4) extensive accounts prepared by four of the SI's as well as a jointly-prepared document on the "real and alleged reasons for student discontent at Bishop College"; (5) the transcript of a round table discussion of the crisis held in mid-July; and (6) other documents and remarks furnished by Professor G. P. Cuttino, the Academic Consultant to Bishop College.

The college is extremely backward academically and is plagued by a variety of outmoded customs and regulations which any of the 1965 SI's would have found oppressive. In this atmosphere, numerous issues arose which divided the SI's from the administration; by mid-summer discontent was extreme and battle lines were drawn. Of the several divisive issues, the bookstore drama became the focal point and symbol of the contest. Hours were capricious, book orders were handled with aggravating disregard of the instructors' needs and wishes, and -- most serious of all -- students were overcharged on their purchases. Here, as in other conflicts, the SI's rallied to the side of the students. Protracted, inconclusive negotiations with the administration over the excessive charges led to the demonstration -- a dramatic challenge to the President's authority.

The SI's who led the protest movement would fall in the category of "agitator," as defined earlier in this report. One can easily imagine another group of 1965 SI's who would have labored within the existing framework, lodging their criticisms tactfully to avoid a violent confrontation. The Bishop SI's, on the other hand, apparently wanted to see reform instituted in their sight and at their insistence, as one of their sympathetic observers put it. It was this insistence which produced the "explosion."

To attribute to the SI's primary responsibility for the debacle, however, is an insufficient comment on the significance of the Bishop affair. One could argue that tactful acquiescence

would have left the institution as unreformed after the summer as before. There are those who maintain that a full exposure treatment was the only way to institute reform; that the existing structure was too inflexible to yield to normal ameliorative tactics. It may well be that the "explosion" will, in fact, lead to long-needed reforms. One will observe the future with interest in this respect.

Even should this prove to be true, however, the STP can scarcely point to the Bishop summer with pride or commend the tactics used there to future SI's. Three reasons underlie this conclusion. First, it is easy to imagine other institutions at which such tactics would have crippling effects. Second, the awesome responsibility of deciding when revolutionary tactics are necessary and pardonable is one which, one would feel, graduate students from our finer universities would need more than a short summer to ponder. Finally, the mission of the STP is to teach; and its program of reform lies in providing outstanding examples of the dedication, values, and achievements of American higher education at its best.

V. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusions of this evaluation of the Southern Teaching Program, 1965, may be stated briefly. The STP has made a positive impact on the students who were taught, all but a few of the receiving colleges, and the SI's themselves. It has proved itself to be an organization of considerable, though limited, usefulness in the cause of improving education in Negro

colleges. Likewise, it has shown that graduate students may be used with great effectiveness in alleviating the shortage of trained teachers. Their very youth, in fact, permits them to make in some respects a more substantial contribution than older scholars. Assuming that the STP will continue to be administered as effectively as it was in 1965, it is the recommendation of this report that it be both continued and expanded.

The specific recommendations presented for the consideration of the STP and supporting foundations have been discussed in the body of this report. The major ones are listed below.

1. Creation of a faculty committee at each recruiting university to interest students in the program and interview candidates for it.

2. More vigorous recruitment of Negroes and southern whites.

3. Revision of orientation meetings to (a) acquaint SI's with their specific college; and (b) provide discussion of teaching problems in specific disciplines.

4. Exhortation of receiving colleges to provide SI's, as early as possible, with detailed information concerning courses to be taught, materials to be used, and accommodations to be provided.

5. Employment of experts in remedial instruction, especially reading, to counsel at the orientation meetings and call on receiving colleges during the summer.

6. Cautious expansion into the area of community programs for pre-college students.

7. Addition of a well-structured program of grants to underwrite summer study for selected regular faculty members of the receiving colleges.

8. Addition of a more systematic program of informing SI's of the availability of full time employment opportunities in Negro colleges.

9. More specific provisions for salary payments.

10. Thorough discussion with the SI's of the issues involved in "non-conformity."

VI. APPENDIX

Receiving Institution	#SI's	Program
Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro	4	Pre-Freshman
Allen University, Columbia, S. C.	2	Both
Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.	7	Regular
Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.	2	Pre-Freshman
Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla.	6	Both
Bishop College, Dallas, Tex.	11	Pre-Freshman
Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio	4	Regular
Charleston Tutorial Center, S. C.	5	Community
Cheyney State College, Cheyney, Pa.	2	Pre-Freshman
Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C.	2	Regular
Dillard University, New Orleans, La.	6	Pre-Freshman
Friendship Junior College, Rock Hill, S. C.	3	Regular
Lane College, Jackson, Tenn.	2	Both
Langston University, Langston, Okla.	4	Regular
LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.	6	Pre-Freshman
Miles College, Birmingham, Ala.	10	Both
Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.	2	Pre-Freshman
Oakwood College, Huntsville, Ala.	4	Regular
Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.	9	Regular
Prairie View A & M College, Prairie View, Tex.	4	Pre-Freshman
Tennessee A & I State University, Nashville	14	Pre-Freshman
Texas Southern University, Houston	11	Pre-Freshman

Receiving Institutions	#SI's	Program
Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.	2	Pre-Freshman
Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.	4	Both
Virginia State College, Norfolk	4	Both
Virginia Union University, Richmond	3	Both
Wider Horizons, Orlando, Fla.	10*	Community
Wiley College, Marshall, Tex.	2*	Regular

*The two SI's at Wiley College also taught in the Wider Horizons program.

May 4, 1959

Mr. Walter Spearman
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spearman:

We are indeed happy to receive your encouraging response to John Constable's letter. I am writing to outline more fully what we have in mind.

In 1949, the Council published a pamphlet titled Race in the News, a copy of which is enclosed. Although it carries no by-line, it was the work of Calvin Kytle, then of Emory's Journalism department. It has been, undoubtedly, one of our most widely read publications, and our supply of copies is almost exhausted. From several quarters we have recently been urged to re-issue or revise the pamphlet. This urging, plus our own judgment about the importance of the subject, has led us to consider several possible actions:

1. - a reprinting of Race in the News

2. - a revision of " " " "

3. - a study of the coverage of race relations since 1954 by southern newspapers

4. - a study of southern editorial opinion since 1954 re race relations

Our decision is that No. 3 is the project of most immediate value. We are still considering a re-issue of Race in the News (perhaps as an appendix to the pamphlet which we

hope you may write for us), or the commissioning of someone to revise it. We would, in fact, be very glad to have your comments on the worth of either undertaking. The fourth project - a review of editorial policies - will probably have to wait on another day.

As we see it, the study of news coverage might take some such form as:

a. the selection of a few events of greater than local news-interest and representative of several aspects of the present critical situation, e. g.

- the Autherine Lucy case
- Little Rock, 1957
- the Dawson (Georgia) brutality case
- desegregation experience in Washington - coverage of the d. C. school board's favorable report on such matters as academic standards and delinquency
- the North Carolina "kissing" case
- the action by 5 southern states of "freeing" Presidential electors
- the end of massive resistance in Virginia

These are simply examples. We would want you to propose both the number of events which would provide an adequate survey, and the specific events.

b. the selection of a representative group of the larger newspapers; I would personally like to see at least one of the Negro papers included, both for contrast and because I think that the value of critical appraisal should not be denied the Negro press.

c. an analysis of their coverage of each event, with attention to such factors as: accuracy; comprehensiveness; use of prejudicial headlines; editorial bias in reporting; willingness to report both locally popular and unpopular news

d. your conclusions as to the performance of the southern press in this period; if you would also like to speculate on the degree to which, from any point of view, the southern press has led and formed public opinion since 1954, we would like for you to do so.

Our present, very vague image is of a pamphlet of some 10,000 words. We want it to carry our imprint, and would prefer having your name on the cover as author. We would want you to decide where you could best work, whether at Chapel Hill or here. We have the Southern

School News library on micro-film; perhaps your Library has it also, though it was not listed as an owner in the last announcement I saw. We clip regularly the Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta Journal, Atlanta Daily World, Arkansas Gazette, Chattanooga Times, Norfolk Journal & Guide, (as well as the New York Times and the Washington Post). We could, therefore pull together clippings from our own files to supplement any collection you are using. We have not, however, clipped all the papers mentioned at all times since 1954.

The arrangements which we enter into with consultants and writers are never sufficiently like each other for clear precedents to be established. Our fees do not usually run this high, but measured both by our expectations and your probable time, I would like to propose $500.00. I am quite sure we cannot mobilize more than that amount, though we can reimburse you for necessary travel expenses. We would hope that the manuscript might be finished by August, so that we could have it out before the probably excitement of the next school opening.

We do hope that you will be willing to take on this assignment. The suggestions I have made as to form and scope are not meant to be binding, but only to indicate what we have tentatively thought of as a useful approach.

Needless to say, you will be absolutely free in drawing your conclusions.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 26, 1959

Mr. Walter Spearman
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Walter:

Good to have your last letter and to hear that you are making such spectacular progress.

I shall be in Chapel Hill Wednesday and Thursday, July 1st and 2nd. I know that you are closing up shop and packing for Chautauqua, and that you probably have little time for talk. I shall give you a ring, however, and maybe in a few minutes you can bring me up to date on the study.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 6, 1959

Mr. Walter Spearman
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Walter:

It was good to see you and to have a chance to look at some of your work. It is encouraging to see such vigorous progress being made and we all are eager to read your draft when it comes in.

The Asheville Citizens Times clip, which I told you about, is enclosed. This was back page, first section of the Sunday paper.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: newsclip

Journalism Quarterly

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATIONS

Published by the Association for Education in Journalism

RAYMOND B. NIXON, *Editor;* HAROLD W. WILSON, *Business Manager*

Offices: School of Journalism, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14

August 13, 1959

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright, Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

During the absence of Dr. Raymond B. Nixon I am serving as associate editor of Journalism Quarterly. I am enclosing two copies of the reprint you requested. It was pleasant to discover you wanted my own article! I am also enclosing a more recent paper.

Sincerely yours,

Roy E. Carter, Jr.

Roy E. Carter, Jr.
Associate Editor

REC:vw

SEGREGATION AND THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

Roy E. Carter, Jr.

University of Minnesota

A paper prepared for a round table on segregation research at the May, 1959, meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research.

This paper deals with one major phase of an inter-university study of U.S. newspaper treatment of civil liberties issues.[1] The content analysis portion of the parent project included a study of all civil liberties-relevant content appearing in a probability sample of 90 U.S. daily newspapers[2] during the first three weeks of September, 1956. We analyzed 10,812 newspaper items in terms of 33 principal variables or category sets, and most of the content dealing with segregation or racial discrimination was subjected to further analysis on 23 additional variables. In short, we recorded on IBM cards more detailed information about newspaper treatment of a major national issue than has ever before been assembled in any study of the American press.

Auxiliary projects included a magazine content study, a survey of relationships between the press and civil liberties news sources in selected Western communities,[3] an analysis of newspaper reviews of books in the field of civil liberties,[4] a study of foreign press treatment of civil liberties issues,[5] considerable methodological research and experimentation in content analysis,[6] and a study of press handling of several specific events in 1956 and 1957.

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[1]The project was financed by the Fund for the Republic through a grant to the Association for Education in Journalism. Cooperating supervisors of the scanning, clipping, coding, and tabulation work included Robert L. Jones, James S. Barden, and Verling C. Troldahl, University of Minnesota; Charles E. Higbie, University of Wisconsin; George Simmons, Tulane University; and Walter Gieber, University of California. The present author served as director of the inter-university project, first at the University of North Carolina and later at the University of Minnesota.

[2]The sample was drawn from a card file stratified by place of publication, time of publication (morning or evening paper), and type of ownership (multiple or single). Selection was with probability proportionate to weekly impressions. Our purpose was to give all U.S. newspaper readers approximately equal chances of having their papers chosen for study.

[3]Gieber

[4]Higbie

[5]Douglas Waples, University of Chicago

[6]Jones, Carter, Higbie

* * *

Since we wished to work with a probability sample of U.S. newspapers, it was not feasible for us to use library holdings. Moreover, we wanted to preserve the relevant content by setting up a data file[1] which could be exploited in further methodological work. Consequently, we subscribed to our sample of daily newspapers and then attempted to predict periods which would yield content of the type in which we were interested.

The opening weeks of September, 1956, promised--in advance--to produce a fairly wide range of material relating to at least one major civil liberties area--the desegregation question. As it turned out, the period furnished more content than we expected.

You may remember those weeks in terms of the violence which developed in Clinton, Sturgis, and Mansfield--little-known communities which suddenly became centers for international publicity with the opening of the public schools that year. It was in this same time period, too, that peaceful integration began in Louisville and other scattered cities and towns in the South. In Washington, a congressional committee began investigation of the effects of school integration in the nation's capital. Segregationists and integrationists found their way into the public print through speeches, news releases, and statements to the press. A man named Kasper was in the news, and a civil servant in Florida faced the loss of her job because she had lunch with a Negro nurse in a public place.

The period may not have represented adequately the <u>relative</u> frequency of different events, conditions, or problems in the desegregation area, but it at least seemed to tap the <u>range</u> of such material--sufficiently so to enable us to

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[1] The items were clipped and filed on keysort cards.

test a number of hypotheses. These were drawn from the literature on intergroup relations and the mass media, previous studies of press treatment of the desegregation issue, and a considerable body of criticism from within the press itself.

* * *

The material on which I am reporting today includes segregation-related items and some content dealing with racial discrimination apart from the segregation issue. Items in these two content areas constituted more than two-thirds of the civil liberties-related material in the papers we studied. These same items accounted for 2.2% of the non-advertising space in our entire sample of 90 papers. By region, the percentages ranged from 1.8% in the Northern states to 3.4% in the Border-state papers and 3.6% in the Resistant-state papers.

Our definitions of the Border and Resistant-state areas came principally from current data reported in Southern School News. Resistant states were those which had not yet taken any affirmative steps to implement the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision. The papers in our sample and the area groupings are shown at the end of this paper. Our detailed analysis of segregation and racial discrimination content was restricted to the 30 Southern papers in our sample, plus a subsample of 29 Northern (non-Southern) papers. In these papers, we found more than 5,600 relevant items.

Before I attempt to summarize a few of our major findings concerning press treatment of the desegregation issue and racial discrimination, I would like to point out some limitations inherent in content analysis.

Many factors influence what a newspaper prints and how the material is treated, and some of these factors--for example, the pattern of events which provides the context of the segregation news on a given day--are beyond the

control of the editor. Consequently any inferences we may draw from a newspaper's content are rather hazardous and sometimes even unfair if they deal with the intent of the newsman or the publisher. When we examine a large volume of content covering different days and a variety of events, we can be a little more comfortable about such generalizations.

What we can do more safely is to report what we find in terms of the reading diet made available to the reader. But even there, we must concede that we are on shaky ground when it comes to predicting effects.

So, although the press undoubtedly has an obligation to provide full and thoughtful coverage of the segregation issue, we could be accused of over-optimism if we predicted major changes in beliefs, attitudes, or action as a result of what newspapers print. But a description of press treatment of segregation and racial discrimination should be of interest to students of the press and of intergroup relations and to journalistic practitioners.

Much of our analysis was centered upon who got a hearing in the press, and what arguments and proposals they advanced. In this paper, however, I have emphasized our study of the use of stereotypes and race labels in press content, of the editorial attention given the segregation issue, and of the differences in newspage treatment in North and South. (In the sections which follow, Resistant-state and Border-state data are reported separately when they differ substantially. Hence some comparisons are on a North-South basis, whereas others are reported for a North-Border-Resistant trichotomy. Variations in the N's which are reported are due to minor differences in coding procedure. That is, some category sets did not apply to certain types of item.)

* * *

Editorials and Desegregation

Any study of press treatment of controversy almost inevitably leads to the question, what relationship is there between balance on the editorial page and balance in the news columns? Our analyses of newspage coverage of the segregation issue included detailed coding of sources, position, arguments offered, and action proposed. Consequently we appeared to be in a good position to compare news and editorial treatment in the Southern press. So it seemed, at least, until we began to look for clearly partisan editorials--that is, editorials offering arguments for or against integration or suggesting lines of action designed to bring about integration or to maintain segregation.

One of our principal findings was that editorials on the segregation issue tended to be infrequent and non-directional. Of the 244 editorials we found in our 28-newspaper sample of the Southern press in the months of September and October, 1956,[1] only a third included any clear-cut statement of editorial position. The actual distribution is shown in Table I. The number of editorials per Southern newspaper for the two-month period ranged from 0 to 30, with the median at 7.

Three of the 28 papers did not carry any editorials referring to the desegregation question during the hectic three weeks at the beginning of September, and two of these ignored the desegregation issue editorially throughout the two-month period which was studied. And, as Table I shows, quite frequently those Southern editors who did write about desegregation were able to do so without offering any partisan comments concerning the rightness or wrongness of integration and without suggesting any ways whereby integration might be achieved or

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[1]The editorials analysis was extended through October in order to increase the reliability with which newspapers were classified. Two papers covered in the news study (Kansas City Star and St. Louis Post-Dispatch) were not available for coding over this period.

warded off. Moreover, many of them did so without even citing any partisan arguments or lines of action suggested by persons, groups, or agencies outside the newspaper.

TABLE I

EDITORIALS IN 28 SOUTHERN PAPERS,
BY POSITION TAKEN

Editorial Position	Percentage	
No partisan assertions	53.7	
Partisan sources quoted, but editor's position not clear	12.7	
Clearly pro-integration	8.6	33.6%
Pro-gradualism in integration	11.1	
Pro-delaying action against integration	4.9	
Clearly pro-segregation	9.0	
Total	100.0 (N = 244)	

With what topics did the "no-partisan-assertions" editorials deal? Preliminary thematic analysis shows that they consisted largely of (1) expressions of dismay over the violence which erupted in Clinton, Mansfield, and Sturgis; (2) oblique criticism of the civil-rights positions taken by Eisenhower and Stevenson in their presidential election campaigns; (3) mere expressions of hope that the desegregation problem would be "solved," and (4) non-committal references to segregation in the context of other issues.

We formulated several crude indices of editorial treatment for use in classifying individual newspapers. Two of these were indices of attention, one based upon the number of segregation-related editorials published and the other upon the number of partisan editorials. Eight of the 28 papers published no

partisan editorials at all, and the median number was 2. All but one of the eight "fence-sitting" papers were metropolitan dailies, one of them a property which had been acquired recently by a Northern newspaper group.

A scatter plot showed that in our sample there was virtually zero correlation between the number of partisan and non-partisan editorials published. In other words, the presentation of "background," non-partisan editorials were not related to the frequency with which the paper took a stand on the segregation issue. There was, however, evidence of a relationship between position taken and the frequency with which it was stated. For example, seven of the 10 papers which were above the median in the degree to which they took a segregationist position published four or more partisan editorials during the two-month period, whereas this was true of only three of the 10 relatively anti-segregation papers. In other words, those Southern papers which were friendly to integration did not say so very often in their editorials.

It is my own impression, incidentally, that the typical Southern editor is far "ahead" of his community in his willingness to accept social change and social reform in the field of race relations. But such willingness, if made too articulate, can threaten the editor's ability to carry on his work in the community. I would suspect, in fact, that many of the head-in-the-sand, no-comment editors whose papers we studied were keeping their heads low merely because they felt they could not say, in print, what they themselves believed--that integration was inevitable. But this, of course, is largely conjecture.

So far, the discussion has been in terms of the detailed study we made of editorials published in Southern papers over a two-month period. Our editorial data for Northern papers is limited to the first three weeks of September, 1956, and that is the period for which we can made regional comparisons. During this time there was more editorial attention to the segregation issue in the South

than in the North, with the balance, of course, pro-segregation in the South and pro-integration in the North. Data for this period also underscores an earlier finding--that our strongest support for integration, in the Southern sample, was in the Border states.[1] This seemed to suggest a kind of face validation of our editorial coding procedures.

What was the relationship between editorial position and newspage treatment? We came at this problem from two different directions. First, we cross-tabulated the papers by editorial position[2] and by newspage balance in terms of a principal-direction measure for news items. This relationship did not depart significantly from zero. Then we moved to an analysis made possible by the fact that our coding included a detailed recording of <u>every partisan expression</u> from a primary or secondary source in each news item.

The rank-difference correlation between partisan-assertion balance[3] and the index of editorial position was .42 for the 20 Southern papers which took any stand on the segregation issue during the time period studied.[4] A similar result was obtained when we restricted our analysis to those Southern papers which we were able to classify on the basis of <u>more than one editorial</u>. Seven of the 10 relatively pro-segregation papers were above the median on the proportion of partisan assertions which were pro-segregation, as compared with one of the seven relatively pro-integration papers. This pattern also meets the .05 significance

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[1]Mean editorial position indices: Border papers 2.1, Resistant-state papers, 3.2; $t = 2.84$, $df = 18$, $p < .01$ by one-tailed test. See footnote below.

[2]The index of editorial position for a given newspaper was simply the mean value of the partisan editorials in the paper, when the four "partisan" categories were assigned arbitrary weights of 1 (pro-integration) to 4 (pro-segregation).

[3]Ratio of number of pro-segregation partisan assertions to total number of partisan assertions in a given newspaper.

[4]Significant at .05 level by one-tailed test, $t = 1.97$, $df = 18$.

level,[1] but the actual magnitude of the differences is not impressive:

> In the relatively pro-segregation papers, 60% of the partisan assertions were pro-segregation.
>
> In the relatively pro-integration papers, 50% of the partisan assertions were pro-segregation.

In short, we found suggestive evidence of a modest relationship between editorial position and newspage treatment of the segregation issue. Later on I shall point out that although the news content in our Southern papers included relatively more pro-segregation material than appeared in the Northern press, in absolute terms the Southern reader had far more integrationist content available than his Northern counterpart.

We did not find any relationship between editorial position and percentage of Negroes in the population in the county of publication,[2] nor was there any correlation between editorial attention to the issue and Negro-white ratios. In an earlier study, Lorentzen[3] had found a positive relationship between a pro-integration editorial stand and circulation size of newspaper. This comparison yielded a rank correlation of .57 for the 20 Southern papers for which we had a measure of editorial position, but the relationship virtually disappeared when it was examined separately for Border and Resistant states. It was apparently a spurious result of regional differences. We attempted to test for relationships between editorial position and two demographic correlates--segregation in housing, change in housing segregation, but the fragmentary nature of our data made meaningful comparisons impossible.

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[1] By Fisher's exact test; one-tailed probability.

[2] See M. Blalock, Jr., "Per Cent Non-White and Discrimination in the South," American Sociological Review, 22 (December, 1957), pp. 677-82.

[3] Sue Lorentzen, Segregation and the Southern Press. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1956.

Stereotypes of the Negro

Another aspect of press treatment of the segregation issue to which we gave our attention was the use of race labels and the affirmation or denial of stereotypes of the American Negro.

Our stereotype codes were drawn from socio-psychological studies of racial prejudice.[1] In the segregation and racial discrimination content we studied, we had few opportunities to apply them, inasmuch as the occurrence rate was low. It ranged from about four references per 100 items in the Northern press to around five references per 100 items in our Resistant-state papers. This regional difference is clarified by an examination of the degree to which the occurrences consisted of affirmations rather than denials. The figures:

(Stereotype affirmations, as percentage of total occurrences)	Northern states	55%	(N = 128)
	Border states	67%	(N = 67)
	Resistant states	76%	(N = 187)

Thus, in all three regions, stereotypes were advanced more often than they were attacked. But as we move from North to Border states to Resistant states the scales tip farther and farther.

Another way of looking at the same data is in terms of the average (mean) number of times per week the reader of a paper in each region could have been confronted with an affirmation of some stereotyped quality ascribed to colored people. The figures for the segregation and race relations content in our study were as follows:

Northern states	0.8	occurrences per week, per paper
Border states	1.7	occurrences per week, per paper
Resistant states	2.2	occurrences per week, per paper

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[1]See, for example, B. Bettelheim and M. Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice (New York: Harper 1950), p. 45; Kimball Young, An Introductory Sociology (New York: American Book Co., 1934), pp. 158-68, 424ff.; and D. Katz and K. W. Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of 100 College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 28: 280-90 (1933). Under a grant from the Human Genetics Fund, the present author has carried out a study of the effects of racial identification of Negroes upon the interpretation of news stories. This project has included work on a scale for the measurement of acceptance of stereotypes of the American Negro.

Although there was no clear-cut relationship between editorial position on the segregation issue and affirmation of stereotypes in news stories, it may be noteworthy that the St. Louis Post Dispatch, one of the most liberal papers in our sample, managed to get through the whole three-week period without any stereotype references, whereas the paper which used the largest number (all of them affirmations, not denials) was one of the more clearly segregationist papers in the sample. The allegations in the items in this South Atlantic paper ran the gamut from criticism of the Negro's morality to claims that the Negro is dirty, oversexed, ignorant, unintelligent, easily angered, and disloyal to America.[1]

I should add, perhaps, that in our entire sample of Southern papers, the most frequently affirmed stereotypes had to do with alleged laziness and lack of intelligence of the Negro. The "unintelligent" stereotype constituted about one-third of the affirmations in Southern papers and about one-third of the denials. (Remember that the over-all sterotype balance was on the side of affirmation. Here the affirmation-denial ratio was approximately 3:1.) The "laziness" stereotype accounted for a fifth of the affirmations and for two-sevenths of the denials in the Southern papers. Thus the "laziness" issue was among the more frequently attacked stereotypes. But in absolute terms, the material available to the reader included twice as many affirmations as denials.

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[1]The categories: (1) Physical attributes and activities--(a) Negroes are sloppy, dirty, filthy, carry disease; (b) smell bad, have a body odor; (c) are physically strong; (d) are prodigious sexually, sexually overdeveloped, sex fiends, nymphomaniacs, "wolves." (2) Intellectual attributes--(a) Negroes are ignorant, uninformed; (b) are unintelligent, dull, stupid; (c) have musical talent, musical interests; (d) are superstitious. (3) Personality attributes--(a) Negroes are lazy; (b) are of low character: immoral, dishonest, not trustworthy; (c) are happy-go-lucky, joyful; (d) are "pushy," over-assertive, trying to "take over" from whites; (e) are emotional, volatile, easily aroused to anger. (4) Religiousity--(a) Negroes are faithful, good Christians; (b) are religious fanatics. (5) Loyalty--Negroes (or Negro groups) are disloyal to U.S., pro-Communist. The fifth code is hardly a stereotype, but it was recorded because of the frequency with which the charge has been made by segregationists.

The most "popular" stereotypes in the Northern papers were those having to do with laziness and sexual threat. The former was affirmed 14 times, denied 13, whereas the "score" for the sex stereotype was 14 affirmations, one denial. And in the Northern press, the "ignorance" stereotype was advanced more frequently than the outright charge that the Negro lacks native intelligence. (In the South, the "unintelligent" stereotype was advanced five times as often as the claim that Negroes are ignorant and uninformed.)

In the Southern press, stereotype references were more frequent in letters to the editor than in news items, and more frequent in news items than in locally written editorials. (See Table II.) This supported a prediction based on an earlier pilot study[1] and on a belief that the "success" with which such content found its way into the press would be a function of the degree of editorial control exercised over different types of items. Letters usually are subjected to relatively little editing, and in the news story much of the content must necessarily be in the language of the news source. In the editorial, the editor has maximum control over what is said.

But, as Table II shows, the most striking finding was the paucity of stereotype mentions, regardless of item type..

TABLE II

MENTION OF STEREOTYPES OF NEGRO IN SOUTHERN NEWSPAPERS, BY TYPE OF ITEM

Stereotype occurrence in segregation and race relations content	Type of Item		
	Local Editorials	News	Letters to Editor
One or more stereotype references	2.9%	5.1%	7.4%
No stereotype references	97.1%	94.9%	92.6%
Totals	100% (N=240)	100% (N=2,986)	100% (N=324)

[1]Roy E. Carter, Jr., "Segregation and the News: A Regional Content Study," Journalism Quarterly, 34 (Winter, 1957), 3-18.

"Race Labeling"

Failure of Southern newspapers to print many affirmations of stereotyped beliefs concerning the Negro does not mean, of course, that the mass media do not help build and reinforce such beliefs. It may well be that this takes place primarily through association rather than direct affirmation--the Negro is linked with crime through crime stories in the press, with ignorance or superstiticus through content in which Negro figures are made to say or do ignorant or superstitious things, and so on.[1] But it is also clear that stereotyped claims about the traits of the Negro did not figure at all prominently in our Southern papers' coverage of segregation and racial discrimination. Other themes, as will be shown later in this paper, were dominant.

In my earlier study of a restricted sample of Southern newspapers, I found evidence which suggested that the segregationist news source made relatively frequent use of direct race labels--the noun "Negro," for example--whereas the integrationist was more inclined to employ adjective designators, as in the phrase "Negro students." Margaret Mead has called the first type of racial identification a "label of primary potency."[2] The second form, in contrast, calls attention to the fact that people may be classified on some other characteristic than race. It seems reasonable to suspect that the word "Negro" calls up for the reader whatever stereotypes he has of the Negro, whereas an "attenuated" or softened term like "Negro minister" is indeed likely to cause some mixture of the reader's images of Negroes and ministers. Indeed, some experimental work I have done with Osgood's "semantic differential" procedure[3] indicates that this may be

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[1]See Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954, p. 200.

[2]Op. cit., pp. 170-81. In the present study, "primary" labels were defined as those which either consisted of a single word ("Negro") or merely identified Negroes as people or by sex ("colored person," "colored woman").

[3]Charles E. Osgood, et al., The Measurement of Meaning (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957)

exactly what happens, at least under certain conditions.

My earlier findings concerning label usages by segregationist and integrationist news sources involved some confounding of what the source did and what the editor did, so I tried for more rigor in the present study by confining the analysis to quoted matter from the two major groups. Nearly 800 direct quotations turned up in the non-editorial content which was examined, and the pattern was as before. The ratio of direct labels to total labels was as follows for the two groups:

Segregationist	78%	(N = 426)
Integrationist	59%	(N = 362)

* * *

When Northern editors in our sample wrote editorials about segregation and racial discrimination, they made less use of racial identification than their Southern counterparts did. The average (mean) was just over two labels per Southern editorial, and just under one label per Northern editorial. There was also a modest difference in the predicted direction in the type of label used. Forty-six percent of the Northern-editorial race labels were of the "primary potency" type, whereas these constituted 57 percent of the labels in the Southern editorials.

If all types of content are taken into account, the picture changes materially. Table III shows the percentage of items and headlines containing any racial identification, by region of publication. Race labeling was more frequent

in Border-state papers than in the Resistant states, and the Northern papers used labels more generously--in headlines and text--than either group of Southern papers. This was an unexpected finding--but there appear to be two contributing factors which are unrelated, really, to press performance. One is the fact that in a newspaper item published in a Southern community, a Negro may be identified by race through institutional connections or other contextual factors. (A Durham, N.C., reader knows that a teacher at North Carolina College is Negro because it's a Negro institution. In another community, "everyone knows" that the Third Baptist Church is a colored church.) And second, Negroes constituted a somewhat larger proportion of the news sources in the North than they did in the South.

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE OF ITEMS AND HEADLINES
CONTAINING RACE LABELS, BY REGION

	Item Text		Headlines	
	Percentage	No. of Items	Percentage	No. of Headlines
Resistant-state papers	57.8	2,734	12.7	2,629
Border-state papers	61.9	1,155	16.8	1,093
Northern papers	68.4	1,724	18.4	1,548

Incidentally, content findings of the kind reported above pose an interesting methodological problem when we try to test differences for statistical significance. We cannot in full comfort test the percentages in Table III by critical ratio or chi-square test--the conventional procedures--inasmuch as the units which make up the cell entries may be correlated in a lattice-like way across newspapers and through time. This is because the same news item may appear in many newspapers (correlation across papers) and because a newspaper which publishes one item about an event is somewhat more likely than other papers to use a "follow-up" story later on (correlation through time).

What we can do, however, is reduce the analysis to a by-newspaper basis--that is, make each of the newspapers in the sample a unit of analysis. When this procedure is applied to the Table III data, the result is as follows: More than two-thirds of the Northern papers were above the over-all median (65%) in percentage of items including race labels, whereas only a third of the Southern papers were equally "heavy" in label usage. This difference is significant at the .01 level,[1] but the corresponding difference for headlines does not meet the .05 level.

What is most noteworthy about the foregoing table, perhaps, is the small proportion of segregation and race relations headlines which included racial tags, regardless of region of publication. Table IV shows the result of an analysis of the kinds of racial identification words and phrases used in the headlines of papers in the Northern, Border, and Resistant states. The Northern papers made relatively greater use of the "attenuated" label form, with the percentage decreasing as we move first to the Border and then the Resistant states.

TABLE IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF HEADLINES
INCLUDING RACE LABELS, BY REGION OF PUBLICATION

Headline Characteristic	Region			Total
	Resistant States	Border States	Northern States	
"Straight" labels only	74.0%	69.6%	63.5%	69.2%
Both types of label	0.0	1.6	1.4	0.9
Attenuated/modified labels only	26.0	28.8	35.1	29.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Number of Items	334	184	285	803

[1] Chi-square = 7.49, df = 1, $p < .01$.

Some Regional Comparisons

We expected to find that the percentage of segregation-related items containing partisan assertions would increase slightly from North to South. That is, as we move into those areas of the country where segregation is an issue, we should expect the volume of incidental, "neutral" news to increase. This is what we found. The percentage of segregation-related items which contained partisan assertions was as follows, by region:

Resistant-state papers	53%	(N = 2,497)
Border-state papers	57%	(N = 945)
Northern papers	59%	(N = 1,526)

In analyzing the segregation items, we carried out a detailed coding procedure which required us to record the one or two principal sources of each item and the arguments and lines of action which were proposed. We also arrived at a summary classification of each item, based on the "side" of the issue which received the fullest hearing. This measure we called the item's "principal direction." It was arrived at <u>after</u> the coder had recorded all or most of the partisan content in the item.

As Table V shows, there was a tendency for the Resistant-state papers to make relatively more use of pro-segregation items, and for the Northern papers to be "longer" on the integrationist content. The differences are modest, however, and it is noteworthy that the distribution in the Border papers is more like that of the North than of the Deep South. When these figures are converted to a by-newspaper basis to permit a test of significance, the results are striking. About three-fourths of the Northern and Border papers were above the over-all median in the relative frequency of pro-integration items, whereas in the

Resistant states, only one-seventh of the papers were in this category.[1]

TABLE V

PRINCIPAL DIRECTION OF ITEMS CONTAINING PARTISAN CONTENT (SEGREGATION), BY REGION

Direction	Region		
	Resistant-State Papers	Border-State Papers	Northern State Papers
Pro-integration	30.5%	41.6%	42.5%
Pro-gradualism in integration	10.8	9.4	8.2
Pro-delaying action	6.3	2.4	4.8
Pro-segregation*	52.4	46.6	44.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(N = 2,497)	(N = 945)	(N = 1,526)

*The over-all magnitude of this category, across regions, may be attributed to the descriptions brought about by segregationist groups during the period studied.

A breakdown by individual papers shows that there was wide variation in content balance from paper to paper. And, incidentally, the variance of the northern percentages is much greater than that for the Southern papers. A few of the papers providing the smallest relative amounts of pro-integration content were small dailies in northern areas remote from the origin of most of the integration news of the period. These papers published the more sensational news about riots and violence, ignoring the reports of peaceful integration.

Another way of summarizing the regional differences in newspage content is simply to report the partisan-assertion balance for each region. That is,

[1]Chi-square = 17.73, df = 2, $p < .001$

what proportion of the partisan statements appearing in the press of each area was pro-segregation? The percentages for the regional totals are as follows:[1]

Resistant-state papers	59.2%
Border-state papers	48.0%
Northern-state papers	45.4%

Again, the Border papers resemble the Northern sample more than they do the Resistant papers. When this difference pattern is tested on a by-newspaper basis, it is significant at the .01 level.

The newspaper desk man ordinarily bases his headline upon the first two or three paragraphs of copy. The Southern press has been accused, however, of "lifting" violence and disturbance into headlines on segregation stories even when the items themselves do not emphasize such content. The incidence of this sort of thing, by region, follows:

Northern papers	0.8%	(N = 1,557 items)
Border-state papers	0.2%	(N = 1,059 items)
Resistant state papers	0.4%	(N = 2432 items)

The difference was in a direction opposite from what would be predicted from Northern criticism of the Southern press, but the frequencies were trivial and the differences are, of course, non-significant. What is consequential is that the behavior of which deskmen in the South were suspected was not a problem anywhere. And by sampling a large number of items we convinced ourselves that the editor did not achieve a comparable result simply by reorganizing the story. A corollary study of items which dealt primarily with peaceful integration showed that not a single story was given a headline suggesting discord or difficulty. Within the craft, this is small comfort, but to non-journalists it might be surprising.

---

[1] Chi-square = 9.61, df = 2, $p < .01$.

A more general analysis of the relative attention to violent and peaceful integration in the press of the three regions failed to disclose any consistent regional differences in news items, pictures, or headlines. There was, however, a substantially greater proportion of content in the South which dealt with the segregation issue but made no mention of accomplished, ongoing, or projected integration. This was true of text, headlines, and pictures.

It was hypothesized that there would be few items, regardless of region of publication or origin, which would even mention accomplished or proposed inter-group action or discussion having to do with segregation and race relations, and this was the case. Only in Northern-origin content published in Northern papers was there any appreciable number of such items, and these constituted only 9% of the total in that area.

In the case of racial discrimination items apart from the segregation issue, it has been said Northern and Southern papers publish disproportionate amounts of "violent" content from the "opposite" areas. When we examined the racial discrimination items available to the Northern reader during our study period, we found approximately equal numbers of "violent" items from North and South. The "trouble spots," to the Northern reader who read all, would have seemed equally numerous in both regions. Yet the Resistant-state reader had before him three and one-half times as much content of this type from the South as from the North. The data, in short, do not support the charge.

AEJ CIVIL LIBERTIES NEWSPAPER SAMPLE

(Segregation Study)

Northern Newspapers

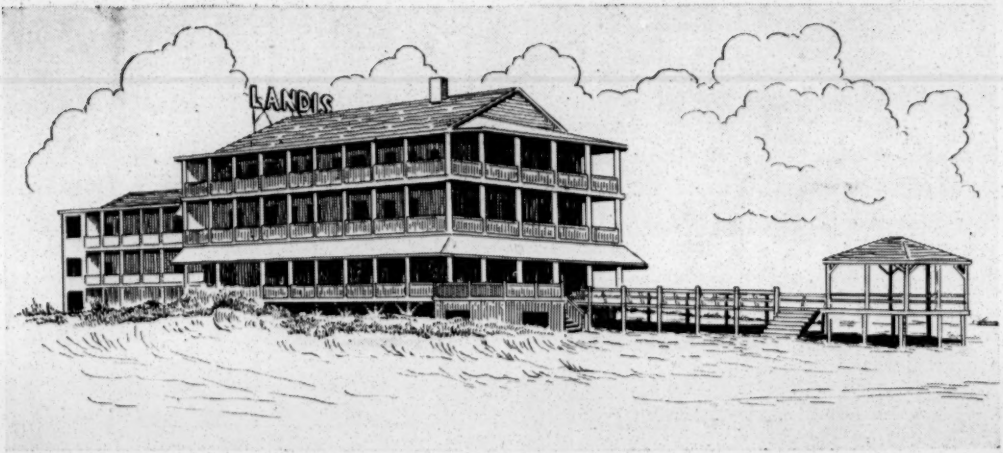
Dubuque Telegraph-Herald
Minneapolis Tribune
Sioux Falls Argus Leader
Chicago American
Chicago Sun-Times
Cleveland Press
Columbus Ohio State Journal
Detroit Free Press
Harrisburg (Ill.) Register
Indianapolis News
Sault Ste. Marie News
Boston Record
Lynn (Mass.) Telegram-News
New Haven Register
Binghamton (N.Y.) Press
Buffalo Courier Express
Lancaster (Pa.) Intelligencer-Journal
Long Island Press
New York Daily News
New York Times
Philadelphia Inquirer
Wellsville (N.Y.) Reporter
Los Angeles Mirror-News
Modesto (Calif.) Bee
Palo Alto Times
Sacramento Union
Seattle Post-Intelligencer
Clovis (N. Mex.) News-Journal
Salt Lake City Deseret News

Resistant Newspapers

Charlotte (N.C.) Observer
Greenville (S.C.) News
Kannapolis (N.C.) Independent
Miami Herald
Newport News (Va.) Press
Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel
Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer
St. Petersburg (Fla.) Independent
Winchester (Va.) Star
Birmingham (Ala.) News
Hattiesburg (Miss.) American
Knoxville Journal
Memphis Press-Scimitar
New Orleans Item
Alice (Tex.) Echo
Dallas News
Lake Charles (La.) American Press
Little Rock Arkansas Democrat
San Angelo (Tex.) Standard Times
San Antonio News
Atlanta Constitution

Border Newspapers

Kansas City Star
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Baltimore Sun
Charleston (W. Va.) Mail
Washington (D.C.) News
Wilmington (Del.) Journal
Louisville Courier-Journal
Oklahoma City Oklahoman
Washington (D.C.) Star



The Landis . . . ON THE OCEAN FRONT

FAMED FOR FINE FOOD . . . CONGENIAL CLIENTELE . . . PRIVATE PORCHES AND BEACH
AIR CONDITIONED ROOMS IN ANNEX . . . AMPLE PARKING SPACE . . . PRIVATE BATHS

WRIGHTSVILLE BEACH . . . . . NORTH CAROLINA

August 28, 1959

The Landis . . . .

WRIGHTSVILLE BEACH, N. C.

Located at Station One, THE LANDIS offers everything for a perfect vacation.

On family vacation at Wrightsville Beach I am completing all the body of the newspaper report. Return to Chapel Hill on Sept. 1 and will complete the introduction - or findings - and send on to you for your approval and suggestions as soon as possible. Sorry I did not get to finish it at Chautauqua, as I had hoped, but job there kept me busy all the time.

Regards,

Walter Spearman

On the Ocean NO ROADS TO CROSS

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,

Southern Regional Council,

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,

Atlanta 3, Ga.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

AF ✓
JC ✓

you might like to scan this (Attach pages 192 and will especially interest you)

MA - file with Spearman stuff

August 20, 1959

Professor Roy E. Carter, Jr.
Associate Editor
Journalism Quarterly
School of Journalism
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

Dear Professor Carter:

Thank you for the reprint and for the copy of your paper "Segregation and the Daily Newspaper." I have read the latter with great interest, if not critical competence. But if I can judge, it is an excellent analysis.

We have engaged Walter Spearman to do a pamphlet for us on this subject; although I have not heard from him lately, he ought to be close to completion. With Walter (whom I believe you know), we selected a small but hopefully representative group of southern papers, plus the New York Times; and a group of seven or eight stories. He is analyzing the coverage by each paper of each story. The study will not include editorial treatment.

If he has not received your paper, I am sure Walter would like a copy. He ought to be back at Chapel Hill in a few days, and perhaps you would be good enough to mail him a copy, unless you know that he has been sent one.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD/blc
cc: Professor Walter Spearman

October 27, 1959

Mr. Walter Spearman
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Walter:

We have studied over your report, and I want to send you our (Harold's and my) compliments. It is a scholarly analysis, interestingly and concisely written. Your conclusions on page 10 follow your findings closely (though we may want to consider relating them, for the hasty reader, more immediately to the findings). We may have some editorial suggestions later, but will hold them until we get publication plans in focus.

We have decided that we need to review and re-think those plans. This is because we have reluctantly concluded that the method we suggested, that of examining selected stories, does not produce results which are beyond dispute, particularly when the coverage is limited to the initial breaking of the story. This is in no sense a criticism of your work, or a disagreement with your conclusions. We are perfectly willing to give good marks to the Southern press. But we want to feel secure in doing so. At this point, we doubt that the method which we set up for you will be widely convincing, and that the report will have the impact you and we both wanted.

We are not yet decided as to what is to be done; in fact, we haven't given it many hard thought as yet. In some way, however, the over-all performance of the paper ought to be brought into this: e.g., its coverage of local events, its selection and writing of features, the tone conveyed by its front-page headlining, etc. One thought we have, with Race in the News as an example, is a wide reading and impressionistic evaluation (as contrasted with your close and analytical work), leading to a report of about the same length as yours. This poses many questions, financial and otherwise, not the least of which is that of who could qualifiedly do it. We would, of course, want to consult you regarding the final presentation of the booklet. Also, we want to move quickly so that your analysis remains fresh.

You will recognize this for some most tentative thoughts from a couple of harried people with too much, at the moment, to think about and do. We'll be in touch again when we can be more concrete. In the meantime, many thanks for a job of professional quality.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. One possibility is that a second consideration could be devoted to the question you raise in your 10th conclusion

November 25, 1959

Professor Walter Spearman
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Walter:

I am at last able to write to you with definite word about our publication planning; I am sorry that it has not proved possible to do this before.

We have got Sylvan Meyer's agreement to write an essay of 5,000 to 6,000 words, keyed to your 10th conclusion, and offering a general evaluation of the responsibility and leadership of the Southern press on the racial question since 1954. As you undoubtedly know, Mr. Meyer is editor of the Gainesville Daily Times; he is also chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights, and, as I learned but you will know, a former student of yours. He will not in his essay, in any sense, engage in a dialogue with you. He will take off from your statement that the press may have done a better job in reporting than in interpreting, and then say whatever he has in mind to say - which, we are confident, will be well worth reading.

The plan of the pamphlet will then be as follows:

1) A foreword by Harold Fleming explaining the purposes and limitations of the study.

2) Your piece

3) Sylvan Meyer's piece, perhaps separated by an editorial interpolation along the lines of "Professor Spearman's final conclusion seems to invite comment. We have accordingly asked a practicing Southern journalist, etc."

4) Reprints of several good examples of self-scrutiny by the Southern press.

I searched our clipping files and was both surprised and pleased to find that there has been, especially in the last year or so, a number of editorials, columns, and features in which editors or columnists have given the Southern press some self-evaluation. Some of these are very good, and they represent diverse viewpoints. We think, therefore, that the pamphlet can be filled out and concluded by reprinting a selection of the best.

There is one other possible ingredient, though I am not sanguine about its likelihood. We are discussing with Harry Ashmore his interest in writing a piece similar to that which Mr. Meyer is doing. We are decided, however, that what I have outlined above will make a very respectable contribution and are prepared to go ahead on that basis with or without Ashmore. In short, publication date, according to present plans, will be determined by when Mr. Meyer completes his manuscript.

Walter, I hope you will find this plan satisfactory and even attractive. Assuming that you will, we need to settle on our next steps. There are just a few suggestions that we will want to make in your manuscript. Suppose I therefore send the manuscript to you next week with our suggestions? Could you then review it and get it back to us as soon as your busy schedule permits.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:Sylvan Meyer (Blind)

December 14, 1960

Mr. Walter Spearman
Department of Journalism
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Spearman:

In order to complete the Nomination Form for submitting Racial Crisis and the Press for the 1961 Signa Delta Chi Awards, we need a small photograph of each author. May we have yours? And is there anything you would like added to the biographical sketch you gave us in the Spring--anything you have done since that should be included?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
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INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

May 2, 1960

Mr. Walter Spearman
Department of Journalism
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

IN YOUR TROOPS TO LITTLE ROCK ACCOUNT YOU QUOTE AP STORY OF MORIN AND FULLER IN LOUISVILLE PAPER. COULD YOU GET YOUR NOTES ON THIS ITEM AND TELEPHONE ME COLLECT TUESDAY BETWEEN TWELVE-THIRTY and ONE-THIRTY OR AFTER FOUR.

Leslie W. Dunbar
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

CHARGE: Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

April 7, 1960

Dear Mr. Spearman,

We want to use four or five lines of biographical material about you on the back of the title page of your section, "Racial Stories in the News". At your earliest convenience, will you send this with your title at the University, including Ph.D.?

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

April 5, 1960

Professor Walter Spearman
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Walter:

At last! The thing goes off to the printers this week!

It is awfully long, what with both you and Sylvan settling matters for the ages, and so we are going to put our printer in the proper cost-cutting frame of mind by asking for bids -- which we should do anyway. But somebody will have it to do before the week is over.

Many thanks for your clippings of the Jim Dunn series. I agree with you that this was awfully good, and I would like to see you carry out your threat and do a magazine article. As a matter of fact, for months now I have been working on a piece for which I am committed to one of the learned journals, in which I am trying to say something about this same subject of Negro ideology.

Best wishes, and I will keep you posted on the progress of the printing.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

File

Feb. 22, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

I am happy that Sylvan Meyer has brought in his companion essay and that our efforts will now see the light of print. It has been a pleasure to work through this with you, and I certainly look forward to seeing the result.

Thanks for your comments on "style." All is well. Never let a comma come between friends!

I am enclosing three articles that appeared recently in the Chapel Hill Weekly, which I think will be of interest to you. White people talk so much about what the Negro thinks or what the Negro wants that it is refreshing to see one local reporter go out and actually report what the Negro is thinking. This seems to be very done very seldom. If I ever get time to touch it, I'd like to try an article for some magazine based on Jim xx Dunn's findings. The contrast between the older Negroes and the younger Negroes, while not unexpected, is very illuminating, I think.

Best regards.

Walter

February 12, 1960

Mr. Walter Spearman
Department of Journalism
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Walter:

Sylvan Meyer brought in his essay on Wednesday, and so we ought, shortly and at last, to be arriving in print.

I am sorry about the commas. We do prefer to use commas after all terms in a series except the last. On the other hand, you certainly are right about the placing of commas before a quotation introduced by "that". What may have confused us is that a couple of these quotations were begun with a capital letter, which, according to the University of Chicago Manual of Style, 1949 edition, (sections 31 and 139) is as superfluous as the comma. All is taken care of, however, and I am grateful that you caught our heavy-handedness.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

Jan. 13, 1960

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Director of Research,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

Under separate cover I am today mailing you the manuscript, with the suggested changes.

I thought they were nearly all excellent suggestions, and I have tried to incorporate them into the body of the manuscript.

Your suggestion about inserting the "case studies" between the Introduction and the Conclusions seems especially pertinent; and I agree that the whole manuscript makes much better sense that way. I have taken care of the necessary "transitions."

As for each of your other points, I have either made the suggested changes -- or made pertinent comments on your letter, which I herewith enclose.

Of course it is perfectly satisfactory with me to change from "integration" to "desegregation" anywhere you like in the manuscript. Other word changes suggested are minor and are o.k. with me.

I do, however, rather violently disagree with somebody's use of commas in various place (not you, I hope!). There has always been disagreement between newspapers and English teachers on whether a comma is used before the connecting "and" in a series. On a newspaper, we do not use this; but if it is to be your "book style" I have no desire to quibble. But I do not see where somebody gets the idea of putting a comma before a partial quotation which is introduced by the word "that." For instance, on page 7 of the introduction, I cannot imagine placing a comma between "that" and "Two....." If you omit the "that," of course you use a comma. If you use "that," there is no need for a comma. (This is in line 4)

This comma usage struck me particularly in the penciled changes on what was page 9 of the Introduction and is now page 2 of the Conclusion. For instance, the quote from Pete McKnight "that desegregation 'is a bigger news story'..etc. looks utterly ridiculous with a comma stuck between the subject "desegregation" and the verb "is." Please take a look at this!

Les, I am very sorry not to have got this back to you sooner, but Christmas holidays turned out to be a pure delusion. I was busier then than during the regular semester! I find also that it is hard to get back into the spirit of writing this survey now that the material and my thinking about it are so far in the past. However, I believe it will still make interesting reading for someone who has not seen it all before.

Do let me know when Sylvan gets his article in; and I look forward to reading it sometime in the future. I am proud to share the space with him.

All best regards,

Walter

Walter Spearman

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

file

Jan. 7, 1960

Dear Les:

When I said I would get the material back to you immediately, I exaggerated.

Christmas hit me - andwith a sick wife and two children to mount Christmas for, have Christmas with and recover from Christmas afterwards, I simply did not get a chance to finish it. Now I am back on the manuscript, working on it along the lines you suggested, and expect to complete the necessary work this weekend and get if off to you.

Regards.

Walter

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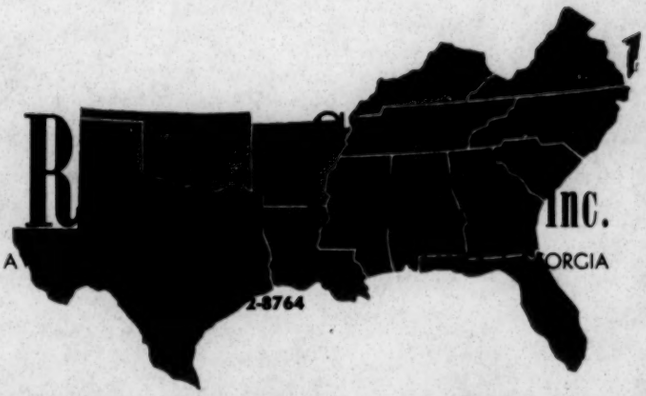

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible] GEORGIA
[illegible]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 3, 1959

Mr. Walter Spearman
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Walter:

I was glad to get your letter this morning. It happens that just yesterday evening I finished going over your manuscript, and though I can't guarantee that some other small changes will not occur to us later, what will be said in this letter and the one or two notes on the manuscript itself, which is enclosed, are all that we have at the moment.

I have only two important suggestions. The first is a question of form. I don't think the present structure gets the best effect out of your survey, nor does it permit the reader intelligently to agree or disagree with your conclusions, which precede the evidence. My suggestion would be that the Introduction be split, and the case studies put between the two parts. Specifically, it seems to me that the Introduction might end with the third paragraph on page 8; the accounts of the particular stories run next, probably single spaced; then a final section headed "Conclusions" containing the material beginning with the fourth paragraph on page 8 to the end. You might, of course, want to add a paragraph to smooth off the ending of the Introduction, and a transition paragraph at the beginning of the Conclusions.

The second point raises a question with you: in the second paragraph of your Davis and Hansen account, and in the first paragraph of the Poplarville story, you imply, it seems to me, a promise which does not get carried out--not, at any rate, explicitly. I wonder if, instead of leaving to the reader the job of drawing the contrasts and comparisons, you should not do it. I think the survey

good point — I have added a page 7 in the report for a summary.

Have also added a page on Tallahassee.

would be tighter and given more spark if, at the end of the Davis-Hansen and at the end of the Poplarville-Tallahassee stories, you were to write a paragraph summarising the comparative performances. of the press.

Now for some matters of detail.

Introduction

Page 1, paragraph 4 - we don't ordinarily regard Tennessee as a border state.

Page 2, paragraph 2 - I honestly have never been able myself to get quite clear the Alabama library set-up. But I think the situation is this: Alabama has a state public library service which supplies books to other libraries as well as to readers directly. The ruckus arose with this state library service. Without getting into the technicalities, you might guard your language here and in the rabbit story so that it is both sufficiently precise and vague not to be caught up.

Page 3, first paragraph - where are the end quotes after "slanting etc.?

Page 5 - I think a reader would expect you to come down on one side or the other of this difference in reporting--that is, which was the accurate report? As a matter of fact, and this gives added irony, neither is. The charge was that the boys forced the girl to kiss them. You might have a footnote at this point. If so, perhaps you would want to quote, as a reliable source, the language of Southern School News, "the two young Negro boys---allegedly forced a smaller white girl to kiss one of them." March 1959. There is a fuller account in SSN, February 1959.

Page 8, paragraph 1 - we subscribe to the Houston Post. This paper so often uses Negro pictures without racial labeling, and pictures of Negro and whites together, that I have concluded this must be an editoral policy of what is generally a most wishy-washy paper. Would you like for me to work a sentence on this into your paragraph?

Yes, please do! W.S.

Page 10 - I would like to reverse the order of the 8th and 9th conclusions. It seems to me that this would give better flow to the thought.

Davis and Hansen Reports

Page 1, next to last line - can we substitute "comma therefore comma" for "fairly" ?

Davis and Hansen, Civil Rights Act, and Little Rock

Does the News and Courier deserve some word of explicit criticism for (a) misleading its readers by magnifying the importance of the Davis report?; (b) misleading its readers by not reporting the reaction of other Southern senators to Thurmond's filabuster?; (c) for its headlining on the Civil Rights Act?

a. I have added a paragraph on page 4 that seems well deserved.
b. This could not be checked without returning to the Library of Congress.
c. I added a sentence at bottom of pg. 2

Also, the New York Times has been so widely criticised and so widely defended for its reporting of the Little Rock rioting, especially the work of Benjamin Fine, that I think it would be proper of you to take note of the criticism and express some judgment of your own. Since this is primarily a study of the Southern papers, I do not consider such a judgment appropriate.

Norfolk Schools

I don't think it is clear whether the Courier-Journal and News and Observer used the AP story. Apparently the Constitution did, but cut out the emotional words. Did the Courier-Journal and the News and Observer do the same? If I am correct in my inference about the Constitution (and possibly the other two as well) this seems to me such an interesting action that I believe it could well be emphasized a bit.

they all used the same story. The difference was only in the headlines.

Poplarville

Would you feel like giving the Journal and Guide a specific commendation for its quickness in providing background interpretation; that is, the relationship between the lynching and Mississippi's jury difficulties? (Subsequently, this relationship has been widely pointed out and the Journal and Guide is maybe entitled to some points for reporting it immediately.)

Since the Norfolk paper is a weekly, the report here came almost a week later - and there was time for more background.

Finally, at only one point in the manuscript did I change the word "integration" to "desegregation." It is a kind of organazational line here to use the latter word, unless integration is clearly the only word that will do. If you have no objections, before this goes to press we shall change the word in a few more places.

make any such changes you wish.
W.S.

I am glad you like the idea of Sylvan Meyer's participation. I haven't heard anything from him lately, so I assume he is busy creating. Best regards, and we shall look forward to hearing from you as soon as possible. The manuscript, of course, does not need to be re-typed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: manuscript

November 13, 1959
(dictated November 12)

Professor Frank Stallings
Department of Education
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Professor Stallings:

I enjoyed talking with you today and want to thank you again for your willingness to help our program. As I said to you on the phone, the article as we see it should accomplish two things:

1) A concise, objective summary of the findings of the Atlanta study done by the Educational Testing Service. The purpose of this would be to spread a better understanding of the nature of the academic problems involved in desegregation.

2) An interpretation of the academic experience in Washington during and after five years of integration. The purpose of this would be to spread a more accurate understanding of what can happen in a desegregated situation. Implicitly, doing this would also help to counteract the present distorted picture of Washington schools prevalent in the South.

3) One other thing which would be extremely pertinent in such a report, if the data were available, would be the interpretation of the desegregation experience in non-metropolitan districts. I do not know of the availability of such data, but if you have it, its inclusion would be much desired.

The article will be issued as one of our series of L Reports, though perhaps in a somewhat different form; for instance I am sure we will do something better than a mimeographed job. We visualize a piece of about 2,000 words. Our honorarium is $150.00 and we shall pay your clerical expenses. If possible, we should like the article completed during the next two months.

If you find that you do not have the two-volume Atlanta survey, we can ship ours to you. We have in our files also two papers of Mr. Hansen's which, if you do not have, I think you would want to consult. We can send them along. One is titled, "Summary of the Desegregation Experience in the Public Schools of the District of Columbia, for Notre Dame Conference, May 8, 1959." The other is titled "Report on Desegregation in Washington, D. C. for the Commission on Civil Rights, Nashville, Tennessee, March 5-6, 1959."

I am mailing under separate cover a few other things on Washington which may be of interest to you, as well as a couple of our publications.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
thermofax news clips
Hansen leaflet
Erwin Knoll's "The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools"
Carl F. Hansen's The Miracle of Social Adjustment
Green and Gauerke, If the Schools Are Closed
Leadership Reports, 6, 8, 9

Blind CC: Benjamin Muse

December 7, 1959

Professor Frank H. Stallings
Department of Education
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Professor Stallings:

It was good to hear from you and especially pleasing to receive your outline. It seems to me exactly what we had in mind and want.

A copy of Dr. Hansen's report for the Notre Dame Conference is enclosed. We have recently learned that the papers from this conference will be published and I shall see that when they are you get a copy. Dr. Hansen's statement at the Nashville hearings of the Commission on Civil Rights is also enclosed. Our mimeographed copy of this is blurred, and I hope you will be able to read the reproduction of it. I have, however, written to the Commission on Civil Rights requesting that a copy of the transcript of the hearings be sent to you. (Although, as a matter of fact, you may have it in your library.)

sent 1-8-60 mgr

I think you are right that it would be impractical in this report to include findings about the teachers in Atlanta, and about non-metropolitan districts. In this latter connection, I take note with pleasure of your indication of a future interest in digging into these subjects.

I had already read your article in the Journal of Negro Education, and I am hoping to get hold of a few reprints. It probably is not suitable for general distribution, but we would like to have a few on hand. It seemed to me an awfully good job.

Your outline, as I said above, is everything that we could want. In the manner of editors, here are a few probably superfluous comments:

Section I and Section II, A and B - these introductory passages will undoubtedly be needed. I think they should be kept brief, stated simply and factually.

Section II, C - if you were writing a professional paper, you would describe methods sufficiently for other scholars to appraise their adequacy; for our purposes, the methods and terms need be described only sufficiently to make them clear. In connection with C4, would you think it worthwhile to make the point which the survey does in minimizing the significance of "averages" (Part I, page 8) ?

Section II, D - this is, of course, the meat of the Atlanta part of the paper, and I would suggest it get most of the space. In connection with D3, two things occur to me, although I am fairly sure they are implied in your heading. One is the overlap of schools as well as individuals. The other is the omnipresence of a few Negroes in the top grades. In connection with D4, whatever meaning you think this has or ought to have for desegregation plans can appropriately be stated.

Section II, E - "typical situation in a segregated metropolitan system"? or is the qualifier not needed? In fact, I think it would be helpful if you raised this question of the pertinecy of the findings to non-metropolitan situations; even if you haven't the answer, asking the question may help to emphasize for some of the readers that the problem is not confined to the cities.

Section III - I can't seem to think of any comment to offer; it looks excellent. I am particularly happy to see you taking note of A2. Sections II and III seem to me of equal importance, though whether they will have to have equal space I can't visualize clearly.

Section IV - suggest this be done in numbered paragraphs, as you did in stating the conslusions of your Louisville article.

Best wishes; we look forward to receiving the report at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures:
Hansen's Report, Notre Dame
" " Nashville

December 14, 1959

Professor Frank H. Stallings
Department of Education
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Professor Stallings:

I sent your Louisville article to Benjamin Muse, one of the Council's very able field representatives and formerly the Washington Post columnist on Virginia affairs. I think you will be interested in a comment of his which came in response. This is, of course, no criticism of your paper but simply a correction of a point which you, in common with many others, are victimized by. Mr. Muse send a clipping which I am enclosing, and his remarks were as follows:

> "Stallings' brochure is particularly interesting to me as an illustration of how often the correction fails to overtake the error and a possible opportunity to strike a blow in our unending pursuit of truth.
>
> "The last sentence on Page 1 contains an error and a libel which was corrected in the Virginia press, but never in the Supreme Court record. NAACP attorneys let it pass, because they didn't think the court was impressed with this argument anyway.
>
> "I have only one clipping on the subject, but it will show what I mean. In my Post column of May 1, 1955, I quoted the Department of Education statement as follows:

"'Assuming that a class is typical of the results obtained through state-wide testing, and assuming further that there are equal numbers of whitesand Negroes in that class, then the lower half of the class would contain three-quarters of the Negroes and one-quarter of the whites, while the upper half of the class would contain three-fourths of the whites and one-fourth of the Negroes.'"

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: thermafax,
Richmond Times Dispatch, April 21, 1955

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

file

January 10, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I thought I should let you know about how I am progressing. The manuscript is finished and is being typed. I am asking Dr. Parrish to read it. You should have it by the end of the week unless he finds something that requires considerable alteration.

It is a little longer than you had suggested, by a few hundred words but I trust not enough to inconvenience you.

Sincerely and cordially,

Frank H. Stallings

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

January 15, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn St. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

$150

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am submitting the article on the Atlanta Survey and the Washington, D.C. schools. I trust it will prove satisfactory and helpful.

If you wish any of the material you sent me returned, please let me know.

The secretarial expense was $180. That check can be made out to me separately from the honorarium or to my secretary, Helen Hodges.

This article is a little longer than you indicated but there were so many important things to tell!

Sincerely and Cordially,
Frank W. Stallings
Associate Prof. in Education

January 18, 1960

Mr. Anthony Lewis
New York Times Bureau
1701 "K" Street N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

I have received today the manuscript which I mentioned to you on your visit last week. It is a short analysis done by Professor Frank Stallings (Education, University of Louisville) that covers two related subjects: the Atlanta study of Negro-white differentials in 1956; and the academic results of four years of integration in Washington. The theme is obvious: the scholastic problems facing the city about to desegregate and the results which are, with serious effort, possible.

I wanted to let you know of this because of your plans for your own article. We undoubtedly will not get this back from the printers before the 1st of the month, but I would have no objection to sending you a copy of the manuscript if you think it might be of any value at all to you. So far as the Atlanta study is concerned, it reports nothing, I expect, which you will not discover. The Washington section might give you a convenient summary.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 18, 1960

Professor Frank H. Stallings
Department of Education
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Professor Stallings:

The manuscript arrived today and I have already had a chance to read it through once and to commence my second reading. It seems to me to be all that we have anticipated--which is to say that it is a fine job. I shall write you again within a couple of days with a few editorial suggestions, but I know from my initial reading that they will not be very important.

We want to thank you again for undertaking this assignment for the Council. Checks are enclosed for your honorarium and for typing expenses.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: check for $150.
" " 18.

January 22, 1960

Professor Frank H. Stallings
Department of Education
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Professor Stallings:

We have had a chance to work through your manuscript and, as far as we are concerned, it is ready for printing. As I said to you before, we are most pleased with it and I hope that the changes we have proposed will meet with your approval, for they have been made in an effort to give greater strength and clarity to your discussion. As to length, I believe you will find that our changes add to the size.

I think the only important change is that we proposed a general revision of pages three and four. I am enclosing a copy of the manuscript and you will find our revision on pages three, four and four-a. The purpose of the revision was two-fold: first, to give a rather difficult passage a little more readability by some reorganization; second, to offer readers some more interpretive comment of the data. I did this latter thing most humbly and submit it for your scrutiny. The revision still leaves one question that is bothering us, and that is on page four-a where you remark that academic achievement is related to socio-economic background. My difficulty is that I do not quite see how you make this relevant to the progressively widening differences up the education ladder. My inference is that you mean the socio-economic factors become more pronounced as the children grow older. I would, however, appreciate your suggesting some rewording that would make your point more explicitly related to its context. Also on page four, in the paragraph on over-lapping, I used the figures 40%

35-67.6

to 60% instead of your 35% to 50%. In my layman's perusal there seems to be some conflict between pages 23 to 24 of the Atlanta Survey and page 1. Both organizational interest and my examination of tables 2.91 and 2.92 influence me to prefer the 40 to 60 figure. But I now pass it back to you for decision. The problem occurs also on page 11 of your manuscript.

For clarity's sake, I substituted on page seven "Negro and white" for "two"; and on page nine inserted the word "language". Are my changes accurate?

On page 10, second complete paragraph, I added a thought. Is is acceptable?

After you have had a chance to review this, I would be grateful if you would call, collect, to give me your opinions on the above and any other proposed changes.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. Although I cut the title and struck out your descriptive headnote, the words "Atlanta" and "Washington" will appear on the outside of the publication.

February 12, 1960

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please print 2,500 copies of "Racial Differences in Academic Achievement," galleys for which were returned to you yesterday. Publication is to be in the form we have discussed, and the completed bulletins are to have marginal holes punched according to the enclosed pattern and are to be folded for number ten envelope.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure:
1 sheet L-report paper, punched

March 15, 1960

Professor Frank H. Stallings
Department of Education
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Stallings:

We held up release on the chance that another decision would be coming from district court here in Atlanta on the Atlanta school case. When it was announced last week that there would be no further order until May, we released the report on March 14, together with the other enclosed report, both covered by a press release. It seemed to me that the Commission on Civil Rights quotations naturally supplemented your analysis and I hope you agree.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures:
L-16, L-17, press release

April 14, 1960

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please give us 1,000 reprints of Stallings' "Racial Differences in Academic Achievement". I understand that the price will not exceed $190.00.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

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April 5, 1960

Professor Robert J. Steamer
Department of Government
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of February 4. I am glad that The Journal of Politics will be printing your paper, though I think the Journal has made a mistake in not scheduling it sooner. I am writing to the Journal, asking them to reserve a few reprints for us.

These must be pretty interesting and exciting days for you in Baton Rouge. We have been trying to keep up with what the students are doing around the South; you may be interested in our Special Report, a copy of which I am sending to you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960, third revision

May 3, 1960

Professor Robert J. Steamer
Department of Government
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Bob:

I would like to get your reaction to undertaking an assignment for us. It is one which I think you could do better than anyone and which I believe would consume little of your time--perhaps not more than a weekend.

We have been circulating from time to time what we call L-Reports; these are sent chiefly to public school administrators, business men, and newspapers in the South. We have been pleased and some of us (including me) astonished at the interest in these. This is expressed in several ways--not the least of which is the quiet, unacknowledged appearance of material from these reports in newspaper articles and speeches. I am enclosing samples of our L-Reports to show you the form in which they go out.

Now we think there is something very useful to be done by bringing together the points of law established in the spate of cases on school desegregation in district and circuit courts since 1955. It is because you have worked through this subject so thoroughly that I am hopeful you might be able to do it for us. What I have in mind is simply the briefest possible statement of the rule of law in each of the most important cases. I believe this is information that would be valuable and widely consulted.

A few months ago I attempted to do something on this order for Supreme Court decisions in various fields of segregation; enclosed is a copy of New South in which what I did appeared.

This may just be evidence to you that I have low standards; to me it indicates that it is possible to state the ruling of the case briefly and somewhat clearly. Because the sort of cases which we would like you to deal with are more technical, they may require somewhat lengthier synopses, but I think they can still be put in manageable statements. On the other hand, noteworthy dicta might occasionally be quoted or noted. I have an open mind as to the form of presentation: perhaps by subject, or by circuit, or by date. A chart, such as I used, would not seem appropriate.

I hope you can do this. I believe you can do most of it out of notes from your earlier research. We would issue the report either in mimeographed or printed form; whether your name were publicly associated with it would be entirely at your discretion. Would $75.00 and expenses be about right for compensation? let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: L-16
L-17
New South, Oct. '59

May 18, 1960

Professor Robert J. Steamer
Department of Government
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for your letter of May 9 and I am extremely pleased that you will undertake to digest the school desegregation decisions for us. I understand full well the problems of time. Finish it as soon as you can; I shall only say that we would like to have it out some time in the Summer, and I would like for you to tell me, when you can, the approximate date that you expect to be through.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 5, 1960

Professor Robert J. Steamer
Department of Government
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Bob:

I think I have never treated an author as shamefully as I have you. Ever since July it seems that I have been embroiled in one thing after the other which wore the guise of immediate action. The result has been that I have not been able to work through your piece. I have read it a couple of times and I have made a start on it. What you have done I like very much. All I can tell you now is that I am still hopeful that we can get it out before the first of the year. I shall want to tack on to it summaries of cases decided recently, and will send to you for your review and approval.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT
BATON ROUGE

October 10, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your letter of October 5. I appreciate your letting me know that you are going to use the material that I worked on. I was beginning to wonder if perhaps I had made a mistake in judgment as to what you had expected. I do understand, of course, that you are busy with many things. I have enjoyed the recent literature that the Council has been sending.

As you undoubtedly know things are getting awfully hot here as the November 15 deadline approaches. It is awfully difficult to predict what will happen at this point. There is a good deal of organization to keep the schools open, but our governor is a real non-entity--a pleasant fool--and that's not putting it very strongly.

This summer I renewed acquaintance with an old friend who is now a retired professor from the University of Rochester, and he is very interested in the racial problem. He was not familiar with your organization so I promised him that I would ask you to put his name on your mailing list. His name is Dr. Kenneth E. Gell, R. D. 3, Naples, New York. If this can be done, I would appreciate it.

I expect that you will be at the meeting in Gatlinburg and look forward to having a drink together.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert J. Steamer
Associate Professor of Government

RJS/js

March 15, 1961

Professor Robert J. Steamer
Department of Government
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Bob:

Thank you for sending me a reprint of The Supreme Court and Constitutional Liberty at Mid-Century: The 1958-59 Term as a Key. I have now read it with great interest. It is a fine job. In a few paragraphs toward the end, you have done the best and most incisive critique I have seen of the Frankfurter position. It seems to me you reached the nub when you, on page 122, say "the masses did not create due process of law nor freedom of dissent nor freedom of religious conscience. Is it not too much to ask that the masses see to their preservation?"

On this matter of "balancing of interest" I once tried my hand with a piece in the Virginia Law Review. So far as I know, no one ever paid any attention to it and it undoubtedly left behind a lot of free-wheeling gnats and undigested camels. One or two things in it seemed, and seem, to be valid. In the old game of tit for tat I am enclosing a copy.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT
BATON ROUGE

April 6, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I enjoyed the copy of your commencement speech very much. I particularly was pleased at the way you reconciled the dilemma facing the Negro communities today--as well as the rest of us of course. It was certainly a first rate piece of work and deserves a wide circulation.

At the moment everything is quiet in Louisiana, but when the Legislature meets in May I fully expect a new eruption.

Incidentally, I am supposed to give a paper at the Southern meeting in November on the impact of the Kennedy administration on desegregation. I am collecting stuff now as it happens, and I mention this to you in the event that you might run across some material that would be useful. If so, please keep me in mind. I suggested to Wallace Mendelson that you be put on the panel, but I don't know how many requests he has for this sort of thing.

Thanks again for the copy of your splendid talk.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert J. Steamer
Associate Professor of Government

RJS/js

send EBR & SCHL CWCent appointments

April 10, 1961

Professor Robert J. Steamer
Department of Government
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of April 6. I am very glad to hear that the Southern Political Science Association will have a panel on the new administration and desegregation, and that you will be reading the paper. I am flattered that you suggested me as a panelist, but for several reasons I would just as soon not. If mendelson turns to you for other names, you might consider mentioning Dan Pollitt; Bob Harris, who helped us with The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, and Donald Strong, who has been associated with us more recently, might be other possibilities.

You did, I assume, get a copy of our report, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights?

I'll keep your needs in mind. To the present, I think the most important development has been of course the new employment order (which so gratifyingly followed along the line we have proposed). In the long run, however, perhaps the most important thing to have happened is the action of the Department of Justice in intervening early in the East Baton Rouge, St. Helena, and trade school cases in Louisiana; this could well be the most important development out of Washington since the 1955 decision. The appointments of a number of Negroes, especially Robert Weaver and Ambassador Wharton, and the aggressiveness of the President regarding the Civil War Centennial Commission and of Secretary Udall re the Washington

Redskins are other especially noteworthy happenings. We are hoping that Robert Kennedy will use his Law Day address at the University of Georgia to say some good things.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

DIME STORE DEMONSTRATIONS:

EVENTS AND LEGAL PROBLEMS OF FIRST 60 DAYS

Edward P. Morgan. "I wonder if you consider the current Ghandi-like passive resistance demonstrations of Negroes in the South as worthy of identification as manifestions of moral courage, or whether you disapprove of them?"

President Eisenhower. "Now, let me make one thing clear. I am deeply sympathetic with the efforts of any group to enjoy the rights, the rights of equality that they are guaranteed by the Constitution... If a person is expressing such an aspiration as this in a perfectly legal way, then I don't see any reason why he should not do it."[1]

In 1865 the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified, ending the institution of slavery. In 1866, to eliminate the burdens, disabilities and incidents of slavery, Congress passed a Civil Rights Bill securing to the Negro "those fundamental rights which are the essence of civil freedom."[2] Among these fundamental rights guaranteed the Negro is "the same right, in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property."[3] In 1866 Congress proposed the Fourteenth Amendment so as to incorporate this fundamental right of civil freedom "in the organic law of the land" and to eliminate doubt as to its constitutional validity.[4] In 1868 the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified, guaranteeing to all persons "the equal protection of the laws" and "the privileges or immunities of citizens." Among the "privileges and immunities" guaranteed the citizen is "protection by the government, with the right to acquire and possess property of every kind."[5]

The Constitutional promise of equality in opportunity has been broken to the hope. The Congressional efforts in 1866 to guarantee the freed Negro equality with other in the purchase of real and personal property has been thwarted. As long ago as 1872, Booker T. Washington, born a slave, experienced racial discrimination when attempting to purchase the necessities of life. Setting off by stage from his home in West Virginia to study at the Hampton Institute on the Atlantic shore of Virginia, he was denied shelter and food when the coach stopped for the night at a remote hotel in the mountains. He was forced to walk the hills all night long to keep warm. On the second night of the trip the coach stopped in the capital city of Richmond. Again rebuffed in his efforts to obtain a night's lodging, the young boy found shelter under the elevated wood planks then forming the cities' sidewalks.[6] Were Booker T. Washington to make the same trip today, he would find the situation but little improved.

Throughout the South, the hotels, motels, restaurants and lunch counters discriminate on the basis of color.[7] In some few instances this discrimination is required by statute or city ordinance.[8] In most instances, it is a matter of custom and tradition, and fear of loosing white business if Negroes are served.[9] The degree of discrimination varies from area to area and from store to store. In some instances, no service is given Negroes. In other instances Negroes may be permitted to purchase food to take out and eat off the premises. In still other instances, the Negro customer may eat while standing, but not while sitting; or he may be permitted to sit at the counter but not in a booth.

On February 1, 1960, four Negro students at North Carolina A. & T. College in Greensboro, decided to do something about the unequal treatment. It all began in September of 1959 when freshmen Ezell Blair and Joseph McNeill, both 17, were assigned as roommates. They, and two other freshmen in their dormitory, spent a lot of time discussing some of the segregated situations they were exposed to. On Sunday evening of January 31, one of the boys said

"We've talked about it long enough, let's do something." The something was a walk to the dime store and an attempt to get coffee. The manager said he could not serve them because of local custom, so they just sat and waited. The only trouble that first day came from the Negro help who came out of the kitchen to tell the boys, now know on their campus as the "four freshmen," they were doing a bad thing. Other students from the college were shopping in the store at the time, and when the four freshmen returned to the campus, twenty students volunteered to join them for the next afternoon. Groundrules were drawn up by the expanded group. There was to be absolutely no name-called by Negroes, no raised voices, no word of protest if they were not served.

Again Tuesday they were refused service. They just sat. On Wednesday and Thursday they returned, in greater strength each time. The A. & T. students were joined by students from the Negro Bennet College and from the white Woman's College of North Carolina, both located in Greensboro.

By Friday, white teenagers with ducktail haircuts, blue jeans and leather jackets had begun their heckling of the demonstrators. On Saturday the Woolworth store was jammed with Negroes and whites. The Negroes mostly sat, while the white boys waved Confederate flags, chanted and cursed. Around mid-afternoon the management received a bomb threat, and the police emptied the store. When the store opened Monday, the lunch counters were closed. Dr. Gordon Blackwell, Chancellor of the Woman's College proposed a "truce period" which was accepted to work things out in a less inflamatory atmosphere. Thus ended the Greensboro demonstrations, but by that time, Negro students were demonstrating in Winston-Salem, in Durham, in Charlotte, and the other principle North Carolina cities.[10]

The demonstrations in their origin were student inspired and directed. Subsequently, organizations such as the National Student Association, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the National Association for Advancement of Colored People offered their guidance and sponsorship.[11] In some instances the help of these organizations was accepted, in other instances the students decided to go it alone.

The reasons prompting the demonstrations have been expressed by the student leaders in various forms. Leaders in Greensboro where the demonstrations originated wrote the state attorney general that "this mass movement was begun to bring to the realization of the citizens of North Carolina that the Negroes, who are also citizens of North Carolina, can no longer remain quiet and complacent and continue to accept such gross injustice."[12/] The student leader in Charlotte explained that the demonstration there was a "means of expressing something that has been in our hearts for a long time."[13/] High school students in Chapel Hill carried signs saying "We do not picket just because we want to eat. We can eat at home or walking down the street. We do picket to protest the lack of dignity and respect shown us as human beings."[14/]

The demonstrations struck a responsive chord in the hearts of negro students elsewhere. Many of them mentioned the lack of progress in ending school desegregation as a reason for their presence on the lunch-counter picket lines. The struggle against school segregation took place in the courts, and required money, endless patience, and an appreciation or understanding of delicate legal moves and counter-maneuvers. The struggle against lunch counter segregation required only courage and an ability to "turn the other cheek."[15/] As a result, students in Durham, in Charlotte, in Winston-Salem, in at least sixteen North Carolina cities began "sit-ins" or picket line demonstrations at downtown chain drugs and dime stores.[16/] The demonstrations moved northward into Virginia and West Virginia, south into South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and west into Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. Pickets even appeared before stores and restaurants in Ohio who violated the state equal accommodation laws by denying service to Negroes.[17/] The Raleigh News and Observer commented that with the arrest of demonstrators in that city, "The picket line now extends from the dime stores to the U.S. Supreme Court and beyond that to national and world opinion."[18/]

The European press gave wide coverage to the demonstrations. Communist radios and newspapers in Eastern Europe hit the discrimination theme hard, and even newspapers ordinarily friendly to the United States were critical. For example, the Austrian Socialist Party's Daily Arbeiter Deitung published a front page criticism of American racial discrimination with a cartoon depicting a gorilla-like Southern white refusing service to a Negro girl. The cartoon was captioned "That is a free country."[19] Both the Kremlin's Pravda and the Vatican's Osservatore Romono gave front page headlines to the story of how white men in Houston, Texas captured a Negro youth and carved Ku Klux Klan initials on his chest and back.[20] The Rev. Dr. Billy Graham, conducting a two-day religious crusade in Ethiopia, was asked almost exclusively about this matter at a press conference.[21]

In the North, religious, labor and liberal organizations and individuals spoke out in support of the demonstrations. Delegates to a 14-state Midwestern Democratic conference adopted a proposed civil rights plank demanding equal rights for all Americans in voting, education, housing, and service at lunch-rooms.[22] Earlier Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt had called the deomonstrations "simply wonderful";[23] and United Auto Workers' president, Walter Reuther, had called on the President to restore law and order in Alabama so picketing could be resumed in Montgomery.[24] The greatest and most vocal support, however, came from the college students. This issue aroused the present campus generation—often accused of self-concern and pallid indifference to social or political questions—as have few others. Vassar girls picketed for the first time in twenty years; and student groups at Harvard, Yale, Brown, Chicago, Wisconsin, Colorado and other campuses sprang up over night to picket the local branches of the chain-stores which discriminated in the South.[25] Student groups at Wesleyan University, Harpur College, and elsewhere set about raising scholarship money and bail funds to assist the Negro student expelled or imprisoned because of demonstration participation.[26]

In the South, the most vociferous support for the demonstrations came from the clergy. Ministers, Negro and white, singly and in association, defended the spirit and purposes of the demonstrators. One such minister wrote that "The Negroes now confront us with the Constitution in one hand and the Bible in the other...Why do we not grant these rights racefully and with good will?".[27] A national Protestant Episcopal organization said that "Such demonstrative witness, motivated by love and expressed in nonviolent, passive resistance to evil, is thoroughly grounded in Christian teaching."[28] The Rev. Dr. Ernest Trice Thompson, the highest elected officer of the Southern Presbyterian Church, said that the demonstrations were serving to call attention to "discriminations which should be forgotten and which will pass. All discriminations will, and must, disappear."[28a] Former Rep. C. B. Deane, now president of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, told a group of ministers that Baptists "cannot tiptoe around the racial issue," and that "In order to reach the Cross and solve the wave of sit-downs,...the South... must be willing to pay the price of personal change."[28b] The Durham, North Carolina Ministers Association pledged support to the management of local stores if there be a decision "to inaugurate a policy of food-service without regard to race" and promised "to encourage the community at large to accept such a policy."[29] The Chapel Hill, North Carolina ministers simultaneously issued to their congregations a "Statement of Convictions" which stated in part that "We deplore the fact that any group of our citizens is placed in the position of having to ask to be treated with dignity and respect."[30]

The clergy was not alone in its support of the demonstrators. Florida's Governor Leroy Collins told a state-wide radio and television audience that "I don't mind saying that if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come in his department store and trade I think then it is unfair and morally wrong for him to single out one department, though, and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department."[31] Frank P. Graham, who formerly served North Carolina in the United States Senate and as president of the University of North Carolina told a United Nations model

assembly that the Negro demonstrators find that "in sitting down they are standing up for the American dream" and said the Negro students are "in their day and generation renewing springs of American democracy."[32] The North Carolina AFL-CIO at state convention went on record in support of the Negro efforts to get desegregated lunch counter service[33]; and the North Carolina Student Legislative Assembly, representing 7 Negro and 11 white colleges in the state, voted to ban segregation in eating establishments.[34] The Greensboro Daily News said editorially: "There are many white people in the South who recognize the injustice of the lunch counter system. It is based on circumstances which may have made sense 100 years ago; today it has a touch of medievalism. It smacks of Indian 'untouchables' or Hitlerian Germany's Master Race Theories."[35] The Raleigh News and Observer editorialized that the racial line between counters in the same store is "fuzzy, twisting and uncertain" and commented that "No 'now you see it, now you don't' color line can be meticulously maintained."[36]

Within two months the demonstrations had practical effect. In San Antonio, Texas, five downtown stores opened their lunch counters to all persons, regardless of color.[37] — as did the stores in Galveston.[37a] A bus station cafe in Nashville served several Negroes without incident,[38] as did three drug stores in Salisbury, N. C.[39] In Winston-Salem[40] and in Chapel Hill, N. C.[41] as well as in Suffolk, Virginia[42] store managers removed stools and opened on a service-to-all stand-up basis.[43] The Chapel Hill Mayor's Committee on Human Relations reports that "Quietly and without fanfare, several restaurants began offering equal service to Negro customers."[44] In Lenoir, N. C., Negro school students were permitted to make use of the downtown library for the "first time within memory."[45] How many more establishments have "quietly" opened their facilities to Negroes cannot be known.

Most of the Southern opinion was against the demonstrators. Lunch room proprietors held fast to traditional policies. Public officials warned against participation in the demonstrations. Students in some areas were expelled from college and in others threatened with expulsion. In few instances, planned mass prayer meetings were thwarted by use of fire hoses, tear gas

and mass arrest. The press was generally critical.[46] The details of the opposition are highlighted on a state by state basis.

Alabama.

The demonstrations reached Alabama on February 25 when 35 Negro students from Alabama State College asked for service in the Montgomery County courthouse snack shop.[47] The shop closed immediately, the sheriff arrived with a club in hand and ordered the Negroes to line up single file. While pistol-carrying deputies patrolled halls outside the basement shop, state highway patrolmen took pictures of the Negroes who stood quietly against the wall. Governor John Patterson ordered an investigation and indicated that the students would be expelled. The following day the Police Commission warned that any sit-down would be considered a "breach of the peace" and that his department would not permit efforts to foment violence; the Governor ordered the president of Alabama State to expel any student involved in a sit-down; and the Negro students held a campus rally to consider mass application at the white state institutions should a Negro student be expelled.[48]

On February 27, a Negro woman was attacked by one of a group of twenty-five whites who patrolled the streets carrying miniature baseball bats inside paper bags. Plans were made for a mass "hymn-singing, prayer session" protest.[49]

On March 1, a thousand Negro students sang the national anthem on the Capitol steps[50] and a Negro minister told the audience "I am proud to be a member of a generation that is willing to stand on the roof tops and tell the world that they want to be free."[51]

On March 2, nine Negro students were ordered expelled for taking part in the demonstrations, the Governor commenting that such action was necessary "to prevent bloodshed in this city."[52]

On Sunday, March 6, approximately 800 Negroes left their churches for a demonstration prayer meeting at the State Capitol grounds. A jeering mob of whites charged the marchers, and a riot was narrowly averted when the police separated the two groups, and mounted deputies and fire trucks moved in to prevent further violence. The march had been announced two days earlier, and at the appointed time high city, county and state officials, fifty highway patrolmen, mounted sheriff's deputies, and two fire trucks were on hand. When the Negroes left the church, the firemen pointed their hoses at the Negroes, and policemen pushed them back as they started in the direction of the capitol building.[53]

On March 8, a scheduled campus protest meeting was broken up when police arrived and arrested 30 students and 1 faculty member standing in the student crowd. Two other students were jailed while trying to get in to see the students already under arrest.[54]

In the immediate following days, students at Alabama State College held another campus demonstration against the arrests (this time without incident); Negro youths in Huntsville in northern Alabama marched silently through the business section bearing anti-segregation signs; and students at Tuskegee Institute stayed away from class in sympathy protest. On March 10, the Montgomery police commissioner recommended the closing of Alabama State College and accused it of turning out "graduates of hate and racial bitterness."[55]

On March 11 the Montgomery City Court convicted 32 Negro students of disorderly conduct. The judge delayed sentencing, which could amount to six months in jail, and the attorney for the defendants told the court that the student body at Alabama State College had agreed to return to class and stop the racial demonstrations.[56]

On March 22, 7 Negroes applied for enrollment at the University of Alabama extension in Montgomery. The applications were the first in Alabama

since Autherine Lucy, was driven from the University of Alabama campus by a mob.[57] By March 25, the number of applications had risen to 13. The University of Alabama is under injunction not to bar any applicant on grounds of race.[58]

Arkansas.

Arkansas joined the list of southern states hit by demonstrations on March 10 when about 45 students from Philander Smith College entered a Little Rock variety store and sat down at a white lunch counter. The incident ended without violence when Police Chief Gene Smith recommended closing the counter. Most of the Negroes left quietly, but five who refused were seized on charges of disturbing the peace.[59] On March 17, the five Negores were convicted under a 1959 state law that prohibits causing a "breach of the peace" at a public place. Each of the Negroes was fined $250 and sentenced to 30 days in jail. Immediately thereafter other Negro college students sat down at five all-white lunch counters but left when store officials asked them to.[60]

Florida.

The demonstrations began in this state with a "sit-in" in Tallahassee. Eleven Negro students were arrested and charged with disturbing the peace.[61] Then about 40 Negro youths staged a sit-down protest at a Tampa Woolworth lunch counter. The counter was closed without incident.[62] The sit-ins spread to St. Petersburg, Sarasota and Daytona Beach. No violence was reported and none of the Negroes received service.[63]

On March 3, Governor LeRoy Collins termed sit-down demonstrations "illegal and dangerous" and said that a 1957 law gave restaurant owners the right to refuse to serve anyone they considered undesirable.[64]

On March 4, eight ministers tried to enter a lunchroom in Miami's Burdine's department store but were blocked by store employees. A cross was burned in front of a Negro home in Pensacola.[65]

On March 12, the demonstrations reached Jacksonville. Eight Negroes sat down at the counter of a Kress's Dime Store. The counter was closed. The Negroes remained seated until seven policemen arrived and asked them to leave. They did. On the same day, there was near violence in Tallahassee. A group of Negro and white demonstrators at a Woolworth store were arrested; replaced by another group that was arrested, and by a third group which was arrested. Shortly after noon a crowd of about 125 Negroes gathered in a park across the street from the police station and started down the block toward the Woolworth store. Half way there they were met by a group of white men, so turned and started back to their campus to the accompaniment of taunts and jeers. Off duty policemen and firemen were stationed throughout the city to avert disturbances.[66] On March 15, the Tallahassee City Commission warned that "those who violate the law will find we are prepared to take stern action."[67]

On March 17, a group of 8 students entered the Woolworth store in St. Augustine, the counter was closed, and when the Negores left, they were attacked by a group of white men. Police called a cab to take the Negroes away, and the Chief of Police, armed with tear gas, ordered the crowd to disperse.[68]

On March 18, authorities at the white Florida State University in Tallahassee enjoined students from participation in the demonstrations,[69] and, on the same day 11 Negro student demonstrators were convicted in Tallahassee on charges of disturbing the peace. Eight of them chose 60 day jail sentences rather than pay the fines of $300.[70]

On March 20, Governor Collins declared that it is "unfair and morally wrong" not to allow Negroes to patronize one department of a store in which they are invited to trade. He announced that he would appoint a state biracial advisory committee on racial relations and called upon the cities in Florida to take similar action.[71] Within a week the Governor received a heavy volume of mail, mostly from Floridians, running 8 to 1 in his support.

The Governor received 2,381 favorable letters, 288 hostile ones. Nearly all the favorable mail was signed and about a fourth of it came from clergymen, physicians, lawyers and educators. About one-third of the unfavorable mail was anonymous, much of it scurrilous.[71a]

Georgia.

On Friday, March 4 a small group of white and Negro students entered Rich's Department store in Atlanta and were served at the lunch counter. The group was also served on Saturday, but on Monday, March 7, the group was turned away by store officials.[72]

On March 10, seven Negroes took seats in a white section of the Municipal Auditorium during a stage show. There was a brief verbal clash which ended when police designated the occupied section Negro.[73]

On March 15, approximately 200 students in Atlanta staged simultaneous sit-ins at noontime at the lunch rooms of the State Capitol, the Courthouse, the City Hall, the bus stations, the railway stations, at two office buildings housing Federal offices, and at a variety store. Seventy-seven of them were arrested under a recent state law aimed at sit-down demonstrations making it a misdemeanor to refuse to leave private property when requested.[74]

On March 16, there was a "sit-in" in Savannah, and on March 17, following a big St. Patrick's Day parade, there were scattered fist fights and rock throwing between groups of whites and Negores. Police and troopers patrolled the downtown business section, dispersing crowds and whisking troublemakers to jail.[75]

On March 26, white and Negro pickets marched in fron of Rich's Department store, scene of the first "sit-in," and 25,000 leaflets were distributed urging a boycott of stores with segregation policies.[76]

Louisiana.

On March 8, the first public demonstration by Negroes in New Orleans took place on the campus of Dillard University. Spokesmen said the group had no plans to march on downtown New Orleans.[77]

On March 12, police in New Orleans arrested ten white youths in connection with cross-burnings on the campus of Dillard.[78]

On March 28, eight students from the all Negro Southern University in Baton Rouge were arrested after they refused to leave a white lunch counter at a downtown department store.[79] On March 29, nine additional Negro college students in Baton Rouge were arrested at lunch counters. The students at Southern University then decided to forego their junior and senior proms and use the dance money to finance future demonstrations. Governor Long commented that if the demonstrators "want to do any real good they should return to their native Africa."[80]

On March 30, 1,000 students at Baton Rouge marched to the Capitol chanting "The Lord's Prayer." After singing "What a Friend We Have in Jesus," they disbanded without incident. The Southern University promptly suspended or expelled 18 student leaders, and the students thereupon boycotted classes and more than two-thirds of them requested withdrawal forms.[81a]

North Carolina.

Greensboro in this state was the scene of the initial "sit-ins," and at least 16 other cities witnessed "sit-ins" and picketing, some of the picketing on a day to day basis over a period of many weeks. Despite the vigor of the activities, there was no violence, no tear gas, no fire hoses. Large groups of Negro students held prayer meetings on the steps of the state capitol[82] and on the courthouse lawns at cities throughout the state with no other obstructions but jeers and catcalls.[83] The picketing at Chapel Hill, typical of that in Durham and elsehwere, was described by a local newspaper in the following terms.

> "The Chapel Hill police are more and more effectively controlling the weekday afternoon 90 minute sidewalk picketing demonstrations in front of a local drugstore.

"Chief Black has pre-set plans all ready to be put into action in the unlikely event of any disorder arising--and with each passing day this prospect seems less. But there are certain little innuendoes beyond the pale of legal control that pass back and forth between the opposing sides.

"Smirks, sneers, frowns, smiles, the flicker of an eyelash meaningfully--these are some of the means of communication even though police rapidly control and largely prevent the passing of actual words or actions.

"Picture-taking also figures significantly in the psychology of the affair. The picketers, committed to impassive silent marching, are about the most-photographed subjects in all Chapel Hill during the last month. The other day one of the protest supporters, apparently just for the heck of it, pulled a new switch, and tried to photograph some of the spectators. The surprised and unwillings subjects fled pell mell before the lensman."[84]

Some stores in Winston-Salem, Salisbury, Chapel Hill and elsewhere ended racial barriers,[85] and the mayors in Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro and elsewhere established inter-racial committees to deal with the situation.[86] Large proportions of the faculties at Wake Forest, Duke and the University of North Carolina signed petitions urging the end of segregation and promising continuing patronage to those merchants who eliminated color bars at the lunch counter, and in Chapel Hill, a few University professors joined the Negro high school students on the picket line.[87] Negroes were permitted to use the downtown public library in Lenoir for the first time within memory.[88]

Although there were no riots, no tear gas, no fire hoses, etc., there were shouts, shoves, near crises, and arrests a plenty. In Winston-Salem, 22 youths of both races were arrested when they refused to leave a restricted lunch counter in a F. W. Woolworth store.[89] In Charlotte, three Negro demonstrators

were arrested at the entrance to a basement cafeteria of Belk's Department Store.[90] In Raleigh, 41 students were arrested for trespassing on the sidewalks of a privately owned shopping center.[91] In Durham, two students were arrested when they refused to take the sandwiches they had purchased outside to eat.[92]

There were other pressures put on the students in addition to the arrests. Chancellor Blackwell told the white students at the University of North Carolina Woman's College "to refrain from any public demonstration in connection with the issue now before the community or any similar issue which may arise in the future."[93] Governor Hodges then wrote the presidents of all state supported institutions enlisting their aid in curbing protest demonstrations,[94] citing the Blackwell speech as evidence of the type of influence he wanted other administrators to use.[95]

At the end of the first sixty days Negroes in Greensboro resumed their sit-in strikes, ending a cooling-off period in the city where the demonstrations originated. During the truce, the mayor's Advisory Committee on Community Relations received over 2,000 communications discussing the problem. Seventy-three percent of these favored equality of service on some basis, and the Committee suggested that the dime stores designated a section of the lunch counter for integrated service, and another section of the counter for whites only. This suggestion was rejected by store managers who feared a loss in profits if this suggestion was adopted.[96]

Ohio.

The demonstrations spread as far north as Ohio.[97] Negro students picketed variety stores in Cincinnati and were chastised by Governor DiSalle for not first bringing their complaint to the attention of the Ohio Civil Rights Commission.[98] Picketing continued, however, and in Xenia, Ohio, Geyer's Restaurant opened its doors "to everyone" after approximately 100 Negro and white students engaged in a peaceful Sunday demonstration.[99]

South Carolina

In this state the demonstrations began on February 23 in the city of Rock Hill when 100 Negro students from Friendship College staged a "sit-in" in two variety stores.[100] This was followed by demonstrations at the same stores by a robed Ku Klux Klansman who promised future visits.[101]

On March 2, 50 Negroes trudged through an icy drizzle in Columbia, stopping briefly at the Woolworth and Kress stores.[102] The next day approximately 200 Negro students marched around in the Columbia downtown area for nearly two hours. They were heckled by white youths, and left at the request of the City Manager who wanted to avoid "an explosive situation".[103] On March 4 the students in Columbia agreed to discontinue their demonstrations; but in Sumter, 26 Bible-carrying students were arrested for breach of the peace when they tried to get served at three stores. Bond was set at $100 each, and the Sheriff said he would see that no businesses there would have to close because of such demonstrations.[104]

On March 15, approximately 1,000 demonstrators from Chaflin and South Carolina State Colleges, converged at noon in downtown Orangeburg to protest lunch counter segregation. The police met them with tear gas and fire hoses. Some 350 drenched demonstrators were arrested for breach of the peace, and put in the courthouse yard behind a 10-foot high fence in the 40-degree weather while they awaited questioning. Those who could meet bail were released; those who could not were put into waiting buses and taken to jail. Magistrate Culler said he planned to try the students in groups of 5, 10, and 15 with the comment that "It will probably take all night." While awaiting their fate, the students broke into song. Their favorites: "God Bless America" and "Nobody Knows The Trouble I've Seen."[105]

Tennessee

Chattanooga was the scene of the first Tennessee demonstration when Negro high school students staged a "sit-in" in the Kress store.

Rioting broke out when whites, mostly students, began throwing flower pots, dishes, bric-a-brac and other merchandise in the store. One white youth grabbed a bull whip from the store stock and used it on a Negro. The Negroes retreated through the streets to a Negro section of the city, with bricks and other objects being hurled by both sides. After the fighting had subsided, white youths walked through the aisles of the Kress and other stores, jeering at Negro customers and frightening many into leaving. Some of the leaders said their purpose was "to run the niggers out." Seven whites were arrested, the police concentrating on the leadership.[106] Mayor Olgiatti immediately conferred with white and Negro clergymen, who issued separate statements calling for an end to hostile acts. The Negro high school students decided against further demonstrations.[107]

The demonstrations next spread to Nashville. A white youth was sitting with a group of Negroes at a dime store lunch counter when a second white youth walked in, called him a "nigger-lover", and twisted his collar. The assailant then fled, but returned five minutes later. This time he grabbed the sitting white youth, threw him on the floor, and kicked him. The police then ordered everybody to leave the counter. Eleven Negroes who refused to comply were arrested.[108] The next day some 76 Negro and 4 white students demonstrated at downtown lunch counters and were arrested. A crowd up to 3,000 Negroes thronged the courthouse for the trial, were told to leave the courthouse, and gathered on the courthouse steps where they sang "The Star Spangled Banner" and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."[109] Two days later 55 more Negro students were arrested, this time for refusing to leave the lunch counter at the Greyhound bus station when the Assistant Fire Chief asked all persons to leave the building while a search for a bomb was made.[110] A Negro divinity student was expelled from Vanderbilt University for his part in the demonstration.[111] The next day, March 4, warrants were issued against 80 students charging them with conspiring to violate the

state trade and commerce law by helping to direct lunch counter demonstrations.[112] Two weeks later, shortly after the Nashville bus station served Negroes in the white restaurant, two dynamite caps--but no dynamite--were found in the washroom.[113]

In Memphis, the demonstrations were centered around the library and art gallery. Negroes were permitted to use the reference room at the main library, but not the reading room. On Saturday, March 19, 36 Negro students went into the reading room. They and a Negro newspaper editor were arrested and convicted for disorderly conduct on the allegation that the students disturbed other persons when interviewed by the editor. The editor testified he "spoke in low tones" and was covering the story.[114] The City Art Gallery is open to Negroes only on Thursdays. Seven Negro students entered the art gallery on a Tuesday and asked to see a special exhibit. They were directed to it and were examining the pictures when the police arrived and arrested them for "loitering" when they refused to leave as directed.[115] The next day a two-week cooling off period was agreed upon to allow time for efforts to settle racial grievances.[116]

Texas

The demonstrations in Texas resulted in extremes--either of violence or of peaceful settlement.

The "sit-ins" began in Houston, mostly by Negro students from Texas Southern University, with immediate repercussions. A Negro drugstore porter was slashed by a white youth with a knife,[117] and three masked white men seized another Negro, flogged him with a chain, carved the insignia of the Ku Klux Klan on his chest and stomach, and hanged him by his knees in an oak tree. The sit-in demonstrations then moved from the lunch counters near the Texas Southern University campus to the downtown drug stores.[118]

In the east Texas city of Marshall, demonstrations began on the 27th of March when 25 Negro college students were arrested when they sought service at three lunch counters.[119] On March 30, about 55 Negroes were arrested for demanding to be fed at white lunch counters. While they were being fingerprinted, photographed and charged with unlawful assembly, about 200 Negroes gathered near the courthouse and began to sing "God Bless America" and similar songs. The firemen then arrived, and turned powerful streams of water into the crowd. Hoses drenched West Houston Street, which leads to Marshall's two all Negro colleges.[120] On April 1 there were further student demonstrations, and 49 students were arrested for "unlawful assembly to deprive a man of the right to do business." Bail was set at $700 each, and twenty-six of the girls, including the Chairman of the National Student Council of the YWCA, were confined for 26 hours in a single cell 10' x 12' without room to sit down.[120a] The next day a Negro professor was fired for his part in the demonstrations, and Governor Price Daniel asked the head of the Texas Department of Public Safety "to find out whether Communists were behind the Negro demonstrations at Marshall."[121]

In contrast with the situations in Houston and Marshall is that in San Antonio. Through the intervention of the Rev. C. Don Baugh, executive director of the San Antonio Council of Churches, 5 downtown dime stores agreed to serve Negroes. Few Negroes took advantage of the situation, "But as they requested service there was no incident. Whites accepted the new situation calmly."[122] In Galveston, too, lunch counters were voluntarily integrated and Negroes started eating beside whites without incident.[122a]

Virginia

The demonstrations began in Richmond with a "sit-in" at the restaurant in Thalhimer's department store. Thirty-three participants were arrested, which prompted a picket line urging a boycott.[123] The Virginia Legislature, then in session, enacted three anti-trespassing laws aimed at the sit-down protests. They provide maximum penalties of $1,000 fine and 12 months in jail.[124] These statutes did not punish picketing, and the line of protesters continued outside Thalhimer's.[125]

The protest demonstration ran a course similar to that in other states. They spread to variety and drug stores, first in Richmond, then in Suffolk, Portsmouth,[126] Petersburg,[127] Hampton, Newport News, Arlington, and elsewhere.[128] There was no use of tear gas, no fire hoses, although there were several isolated fist fights between demonstrators and white hecklers; and in Newport News the officials patrolled the pickets with police K9 corps dogs.[129] As elsewhere, there were boycotts, although in Petersburg the boycott was termed "a secession of Negro patronage".[130] As in Memphis, Tenn., Negroes were arrested and convicted for trespass in the public library. Fourteen Negroes, including 3 children, entered the Petersburg public library and went to the white section. When asked to leave, they refused and were arrested. Bonds were set at $1,000 each.[131]

In Suffolk, the Woolworth store opened its lunch counter on a service-to-all, stand-up basis. The counter was jammed with Negro patrons on the first day, but thereafter declined sharply.[132]

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"The determination that underlies the movement has been demonstrated from Alabama to Virginia" comments the New York Times. "Negroes have risked fines and jail sentences, attacks from angry whites and, in at least one case, possible death at the hands of a mob."

What is behind the demonstrations? The New York Times suggests that "the militancy of the Southern Negro lies in a new-found belief that only through his own efforts can he achieve full citizenship status. There is frustration over the promise of democracy, made but never quite fulfilled. There is patience worn thin by years of fruitless waiting. There is the catalyst provided by the youths who refuse to accept a future limited by race rather than ability."[133]

What is the significance of the demonstrations? Minimally, to again quote the New York Times, they give the lie to two cherished beliefs. "The first is that the Southern white, and he alone, truly understands the Negro. The second depicts most Negroes as advocates of the practice that goes by the name of separate but equal."[134]

What lies in the future? The Southern Regional Council contends that the South faces three choices. One is to maintain segregation and thus invite a test of strength. The second is to eliminate community facilities one by one. The third is to accord Negroes equal treatment.[135] In many southern communities the mayors have appointed committees to "bridge the gap" between the races and attempt to achieve a solution to the problem. The Greensboro Daily News praised the mayor of that community for appointing such a committee, and editorialized as follows:

> "The lunch counter demonstrations do constitute a grave problem. Like Gandhi's passive resistance movement in India, they are growing. The white South's first impulse, like Great Britain's, is to slap them down hard. That might work if there were no justice on the sit-downers side. But that is not the case....
>
> "The alternative, if nothing is done, is more commotion. Greensboro, where the trouble started, would be an excellent place to end it....

"Greensboro, through its Mayor's Committee, has a chance to chart a practical and reasonable course for the South. It need not be all or nothing. It might be accommodation somewhere between. Without a plan avoiding two dangers there can only be more trouble for everybody."[136]

Solution of the problem calls for recognition that the shibboleths of yesteryear are inadequate in an era when Negro youth accepts the lessons of our Democracy at face value. A new approach to the century old problem is necessary if every citizen, regardless of color, is to be accorded the dignity and respect our heritage pledges him as a birthright. The problem is essentially one of morals, to be resolved by all in cooperative endeavor. As of now, however, the issues largely have been treated as legalistic and tossed in the laps of the courts.

II

The Legal Issues

The events briefly high-lighted above have given rise to the following types of legal problems: (1) Can participants in a boycott, or those who picket to bring about a boycott, be punished for violating anti-trust or other laws designed to protect merchants from wrongful interference with their business opportunities? (2) Can the demonstrators, although the demonstrations are peaceful and orderly, be punished for breach of the peace or incitement to riot when the demonstrations are carried out in a volitile atmosphere where the slightest spark might provoke the white hecklers to violence? (3) Can student demonstrators be expelled from school because of participation in efforts to secure what they believe are their rights?; and finally, (4) can the state trespass laws constitutionally be applied to demonstrators who invade the private premises of dime stores against the direction of the store owners. These problems

are unique, untried, and unsettled. Answers cannot be given with certainty. However, it seems appropriate to define and deliminate the problems, suggest some lines of inquiry, and analogize the existing case law relating to the discussion.

Boycotts, Anti-Trust Laws, and Tortious Interference with Prospective Business Relations.

Nationally,[137] regionally,[138] and locally[139] the NAACP and other groups have called for a boycott or a "secession" of patronage of those stores which refuse to serve Negroes while seated. In Marshall, Texas 16 students were charged with "preventing commerce" when they sat down at an all-white lunch counter.[140] In Nashville, Tennessee 80 students were charged with conspiring to violate the state trade and commerce law by helping to direct lunch counter demonstrations.[141] In North Carolina a judge suggested that the demonstrators might be punished under the common law doctrine which makes it illegal to conspire to injure anyone's person, property or profession.[142] How valid are these arrests and suggestions?

The federal anti-trust laws make it illegal for anyone by way of contract, trust, conspiracy or otherwise to restrain interstate trade.[143] A boycott, black-list, or concerted refusal to deal with the products of another is an illegal restraint of trade under the federal anti-trust laws.[144] The Sherman and other anti-trust acts, however, were designed to protect commercial competition and prohibit only those restraints of trade imposed by competitors in the market place. Thus, the Supreme Court has held that a "sit-down" strike by a union is not illegal under the Sherman Act even though the strike restrains the interstate movement of the employer's products because "this effect on competition has not been considered to be the kind of curtailment of price competition prohibited by the Sherman Act." Apex Hosiery Co. v. Leader.[145]

Many states have adopted laws similar to the federal anti-trust statutes.[146] Some states, including North Carolina, in addition, have specifically made boycotts illegal; but only when the target is a "business rival" and only

when the purpose of the boycott is "to fix the price of any goods when the competition is removed."[147] These state statutes have not been construed to deprive merchants or the public of the right to refuse to purchase goods from persons with whom they are not in direct economic competition.[148] The existing judicial interpretations of the federal and state anti-trust statutes therefore indicate that neither the dime store demonstrators nor those who organize or participate in boycotts of the dime stores are violating the statutory laws relating to restraint of trade.[149]

Apart from problems arising under the statutory laws as enacted by the legislatures, there are problems arising under the common law as developed by judges on a case to case basis. Conduct intended to interfere with prospective economic advantage and business opportunities may be an actionable tort for which the injured person may recover money damages.[150] Liability usually turns upon the ultimate purpose or object which the defendant seeks to advance, and the legitimacy thereof. The decisions concerning picketing, black-lists, boycotts and other forms of concerted economic pressure in other areas of social conduct indicate that the dime store boycotters are not liable financially for any decrease in trade which might follow their actions.

Boycotts of the dime stores are not unlike the boycotts of movies which have gone on in the past years. The Legion of Decency, through the local clergy, urges all Catholics to refrain from viewing movies which are morally offensive. Recent movies which were classified as morally offensive include The Moon is Blue, The French Line, the Son of Sinbad, and Baby Doll. The Legion of Decency is not the only group which seeks the boycott of films offensive to the group it represents. The NAACP has often objected to showings of Birth of a Nation, which deals with the reconstruction period in the South. Jewish groups objected to the showing of Oliver Twist, members of the Ku Klux Klan picketed Island in the Sun, and the American Legion picketed Charlie Chaplin's Limelight so effectively in Jersey City that patrons could not get to the

theater to purchase tickets. The legal problems here are those of balancing the interest of a group in expressing its opinions freely and recommending action on what it regards as a serious moral issue as against an individual's interest in being free from undue economic pressure and the general public's interest in having free access to the spoken and written word. While the decisions are few, "picketing a theater while an objectionable motion picture is being shown...seems designed primarily to warn others of an apprehended evil, and is unquestionably privileged."[151]

Boycotts of the dimes stores are not unlike the boycotts conducted by various citizens' groups to achieve ends and objectives deemed vital to them. The right of citizens to picket for the purpose of compelling store owners to cease exercising their lawful right of doing business on Sunday has been sustained even though the picketing resulted in a substantial loss of business.[152] Similiarly, the right of citizens to picket with signs reading that the meat sold by the store was not Kosher has been upheld despite a resulting loss of business.[153] These and other cases hold that the right to peacefully picket, under the guaranty of free speech, extends to a dispute between a businessman and any citizen or group of citizens who may differ with him on a question of business policy.[154]

Labor unions traditionally use a variety of economic weapons to force employer compliance with their demands. These weapons include the boycott,[155] the picket line, and the "unfair" or "We Do Not Patronize" list.[156] The early attitude of the courts toward the unions was that they were outlaw organizations, and their activities were criminal conspiracies to disrupt the social order. This point of view has long since given way to a recognition that unions are legitimate and socially desirable."[157] Since 1940, labor union picketing has been protected as an exercise of Constitutional free speech[158] when carried on in a lawful manner[159] and for lawful objectives.[160] The "primary boycott" and use of "unfair lists" now goes unchallenged.[161]

Picketing and boycott activities by Negro groups to end "Jim Crow" employment policies have been sustained on analogy to labor union picketing activity. The United States Supreme Court has noted that:

> "The desire for fair and equitable conditions of employment on the part of persons of any race, color, or persuasion, and the removal of discriminations against them by reason of their race or religious beliefs is quite as important to those concerned as fairness and equity in terms and conditions of employment can be to trade or craft unions or any form of labor organization or association. Race discrimination by an employer may reasonably be deemed more unfair and less excusable than discrimination against workers on the ground of union affiliation".[162]

The few state courts which have faced the problem are in agreement. A New York court refused to enjoin the picketing of a movie house by Negroes with the statement that:

> "The right of an individual or group of individuals to protest in a peaceable manner against injustice or oppression, actual or merely fancied, is one to be cherished and not to be proscribed in any well-ordered society".[163]

A Pennsylvania county judge, in a similar situation, said:

> "Unquestionably the respondents, or anyone else in fact, are privileged to request the management of a theater to employ a Negro machine operator and further they may lawfully urge the patrons of such a theater to do whatever they lawfully may to let the management know their feeling on the subject".[164]

The analogies above seem to afford tort immunity to the Negro dime-store demonstrators. (1) The self-interest of the Negro dime-store demonstrators

in ending racial discrimination at the lunch counter is greater than that of those who picket and boycott movie houses in hopes of preventing others from viewing films deemed objectionable.[165] (2) If there is any distinction between the Negro demonstrator's picketing and that of labor unions, it would seem that non-labor picketing should have the preferred position. Labor unions are organized, disciplined, and possess economic and moral sanctions adequate to control their members, whereas the picketing by Negro students is substantially free of coercive aspects and remains the principal means by which they can communicate facts and ideas respecting important social issues. (3) The analogy between the two cases of racial picketing to end discriminatory employment practices and to end discriminatory service customs is so strong that it cannot be got over.

Breach of the Peace, Incitement to Riot, and the Right to Free Speech

In Alabama, Negro students were threatened with arrest for "breach of the peace" when they asked for service in the courthouse snack shop,[166] and 32 Negro students were convicted of "disorderly conduct" for participation in an "on-campus" mass protest rally.[167] In Arkansas,[168] and in Florida[169] students were arrested for breach of the peace for refusing to leave store counters when requested, and in South Carolina for requesting service.[170] Also in South Carolina, some 350 students were arrested for "breach of the peace" when they sought to conduct a protest prayer meeting on the courthouse steps.[171] In Memphis, Tennessee, Negroes who entered a white library were arrested for "disorderly conduct",[172] and Negroes who entered the art gallery were arrested for "loitering".[173] These arrests raise a serious legal problem: can persons espousing unpopular views be arrested because their activities, in and of themselves peaceful and orderly, arouse the resentment of others who thereby engage in lawless conduct? Five cases, two state and three federal,

shed some light on this problem.

In People v. Burman,[174] the defendants were convicted of a breach of the peace for marching through the city streets with red flags after notice that the display of such flags would cause riots. In upholding the convictions the Michigan Supreme Court said this:

> "The question here is not whether the defendants have in general a right to parade with a red flag. It is this: Had they such right, when they knew that the natural and inevitable consequence was to create riot and disorder?"

The Court answered in the negative: "Their right to display a red flag was subordinate to the right of the public. They had no right to display it when the natural and inevitable consequence was to destroy the public peace and tranquillity."

Relying on the authority of the above Michigan decision, the North Carolina Supreme Court affirmed the conviction of Ku Klux Klan leaders for inciting a riot by attempting to hold a meeting on a leased field in a neighborhood where their appearance aroused community opposition and hostility. State v. Cole.[175] The Ku Klux Klan "had been preaching racial dissention and hatred and conducting cross-burnings for the purpose of frightening certain Indian families in the community" of Robeson County. The announced meeting had received wide-spread publicity, and the sheriff earlier had warned the Klansmen that there might be trouble. On the night in question, several Klansmen arrived carrying arms, and Indians, many armed, lined up across the road from the field where the meeting was scheduled. When the Klan spokesman arrived, he asked the Sheriff for protection, and the Sheriff replied that "if I had one hundred and fifty men, I couldn't keep the Indians of Robeson County from coming in on that field". The Sheriff did call for additional support, and nine deputies and about 15 members of the

Highway Patrol responded to his call. Before they arrived, however, several hundred shots were fired, and a news reporter and a soldier by-stander were slightly injured. The Klansmen were then arrested. Their conviction for inciting a riot was upheld, the Court holding that the armed presence of the Klansmen "would be calculated to cause a breach of the peace...in the community".

The United States Supreme Court has faced the problem of peaceful speech to a hostile audience on two recent occasions. Terminiello v. Chicago[176] sustained the value of unhampered discussion as against the value of public order. Terminiello gave a speech in a Chicago auditorium under the auspices of the Christian Veterans of American, an organization opposed to various racial minority groups. The meeting commanded considerable public attention, and a crowd of over a thousand persons gathered to protest. Terminiello was convicted under a city "breach of the peace" ordinance which permitted punishment for speech which "stirred people to anger, invited public dispute, or brought about a condition of unrest". The Supreme Court reversed the conviction with the statement that: "...a function of free speech under our system is to invite dispute. It may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger."[177]

Within two years, however, the Supreme Court changed course in Feiner v. New York.[178] A street corner speaker gave the impression of a mixed audience that he was endeavoring to arouse the Negro people against the whites. The crowd was restless and there was some pushing, shoving and milling around. A policeman "stepped in to prevent it from resulting in a fight" and asked the speaker to step down. The speaker refused, and was arrested for disorderly conduct. The Supreme Court sustained his subsequent conviction with these remarks:

"This Court respects, as it must, the interest of the community in maintaining peace and order on its streets. We cannot say that the preservation of that interest here encroaches on the constitutional rights of this petitioner.

"We are well aware that the ordinary murmurings and objections of a hostile audience cannot be allowed to silence a speaker, and are also mindful of the possible danger of giving overzealous police officials complete discretion to break up otherwise lawful public meetings....But we are not faced here with such a situation. It is one thing to say that the police cannot be used as an instrument for the suppression of unpopular views, and another to say that, when as here the speaker passes the bounds of argument or persuasion and undertakes incitement to riot, they are powerless to prevent a breach of the peace."[179]

There is one final case which should be mentioned, Seller v. Johnson,[180] as it demonstrates that the police must be vigilent peace officers for the unpopular speaker as well as for the hostile audience. The Jehovah's Witnesses in Iowa planned a series of four Sunday meetings in the Lacona city park. The speaker at the first meeting was harassed and interfered with, but succeeded in delivering his Bible lecture on "Religion as a Peacemaker." At the second meeting there were numerous fist fights, with bloody faces, black eyes, broken glasses, and torn clothing. The Mayor prohibited the third meeting, and the Sheriff with the assistance of about 100 special deputies, blockaded the city against the Jehovah's Witnesses. The Witnesses then filed suit in the Federal Court under the Civil Rights Act of 1871[181] to enjoin interference with their contemplated meeting. The requested relief was granted, the Court pointed out that the 100 persons deputized to blockade the highways could have been utilized to preserve order at the park and stated that:

"To secure the rights of free speech and assembly against abridgment, it is essential not to yield to threats of disorder. Otherwise these rights of the people to meet and of speakers to address the citizens so gathered, could not merely be abridged, but could be destroyed by the action of a small minority of persons hostile to the speaker or to the views he would be likely to express."[182]

What do these cases mean when applied to the concrete situations which now exist because of the dime store demonstrations. They mean that demonstrators who persist in picketing or mass-prayer meetings in the face of a riotious situation which the police cannot quell constitutionally can be convicted for breach of the peace and kindred crimes. This was the situation in the earliest days of the Chattanooga demonstrations when the fire department was called upon the quell the mobs which at one time numbered in the thousands. These cases also mean that the police cannot use the pretext of an emergency situation to prohibit peaceful demonstrations. This seems to be the situation in Montgomery where students were arrested for participation in an "on-campus" mass meeting, and in Memphis where students were arrested for entering a public library and a public art museum. Somewhere in between these two extreme situations a line must be drawn which gives full recognition to both the constitutional rights of peaceful protest and the right of a city to maintain peace and order. In drawing this line, it is to be hoped that the courts will recognize that governmental units "can as a practical matter prevent violent interferences with speech if they wish. Suitable preventive and protective steps are most likely to be taken if the police are firmly told that a speaker cannot be charged with the crime of inciting a disturbance of the peace unless the police themselves have first done everything possible to protect the speechmaking."[183]

School Expulsions and Off-Campus Political Activities.

Student demonstrators have been expelled from Alabama State College, from Southern University in Louisiana, and from Vanderbilt University in Tennessee; and in North Carolina students were advised by their College Chancellor "to refrain from any public demonstration." Expulsion from college[184] is to many a far more serious sanction than the small fines so far levied on those convicted under the trespass laws.[185] These reprisals for student participation in off-campus political, social and economic activities raise serious problems under the Fourteenth Amendment.[186]

The courts have jurisdiction by way of mandamus or otherwise to review the legality of school expulsions and will order reinstatement when the expulsion is made pursuant to regulations which are unreasonable, arbitrary or discriminatory, or when the expulsion infringes upon some constitutional right.[187] In applying this rule, Courts have sustained expulsions for violation of regulations banning the use of cosmetics and objectionable clothing,[188] the smoking of cigarettes,[189] the serving of liquor to other students,[190] and marriage.[191] These and similar regulations were deemed reasonably related to the maintenance of a proper atmosphere within the classroom or on the campus.[192]

A good deal of the "expulsion" litigation has concerned the reasonableness of regulations prohibiting membership in high school and college fraternities.[193] Most courts have held such regulations "not unreasonable, arbitrary or discriminatory and ... not vulnerable to any constitutional objection."[194] A Missouri court, on the other hand, held that the school had no right to prohibit pupils from participation in social activities outside of school hours unless the activities were detrimental to the operation and control of the school. Membership in fraternities was held to have no such effect.[195] These cases point up a line drawn by the courts: "the teacher stands in loco parentis only within the sphere of his duty as a teacher," the parent is responsible for disciplining because of off-campus out-of-school misbehavior. These limits on the disciplinary authority of educational institutions were carved out in

the landmark case of State ex rel Clark v. Osborne,[196] decided in 1887. A school regulation prohibited attendance at social events without the permission of the school authorities. A sixteen year old girl student attended a party with the permission of her father but without permission of the school. She was expelled and brought mandamus suit for reinstatement. The requested relief was granted, the Court commenting that parents may either place their children under the control of other persons or leave them free to control themselves, and the choice is for the discretion of the parents.[197]

There are at least three isolated decisions (one without opinion) holding that a college or university may expell students for off-campus "political" activities which destroy or interfere with the discipline, good order and fair name of the institution. The first of these was Samson v. Trustees of Columbia University,[198] decided during the first world war. Samson, a Columbia student, gave an off-campus anti-war speech in which he urged resistance to the draft. This speech was reported in the New York City newspapers, and Samson was notified that he would not be accepted as a student for the coming semester. He sued for reinstatement, and lost. The Court pointed out that in every contract between student and college is a "condition that the student will not be guilty of such misconduct as would be subversive of the discipline of the college...or as would show him to be morally unfit to be continued as a member thereof," and held that the continued presence of Samson at Columbia University might "inoculate" the other students "with the poison of his disloyalty."

The second case, Zarichny v. State Board of Agriculture,[199] was decided during the height of the cold war following World War II. A student was expelled for arranging a meeting in a building across the street from the college campus at which an indicted Communist leader was to be the principal speaker. The Michigan Court denied his request for relief without opinion.

The third case, Robinson v. University of Miami,[200] was recently decided by a lower Florida court. Robinson, a graduate student in the school of education, wrote a letter to the editor of the local newspaper concerning

atheism. This was brought to the attention of the school authorities, who discharged the student with the belief that he was "fanatical in his views as to atheism and that he would seek to express them and impose them on students whom he might teach." The Court dismissed the action to compel specific performance of contract of enrollment in the university with the statement that "a university should consider itself under a duty and obligation not to graduate, and release with the stamp of its academic approval, a new teacher having attitudes or fanatical ideas, such as with reference to atheism, which if imposed on impressionable minds of the young with whom he must come in contact, would be calculated to operate to their detriment and injury."

Whatever value judgments one may have concerning the propriety of expelling a graduate student from a school of education because of beliefs in atheism, of expelling an undergraduate for sponsoring an across-the-street from the campus speech of an inducted Communist leader, or of refusing to re-admit a student who urged resistance to American participation in World War I; the three situations have little in common with participation in the current dime store demonstrations, unless the demonstrations take a form which is illegal under state law. This brings us to the "flag salute" cases.

The flag salute requirement swept the country during World War I by state laws, state department regulations, and local school board rules. West Virginia typically[201/] expelled students who refused to join in the flag salute and thereafter sent them to reformatories maintained for criminally inclined juveniles. Parents of such children were prosecuted criminally for causing delinquency.[202/] In brief, refusal to salute the flag was a crime carrying with it the additional sanction of expulsion from school. This situation continued until members of the Jehovah's Witnesses brought a suit to prevent the West Virginia State Board of Education from requiring their children to salute the flag. The Supreme Court affirmed the order granting the injunction with these words:

"Free public education, if faithful to the ideal of secular instruction and political neutrality, will not be partisan or enemy of any class, creed, party, or faction....

"The Fourteenth Amendment, as now applied to the States, protects the citizen against the State itself and all of its creatures—Boards of Education not excepted. These have, of course, important, delicate, and highly discretionary functions, but none that they may not perform within the limits of the Bill of Rights. That they are educating the young for citizenship is reason for scrupulous protection of Constitutional freedoms of the individual, if we are not to strangle the free mind at its source and teach youth to discount important principles of our government as mere platitudes."[203]

What do the above decisions teach regarding the current expulsion situations? They certainly indicate that the First Amendment right to picket and to assemble is protected by the Fourteenth Amendment from state interference by way of school expulsion. They certainly indicate that the right to request service in public libraries, in public art museums, in lunch-counters located in public buildings cannot be infringed by expulsion of school. Whether or not they teach that the right to "sit-in" in privately-owned dime stores is equally protected from state interference depends on the attitude of the judges who decide the case. In this regard it is well to note that expulsion from school removes the students from the best influence of democracy and distorts their sense of justice and faith in freedom.[204]

Finally, it should be noted that a university "is not and must not become an aggregation of like-minded people all behaving according to approved convention. It is a temple of the open-minded...the historical consequence of the mediaeval studium generale—a self generated guild of students or of master accepting as grounds for entrance and dismissal only criteria relevant to the

performance of scholarly duties."[205] One is reminded of an incident that occurred at Cornell University during World War I. The Dean of the Law School introduced to the faculty a resolution of censure against a professor for anti-British remarks he made off the campus. The Dean said his resolution was adapted from one that had been adopted in somewhat similar circumstances by a church group. A professor of American History rose to oppose the resolution with the reputed comment that "This resolution has the marks of its provenance. Discipline is the business of bishops. It is not our business." Similarly, discipline for illegal sit-ins is the business of the criminal courts, not the business of universities. If and only if the students are convicted and their convictions affirmed may the college authorities appropriately take cognizance of the matter.

"Sit-Ins", Trespass Laws, and Unconstitutional State Action Under the Fourteenth Amendment

Students have been arrested under state trespass laws for picketing on the privately owned sidewalks of a Raleigh, N. C. privately owned shopping center,[206] for "sit-ins" in lunch rooms at the Atlanta, Georgia Court House and City Hall,[207] for "sit-ins" at the public library in Petersburg, Virginia,[208] and for "sit-ins" at various privately owned dime stores throughout the South.

The Supreme Court has held that a state cannot constitutionally apply its trespass laws so as to punish a peaceful picketer for remaining on privately owned sidewalks of a privately owned town against the express orders of the town manager.[209] The federal courts of appeals have held that states cannot discriminate against Negroes in libraries receiving public financial support,[210] or in lunch rooms located in public buildings and under governmental control.[211] It therefore seems clear that the states cannot punish Negroes for entering an establishment where the state cannot prohibit their presence.[212] Less clear, indeed, highly uncertain, is the right of a state to apply its trespass laws against Negroes who remain in a privately operated

dime store after being told to leave. The law on this point is open. In 1958 the North Carolina Supreme Court in State v. Clyburn[213] sustained a trespass conviction against Negroes who refused to leave a Durham ice cream parlor when so directed, but the litigants did not raise and the Court did not pass upon the contention that the "judicial" enforcement of the trespass laws was state action forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment. The issue not having been raised or passed upon, the decision does not constitute a precedent when the question is finally brought to the fore.[214] The issue was raised in a subsequent Virginia bus terminal trespass case, and the Supreme Court has agreed to hear an appeal from the Virginia Court affirmance of conviction.[215] As the Supreme Court may well dispose of the case without reaching the issue under discussion,[216] it is appropriate to sketch the competing societal interests and outline the analogies which might prove helpful in balancing the two.

Historically, apart from "innkeepers", "public carriers" and the like,[217] the proprietor of a business can deal with his patrons as he likes--denying service to some and not to others. This right to deny service was recognized by the English common law[218] and some fifty years ago by the United States Supreme Court. Marrone v. Washington Jockey Club.[219] Such is the law today for the private proprietors who do not do business in the twenty-six states which have laws prohibiting such discrimination.[220] Recent illustrations are found in Williams v. Howard Johnson's Restaurant,[221] where the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit refused a Negro's request to order an in-city restaurant to serve him, and Eaton v. Board of Managers of James Walker Memorial Hospital,[222] where the same court refused a Negro doctor's request to order a hospital to allow him admission so he could treat his patients.

In direct conflict with the right of the private proprietor to refuse service to patrons deemed undesirable, is the right of all persons, Negroes included, to acquire property. This right to "acquire and possess property

of every kind" is "fundamental to citizenship" and is guaranteed by the "privilege and immunities" clauses of the Constitution.[223] It is guaranteed against Federal and State infringement by the "Due Process Clauses" of the Constitution.[224] It is guaranteed by a federal law[225] now incorporated into the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.[226]

This fundamental right to acquire property of every kind has been deemed paramount to the right of governments to district city housing on racial lines;[227] to the right of state[228] and federal[229] courts to enforce restrictive covenants in real estate contracts; to the right of state and city instrumentalities to enforce segregation in city buses,[230] in city libraries,[231] in public auditoriums,[232] in athletic events,[233] in swimming pools,[234] beaches,[235] golf courses,[236] in public housing,[237] in the sale of liquor,[238] in the sale of groceries,[239] and in the sale of food at a courthouse cafe.[240]

This fundamental right to equality of opportunity in acquiring property of every kind is said to be free only from "state" interference, not from "private" discriminatory practices. This is the result of the land-mark Civil Rights Cases[241] of 1883. There theater owners, inn-keepers, and the management of a railroad were indicted under the Civil Rights Act of 1875 which made it a federal crime for the owner of public conveyances, theaters, and other places of public amusement to deny anyone the full and equal enjoyment of their accommodations. The defendants had denied access to Negroes because of their race. The Supreme Court dismissed the indictments on the ground that the Civil Rights Act there in issue was beyond the Constitutional authority granted Congress by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. The Court held that these Amendments were not intended to end discrimination by private persons but only to "provide modes of redress against the operation of state laws, and the action of state officials executive or judicial."[242] It follows that a

private store owner acting alone can discriminate against Negro customers without violating the Fourteenth Amendment. A problem arises only when the store owner calls a policeman or otherwise invokes the aid of the state judicial process in enforcing his privately originated discriminatory schemes.

The actions of the police[243] and of licensed private detectives[244] are the actions of the state for purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment, even when the police act contrary to the state law.[245] A United States Court of Appeals held that a policeman acts under "color of law" when he ejects a Negro from a privately owned amusement park swimming pool at the request of the proprietor and thereby subjects himself to suit for injunctive, declaratory and monetary relief for denying the Negro ticket holder the right to make and enforce contracts. Moreover, the proprietor who called the policeman is also subject to suit for his participation in the denial of constitutional rights.[246] Another federal court enjoined motion picture theater owners and two local police officials from enforcing racially segregated seating in the theater. The Court ruled that the practice instituted by the owners and aided by the police violated the Federal Civil Rights Act in that all defendants deprived Negro patrons of fundamental liberties under "color of law".[247]

The actions of a judge, like the actions of a policeman, are the actions of the state for purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment. This was first decided in 1879 when the Supreme Court held that a state judge who denied Negroes the right to serve as jurors unconstitutionally violated rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court said this:

> "A state acts by its legislative, its executive, or its judicial authorities. It can act in no other way... Whoever, by virtue of public position under a state government denies or takes away the equal protection of the laws, violates the constitutional inhibition; and as he acts in the name and for the state, and is clothed with the state's

power, his act is that of the state. This must be so, or the constitutional prohibition has no meaning. Then the state has clothed one of its agents with power to annul or to evade it".[248]

Since that time the Supreme Court has ruled that a state unconstitutionally infringes upon liberties of speech and religion when a state judge convicts a Jehovah's Witness for inciting breach of the peace by playing an anti-Catholic phonograph record on the streets of a Catholic neighborhood, Cantwell v. Connecticut;[249] that a state unconstitutionally infringes rights of free speech when a state judge convicts a leaflet distributor under the state trespass law for remaining on privately owned sidewalks when told by the owner to leave, Marsh v. Alabama;[250] that a state unconstititionally infringes on freedom of speech when a state judge enjoins "stranger picketing" under a common law policy banning all picketing unless done by the employer's own employees A.F. of L. v. Swing;[251] that a state unduly infringes upon the right of communication when a state judge jails a litigant for contempt of court by publishing remarks hostile to the judge, Bridges v. California;[252] and that state and federal judges unconstitutionally interfere with the right of Negroes to acquire property when they enforce the provisions of racial restrictive covenants in real estate deeds. Shelley v. Kraemer;[253] Hurd v. Hodge.[254] In the Shelley case, the Court said:

> "That the action of state courts and judicial officers in their official capacities is to be regarded as actions of the state within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment is a proposition which has long been established by decisions of this Court".[255]

Subsequently the Supreme Court has held that a state court cannot award damages against a white vendor who violates the terms of a restrictive covenant because so doing would devitalize the constitutional right of a Negro purchaser,

Barrow v. Jackson;[256] and has questioned but not decided the right of a state court to hear a defense involving private racial discrimination. Rice v. Sioux City Memorial Park Cemetary.[257] Similarly, the Court has questioned but not decided the issue of whether judicial recognition and enforcement of a collective bargaining contract under which an employee was discharged for alleged Communist activities was state action in the sense that Fourteenth Amendments restraints come into play. Black v. Cutter Laboratories.[258] But whatever the outer reaches of the doctrine may be, it is clear that judicial enforcement of the state trespass laws is state action within the scope and meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. This, however, is to state but one leg of the problem, for it is not all "state action" that is unconstitutional. Is this particular state action, i.e., judicial enforcement of state trespass laws at request of dime store operators, unconstitutional?

It is no answer to say that dime stores are privately owned and operated and therefore the proprietors have a right to do as they please with their own businesses. The state has an obvious interest in every business serving the public and under certain conditions can if it wishes enact statutes which regulate a host of items including the wages paid employees,[259] the health and sanitary conditions[260] the prices charged the customers,[261] the items which can or cannot be sold,[262] and even the right of the proprietor to refuse service to a given class of would-be customers.[263] "All rights tend to declare themselves absolute in their logical extreme. Yet all in fact are limited by the neighborhood of principles of policy which are other than those on which the particular right is founded and which become strong enough to hold their own when a certain point is reached."[264] A few analogies make this clear.

Private employers, as a general proposition, have freedom to hire and fire who they will. But when the Congressional granted right of employees to engage in free self-organization comes into play, it becomes an enjoinable

offense for an employer to fire a worker because of his pro-union activities.[265] In like vein, the owners of private businesses, again as a general proposition, can bar trespassers from entering their premises. But when the right of self-organization comes into play, it sometimes becomes an enjoinable offense for employers to prohibit the entrance of union organizers to distribute union handbills on company owned parking lots, on the company owned sidewalks leading to the street, or in the company owned restaurants.[266] In one unusual situation, the owner of a retail store was ordered to make his business premises available for a union mass meeting during working hours and on paid-time.[267] It is all a question of balancing conflicting societal interests in light of the facts of the given situation. As stated by the Supreme Court:

> "Organization rights are granted to workers by the same authority, the National Government, that preserves property rights. Accommodations between the two must be obtained with as little destruction of one as is consistent with the maintenance of the other. The employer may not affirmatively interfere with organization; the union may not always insist that the employer aid organization. But when the inaccessibility of employees make ineffective the reasonable attempts by non-employees to communicate with them through the usual channels, the right to exclude from property has been required to yield to the extent needed to permit communication of information on the right to organize."[268]

In applying this "ease of communication" test, companies whose employees come from many directions and far quarters are required to open their premises to union organization, whereas companies whose employees are centrally located in a nearby community can enforce "no-solicitation" and "no-trespass" rules.[269]

Just as the rights of private proprietorship to exclude undesirables must sometimes yield to the right of employees to form unions of their own

choosing, so also the rights of private proprietorship to exclude undesirables from their property must sometimes yield to the interest of free speech and religion. Marsh v. Alabama[270] concerned a Jehovah's Witness who was arrested under the Alabama trespass law when she refused the order of the town manager to cease distribution of religious literature on the privately owned sidewalks of the business district of the company-owned town of Chickasaw. The Supreme Court held that the arrest unconstitutionally infringed on rights of free speech and religion and said this:

> "We do not agree that the corporation's property interests settle the question. The State urges in effect that the corporation's right to control the inhabitants of Chickasaw is coextensive with the right of a homeowner to regulate the conduct of his guests. We cannot accept that contention. Ownership does not always mean absolute dominion. The more an owner, for his advantage, opens up his property for use by the public in general, the more do his rights become circumscribed by the statutory and constitutional rights of those who use it."[271]

This "open up his property for use by the public in general" test has been applied subsequently in several contexts. The Virginia courts have sustained the constitutionality of trespass laws as applied to Jehovah's Witnesses who distributed leaflets in the upper corridors of an exclusive apartment house over the protest of the lobby attendant and the apartment manager.[272] The New York courts have sustained the right of one who owns 171 adjoining and interrelated apartment houses to forbid Jehovah's Witnesses access to the inner hallways but not the private streets, lanes, and parks within the housing development.[273] The Texas courts issued an injunction against Jehovah's Witnesses'

use of a park owned by a company as the undisputed state of the record showed that the company intended to "maintain these premises for the social and recreational use only of itself, its departments, and employees."[274] The Massachusetts courts have held that the state trespass law cannot lawfully be applied to a Jehovah's Witness who rings the bells in the vestibule of an apartment house against the orders of the owner as "an implied license was granted to the defendants and all others engaged in lawful pursuits to make use of them for the purpose of seeking an interview with the tenants."[275] These cases demonstrate that the owner of property may invoke the state trespass laws to eject undesirables if the property is truly "private" but contrariwise, that the owner of property nominally "private" but in actuality open to the public has no such right.

Another series of cases analogous to the problem here, hold that the homeowner acting individually can reject unwelcome guests at his doorstep; but that a city acting on behalf of its citizens can make blanket rejections if, and only if, the unwelcome guest contributes nothing of value to himself, the homeowner, or society. Many cities have sought to protect their citizen home-owners from unwelcome door-to-door salesmen by making it illegal for solicitors, peddlers, hawkers and the like to go upon private residences without prior invitation of the householder. When the City of Struthers sought to apply this type of ordinance to a Jehovah's Witness distributing handbills advertising a religious meeting, the Supreme Court held the city action unconstitutional.

> "Freedom to distribute information to every citizen whoever he desires to receive it is so clearly vital to the preservation of a free society that...it must be fully preserved. The dangers of distribution can so easily be controlled by traditional legal methods, leaving to each householder the full right to decide whether he will receive strangers as visitors,

that stringent prohibition can serve no purpose but that forbidden by the Constitution, the naked restriction of the dissemination of ideas."[276]

When the City of Alexandria sought to apply this type of ordinance to a magazine salesman, the Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of the City's action. Pointing out that the prior Struthers case involved "the free distribution of an invitation to religious services" whereas here was involved the commercial solicitation of mass magazine subscriptions, the Court said:

> "It would be, it seems to use, a misuse of the great guarantee of free speech and free press to use those guarantees to force a community to admit the solicitors of publications to the home premises of its residents."[277]

Justices Black and Douglas dissented from this holding with the statement that "The constitutional sanctuary for the press must necessarily include liberty to publish and circulate." They too, however, would draw the line permitting city punishment for home trespass according to the societal value of the intrusion. Justice Black said:

> "Of course I believe that the present ordinance could constitutionally be applied to a merchant who goes from door to door selling pots."[278]

There is yet another area of conduct where society sometimes prohibits individuals from precluding unwelcome guests: the area of private associations. As a general proposition, clubs, societies and organizations can admit to membership or reject from membership whom they please for whatever reasons they please. This unlimited power to exclude from membership is premised on the supposed personal nature of the relationship, and the futility of attempting to force one man's companionship on another.[279] But the seriousness of the consequences of an exclusion or explusion varies greatly in different kinds of associations. "Explusion from a secret society, or the

refusal of the grand lodge to give its password to the delegate of a subordinate lodge, or the revocation of the charter of a college sorority, leave no permanent wounds...But the skilled workman who is thrown out of his trade union, the physician expelled from the medical association, or the broker expelled by the stock exchange, will often find it very hard to earn a livelihood".[280] The degree to which the "private society" performs a function or service vital to the excluded individual determines the line drawn by the courts when asked to grant relief to a person excluded from societal membership. This is demonstrated in a series of cases involving labor unions, long considered as being no different from any other fraternal organizations and therefore governed by the same set of legal rules.[281] A union of bricklayers, for example, is free to exclude Negro bricklayers from membership on the theory that the union represents and bargains only for its members and because there is nothing to prevent Negro bricklayers from organizing a union of their own.[282] However, when the nature of the industry is such that two or more unions cannot exist side by side, and as a consequence, the union chosen by a majority of the employees speaks and acts on behalf of all employees, the union is then required to represent all on an equal basis--white member and Negro non-member alike.[283] And when membership in a union becomes a condition of employment, the union which functions under state protection and holds itself out to represent the needs of employees looses its status as a private organization and is obligated to accept all qualified applicants for membership.[284]

A final analogy to the situation at hand is found in the racial restrictive covenant cases. A racial restrictive covenant is an agreement entered into by fellow property owners whereby each agrees not to sell to a member of a designated race. The cases arose when white property owners sold to Negroes, and neighboring white property owners asked the courts to enforce the covenants by ejecting the Negro occupants. The Supreme Court ruled that

the requested judicial relief unconstitutionally deprived Negroes of "the same right...as is enjoyed by white citizens...to purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property."[285] The Court pointed out that "The are not cases, as has been suggested, in which the states have merely abstained from action, leaving private individuals free to impose such discriminations as they see fit. Rather, these are cases in which states have made available to such individuals the full coercive power of government...."[286] The Court concluded that "The Constitution confers upon no individual the right to demand action by the state which results in the denial of equal protection of the laws to other individuals."[287] In reaching this conclusion the Court relied upon Marsh v. Alabama,[288] which prohibited state judicial enforcement of trespass laws;[289] upon Buchanan v. Warley, which invalidated a city statute prohibiting a white vendor from selling to a would-be Negro purchaser; upon Richmond v. Deans,[290] which nullified a city ordinance prohibiting Negroes the right to seek out and purchase homes in "white" neighborhood, and upon Oyama v. California,[291] which declared unconstitutional a state law denying equal enjoyment of property rights to Japanese. The intermingling reliance on case authority involving state judicial and state legislative action makes it clear that if a state cannot command discrimination by legislative fiat, it cannot achieve the same result by judicial enforcement of individual discriminatory practices.

The above analogies indicate that the dime store owners cannot seek judicial aid to remove undesired Negro patrons from their lunch counters.[292] Today's restauranteur occupies a position analogous to that of the Innkeeper in Merie England and to that of the modern American trade union. He operates under state control and inspection, and performs a service which is vital to the general public. "Eating out" is no longer a social treat or family outing. Thousands upon thousands of our citizens live in rented rooms with no kitchen facilities, and additional millions work in situations where they

cannot go home for lunch. If these persons cannot eat in restaurants, they are deprived of the necessities of life. It smacks too much of Marie Antoinette to suggest that the combination of grocery stores and city parks provides a suitable alternative to the restaurant. The right of opportunity to eat at a restaurant is more basic than the right of employees to free self-organization, see Republic Aviation Corp. v. Labor Board,[293] more basic than the right to union membership, see James v. Marinship Corp.,[294] no less basic than the right of Jehovah's Witnesses to distribute religious handbills at the open front door of the homeowner, see Martin v. Struthers,[295] and fully as important as the right to acquire suitable housing. See Shelley v. Kraemer.[296] All these mentioned rights have been held to be paramount to the right of privacy, the right to enforce "no trespass" rules, and the right of freedom of choice in association. Moreover, on the other side of the coin, it should be noted that today's typical restaurant is no longer a place where habitues gather at appointed tables with old cronies for a glass of beer, a game of whist, and an opportunity to discuss events of the day. Today's typical restaurants are, in the literal sense of the word, "public houses." To pharaphrase the Supreme Court in Marsh v. Alabama,[297] today's restauranteur, for his advantage, has opened his property for use by the public in general, and his rights have become circumscribed by the statutory and constitutional rights of the public in general. Ownership in these circumstances no longer means absolute dominion.

There is, therefore, ample legal grounds for holding that the application of state trespass laws to the dime store demonstrators wrongfully deprives them of fundamental rights of citizenship protected by federal statute and constitutional amendment. Whether or not the courts will reach this result remains to be seen.[298] However, it is well to mark the words of Dr. Frank Graham on this problem:

"When human rights are conceived as trespassing on property rights it should be recalled that property rights are securer and individual rights are freer when human rights are fairer."[299]

Daniel H. Pollitt

FOOTNOTES

1. Press Conference, The New York Times, March 17, 1960, p. 16, col. 1.

2. The words are those of Mr. Justice Bradley in the Civil Rights Cases, 109 U. S. 1, 22 (1883).

3. 14 Stat. 27, 42 U.S.C. sec. 1982. The sponsor of the bill in the House of Representatives explained its necessity as follows: "That the result of the recent war, and the enactment of the measures to which the events of the war naturally led us, have intensified the hate of the controlling class in the insurgent States toward our colored citizens is a fact against which we can neither shut our ears not close our eyes. Laws barbaric and treatment inhuman are the rewards meted out by our white enemies to our colored friends. We should put a stop to this at once and forever. And yet I would not do this in a way which would deprive a white man of a single right to which he is entitled. I would merely enforce justice for all men; and this is lawful, it is right, and it is our bounden duty." Congressional Globe, 39th Cong. 1st Sess (pt. 2. p. 1118.)

4. Hurd v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24 (1948).

5. The words are those of Mr. Justice Washington in Corfield v. Coryell, 4 Wash. C. C. 371 (1823), a case arising under the Privileges and Immunities Clause in Article LV, sec. 2 of the Constitution. The words were quoted with approval in the Slaughter-House Cases, 16 Wall (83 U.S.) 36, 76 where the Court construed the purpose and meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment Privileges and Immunities Clause.

6. Mathews, Booker T. Washington 42 (1948).

7. Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law 80 (1959).

8. See, e.g., Code of Va., 1950, sec. 18-327 as construed in Nash v. Air Terminal Service, 85 F. Supp. 545 (E.D. Va. 1949); Code of City of Durham, Chap. 13, sec. 42 p. 142 (1947).

9. In the university village of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where the student body forms the bulk of the restaurant patronage, the students by poll and student body resolution demonstrated an overwhelming desire for the termination of discrimination against Negro students. Three of the restaurants ended segregation some years ago, but the other restauranteurs refused to do likewise with the statement that "individually they were in no position to take any action." Onesuch restauranteur cited his "high class waitresses" as the main reason for his discriminatory policy. The Daily Tar Heel, March 3, 1960, p. 2, col. 1.

Some restauranterous refused to end discrimination on the theory that serving Negroes would require the installation of two new toilet facilities: one for Colored Men, the other for Colored Women. There is no statutory enactment requiring racially segregated toilet facilities in restaurants, although there is such a requirement in manufacturing establishments in North Carolina cities with a population of over a thousand. North Carolina General Statutes Sec. 95-48.

10. New York Times, March 26, 1960, p. 10, col. 6.

11. Author Harry Golden of Charlotte, N. C. commented that "If the NAACP and every other do-good organization disappeared from the face of the earth tonight, the movement would not skip a beat." Durham Morning Herald, March 20, 1960, p. 8-A, col. 4. Negro ministers, educators and other leaders with whom the writer has discussed the situation uniformly decried the timing of the demonstrations. Coming, as they did, in the midst of a gubenatorial primary campagin, they served to bring the racial issue into focus where as previously the candidates had soft-pedaled the issue.

12. New York Times, March 6, 1960, SE, p. 3, col. 2.

13. Durham Morning Herald, March 14, 1960, p. 2-A, col 8.

14. The Chapel Hill Weekly, March 24, 1960, p. 4, col. 1.

15. The writer is informed that demonstrators in High Point, Chapel Hill and other cities in North Carolina have classes in the techniques of non-violence, and are required to pledge passive resistance before they can participate in the picket lines. Many students at North Carolina College in Durham withdrew from the activities when they discovered they were unable to "take" the vilification and abuse sometimes meted the demonstrators.

16. Durham Morning Herald, March 20, 1960, p. 12-A, col. 2.

17. New York Times, March 3, 1960, p.15, col. 1.

18. Raleigh News and Observer, March 16, 1960, p. 8, col. 2.

19. New York Times, March 4, 1960, p. 11, col. 1.

20. New York Times, March 11, 1960, p. _____, col. _____; The New York Times, March 9, 1960, p. 19, col. 1.

21. Reverend Graham answered that "Such horrible acts are a stumbling block in the Christian world, are detestable and should be forthrightly condemned by all Christians." New York Times, March 11, 1960, p. _____, col. _____.

22. Raleigh News and Observer, March 28, 1960, p. 1, col. 6.

23. She also expressed opposition to sympathy boycotts in the North where the stores were not segregated. The New York Times, March 23, 1960, p. 18, col. 3.

24. The New York Times, March 13, 1960, p. 43, col. 5.

25. The New York Times, March 20, 1960, p. 1, col. 2.

26. The students called this a "more constructive expression of our support than picketing a dime store." The New York Times, March 22, 1960, p. 20, col. 1. The New York Times, March 19, 1960, p. 9, col. 3.

27. Durham Morning Herald, Feb. 11, 1960, p. 4-A, col. 5.

28. The New York Times, March 6, 1960, p. 74, col. 3.

28a. Id., March 28, 1960, p. 26, col. 1.

28b. Greensboro Daily News, March 24, 1958, p. 12, col. 4.

29. Durham Morning Herald, March 15, 1960, p. 1-B, col. 3.

30. The Chapel Hill Weekly, March 24, 1960, p. 4, col. 2. These and similar statements so alarmed the Mississippi Legislature that it passed a bill aimed at preventing church integration. The measure authorizes the state chancery courts, upon petition of two-thirds of the membership of a congregation, to dismiss its trustees and appoint new ones should the trustees vote to bring Negroes into white churches. The New York Times, March 25, 1960, p. 19, col. 1.

31. The New York Times, March 21, 1960, p. 37 C, col. 1.

32. Durham Morning Herald, March 13, 1960, p. 10-C, col. 6.

33. Durham Morning Herald, March 19, 1960, p. 7-B, col. 7.

34. Durham Morning Herald, March 20, 1960, p. 8-A, col. 4.

35. March 29, 1960, § A, p. 8, col. 1.

36. March 16, 1960, p. 8, col. 1

37. The New York Times, March 20, 1960, p. 1, col. 2.

37a. Id. April 6, 1960, p. 1, col. 8.

38. Durham Morning Herald, March 17, 1960 p. 2-A, col. 7.

39. Raleigh News and Observer, March 13, 1960, § III, p. 2, col. 7.

40. Raleigh News and Observer, March 13, 1960, sec. III, p. 2, col. 7.

41. Durham Morning Herald, March 27, 1960, p. 6-A, col. 2.

42. The New York Times, March 19, 1960, p. 9, col. 3.

43. The Charlotte News and Observer commented that "Some future logician will be baffled by an ancient logic that it was all right for a man to stand up and eat next to a person of another color but all wrong to eat sitting next to him." March 13, 1960, sec. 111, p. 2, col. 7. The future logician will be troubled also by the mores which permit complete and courteous service to the Department Store Negro customer in the lingerie, millinery and shoe departments but which draw the line at giving any service in the food departments.

43. ~~The Charlotte News and Observer comments that "Some future logician will be baffled by an ancient logic that it was all right for a man to stand up and eat next to a person of another color but all wrong to eat sitting next to him." March 13, 1960, sec. III, p. 2, col. 7.~~

44. Note. 41, supra.

45. Durham Morning Herald, March 23, 1960, p. 8-A, col. 4.

46. The following report is taken from the New York Times, March 6, 1960, Sec. E, p. 3, col. 3: "The Southern press has generally deplored the demonstrations. But some editors have found the Negroes a cut above the whites who turned out to torment them. The Richmond News Leader said Virginians must have 'felt a twing of wry regret' over circumstances surrounding a 'sit-in' in that city. The newspaper continued: 'Here were the colored students, in coats, white shirts, ties, and one of them was reading Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the sidewalk outside, was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slackjawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark were waving the proud and honored flag of the Southern States in the last war fought by gentlemen: Eheu! It gives one pause.'"

47. The New York Times, February 26, 1960, p. 8, col. 3.

48. The New York Times, February 27, 1960, p. 20, col. 1.

49. The New York Times, March 1, 1960, p. 21, col. 3.

50. The New York Times, March 7, 1960, p. 1, col. 3.

51. The New York Times, March 6, 1960, § E, p. 3, col. 1.

52. Id, March 3, 1960, p. 15, col. 1.

53. Id, March 7, 1960, p. 1, col. 3.

54. Id, March 9, 1960, p. 19, col. 1.

55. Id, March 11, 1960, p. 15, col. 4.

56. Id, March 12, 1960, p. , col. 4.

57, Id, March 23, 1960, p. 18, col. 3.

58. Id, March 25, 1960, p. 18, col. 6.

59. Id, March 11, 1960, p. 15, col. 4.

60. Id, March 18, 1960, p. 23, col. 1.

61. Id, February 27, 1960, p. 20, col. 1.

62. Id, March 1, 1960, p. 21, col. 6.

63. Id, March 3, 1960, p. 15, col. 1.

64. Id, March 4, 1960, p. 11, col. 1.

65. Id, March 5, 1960, p. 10, col. 1.

66. Id, March 13, 1960, p. 43, col. 4.

67. Id, March 16, 1960, p. 27, col. 2.

68. Id, March 18, 1960, p. 23, col. 1.

69. Durham Morning Herald, March 19, 1960, p.4-B, col. 6.

70. New York Times, March 19, 1960, p. 1, col. 8.

71. Id, p. 37, col. 1.

71a. Id, March 30, 1960, p. 21, col. 1.

72. Id, March 8, 1960, p. 19, col. 3.

73. Id, March 11, 1960, p. 15, col. 4.

74. Id, March 16, 1960, p. 27, col. 1.

75. Durham Morning Herald, March 18, 1960, p.8-B, col. 6.

76. Durham Morning Herald, March 27, 1960, p. 12-C, col. 3.

77. New York Times, March 9, 1960, p. 19, col. 2.

78. New York Times, March 13, 1960, p. 43, col. 5.

79. Id, March 29, 1960, p. 28, col. 2.

80. Id, March 30, 1960, p. 25, col. 1.

81. Durham Morning Herald, March 31, 1960, p. 15-A, col. 1.

81a. New York Times, April 1, 1960, p. 1, col. 4.

82. Durham Morning Herald, March 15, 1960, p. 3-A, col. 6.

83. New York Times, March 5, 1960, p. 10, col. 1.

84. The News of Orange County, March 31, 1960, § 11, p. 1, col. 3.

85. The New York Times, March 8, 1960, p. 21, col. 1.

86. The New York Times, March 5, 1960, p. 10, col. 1; The New York Times, February 27, 1960, p. 20, col. 1.

87. These facts generally went unreported in the press.

88. Durham Morning Herald, March 23, 1960, p. 8-A, col. 4.

89. The New York Times, February 24, 1960, p. 36, col. 6.

90. The New York Times, February 24, 1960, p. 36, col. 7.

91. Durham Morning Herald, February 25, 1960, p. 5-C, col. 1. In an analogous situation, the Supreme Court held in 1946 that application of the state's trespass laws to demonstrators on privately owned sidewalks unconstitutionally deprived the demonstrators of rights guaranteed by the First Amendment. Marsh v. Alabama, 326, U.S. 496 (1946). See text at footnote ____ below.

92. Durham Morning Herald, March 26, 1960, p. 1-B, col. 1. Judge Wilson of Durham acquitted the two students with the comment that "Any owner can refuse to serve anyone he pleases, but once a person is served, regardless of his race, he has a right to eat it." He added that unless establishments display "For Whites Only" signs, all races may enter and request service. Durham Morning Herald, March 29, 1960, p. 1-B, col. 7.

93. Greensboro Daily News, March 27, 1960, p. C-5, col. 5.

94. The New York Times, March 11, 1960, p. 15, col. 4.

95. The Daily Tar Heel, March 12, 1960, p. 1, col. 7. The writer has reliably informed that following the Governor's announcement, many Negro students received letters from home telling them to stop demonstrating and keep out of trouble.

96. The New York Times, April 2, 1960, p. 21, col. 1.

97. They spread as far west as Nevada, where a threatened "sit-in" at the Las Vegas resort hotels was called off when the management agreed to end the existing color bar. The New York Times, March 25, 1960, p. 18, col. 6.

98. The New York Times, March 3, 1960, p. 15, col. 1.

99. The New York Times, March 9, 1960, p. 19, col. 2.

100. The New York Times, February 29, 1960, p. 38, col. 7.

101. The New York Times, March 1, 1960, p. 21, col. 1.

102. Id, March 3, 1960, p. 16, col. 1.

103. Id., March 4, 1960, p. 11, Col. 1.

104. Id., March 5, 1960, p. 10, col. 1.

105. The Charlotte Observer, March 16, 1960, p. 1, col. 8.

106. The New York Times, February 24, 1960, p. 36, col. 3.

107. The New York Times, February 26, 1960, p. 8, col. 3.

108. The New York Times, February 28, 1960, p. 45, col. 2.

109. The New York Times, March 1, 1960, p. 21, col. 1.

110. Id., March 3, 1960, p. 15, col. 1.

111. Id., March 4, 1960, p. 11, col. 1.

112. Id., March 5, 1960, p. 10, col. 2.

113. Durham Morning Herald, March 20, 1960, p. 2-A, col. 6.

114. The New York Times, March 22, 1960, p. 25, col. 1.

115. The New York Times, March 23, 1960, p. 18, col. 3.

116. Id., March 24, 1960, p. 25, col. 1.

117. Id., March 8, 1960, p. 21, col. 1.

118. Id., March 9, 1960, p. 19, col. 1.

119. Id., March 29, 1960, p. 28, col. 2.

120. Id., March 31, 1960, p. 1, col. 2.

120a. National Student Council of the YMCA and YWCA, release, April 6, 1960

121. ~~Id.~~, April 1, 1960, p. 1, col. 4. The New York Times,

122. Id., March 20, 1960, p. 1, col. 2.

122a. Id. April 6, 1960, p. 1, col. 8.

123. Id., February 24, 1960, p. 36, col. 7.

124. Id., February 26, 1960, p. 8, col. 3.

125. Id., February 28, 1960, p. 45, col. 4.

126. Id., March 4, 1960, p. 11, col. 1.

127. Id, March 8, 1960, p. 21, col. 1.

128. Durham Morning Herald, March 20, 1960, p. 2-A, col. 6.

129. Durham Morning Herald, March 27, 1960, p. 12-C, col. 2.

130. The New York Times, March 22, 1960, p. 25, col. 1.

131. Id, March 8, 1960, p. 21, col. 1.

132. Durham Morning Herald, March 20, 1960, p. 2-A, col. 7.

133. The New York Times, March 13, 1960, §.E, p. 6, col 5.

134. Id., March 6, 1960, § E, p. 3, col. 1.

135. Ibid.

136. Greensboro Daily News, March 21, 1960, p. 4, col. 1.

137. The New York Times, March 23, 1960, p. 18, col. 3.

138. Durham Morning Herald, March 15, 1960, p. 2-A, col. 8.

139. The New York Times, February 24, 1960, p. 36, col. 7. In Richmond, Virginia, Negro college students urged a boycott of Thalhimers Department Store.

140. The New York Times, April 4, 1960, p. 37, col. 2.

141. Note 112, supra.

142. Durham Morning Herald, April 5, 1960, p. 8-B, col. 2.

143. The Sherman Act, § 1, 26 stat. 209, 15 V.S.C. § 1.

144. See, cf., Associated Press v. United States, 326 U.S. 1 (1945); United States v. Women's Sportswear Mfg. Ass'n., 336 U.S. 460 (1949).

145. 310 U.S. 469 at 503-4 (1940).

146. North Carolina statutes declare illegal "Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce." N.C. Gen. Stat. sec. 75-1 (1950). For similar state statutes see Tenn. Code Ann. sec. 69-101 (1955); Vernon's Texas Civil Statutes Art. 7426 (1951); and Virginia Code sec. 59-20 (1950).

147. N.C. Gen. Stat. § 75-5(3) (1950).

148. Rice v. Ice Company, 204 N.C. 768, 169 S.E. 707 (1933)(manufacturers of ice refused in concert to sell to a retailer); Lineberger v. Ice Co., 220 N.C. 444, 17 S.E. 2d 502 (1941)(same); Dallas General Drivers, etc. v. Wamix, Inc. of Dallas, 156 Tex. 408, 295 S.W. 2d 873 (1956) (It is not a conspiracy in restraint of trade for workmen to agree to strike and peacefully picket their employer). Compare Bailey v. Master Plumbers, 103 Tenn. 99, 52 S.W. 853 (1899) (bylaws requiring all members of a plumbers association to purchase only from designated dealers constituting illegal combination in restraint of trade). The North Carolina Court has gone so far as to sustain the legality of an agreement by cafe owners to boycott salesmen who sold products to a rival cafe owner. This agreement, said the court, "without any evidence of malice, fraud or coercion, did not give rise to the cause of action alleged." McNeill v. Hall, 220 N.C. 73, 16 S.E. 2d 456 (1941).

149. Quaere, do the store owners who meet and jointly decide to follow a policy of refusing sit-down service to Negroes violate the anti-trust laws? The Sherman Act does not restrict "the long recognized right of trader or manufacturer engaged in an entirely private business, freely to exercise his own independent discretion as to parties with whom he will deal." United States v. Colgate and Co., 250 U.S. 300, 307 (1919). The Sherman Act does, however, restrict the right of a merchant to reject customers when acting in concert with others. United States v. Parke, Davis and Company, ____U.S. ____, 28 U.S.L. Week 4150 (February 29, 1960). This does not resolve the issue, however, as the federal anti-trust laws are only applicable if there is (1) an agreement or conspiracy, see Interstate Circuit, Inc. v. United States, 306 U.S. 208 (1939)(Unanimity of reaction to proposal jointly made sufficient to establish conspiracy); (2) to restrain interstate trade, see Mandeville Island Farms, Inc. v. American Crystal Sugar Co., 334 U.S. 219 (1948)(restriction of sugar-beet acreage

restricts interstate trade); (3) to an extent "appreciable", see United States v. Yellow Cab Co., 332 U.S. 218 (1947) (monopolizing replacements of 5,000 taxicabs violates Sherman Act); (4) in the appropriate area of competition, see United States v. Paramount Pictures, Inc., 334 U.S. 131 (1948) (downtown theaters an area of competition distinct from movie exhibition business generally); International Boxing Club v. United States, 358 U.S. 242 (1959) (promotion of championship boxing bouts separate and distinct from business of promoting boxing bouts generally).

150. Prosser, Torts sec. 107 (2d ed. 1955).

151. Note, Entertainment: Public Pressures and the Law, 71 Harv. L. Rev. 326, 366 (1957), citing Watch Tower Bible and Tract Soc'y v. Dougherty, 337 Pa. 286, 11 A. 2d 147 (1940).

152. Ex Parte Lyons, 27 Cal. App. 2d 293, 81 P. 2d 190 (1938).

153. Rosman v. United Strictly Kosher Butchers, 164 Misc. 378, 298 N.Y. Supp. 343 (Sup. Ct. 1937).

154. Note, Constitutional Law: Non-Labor Picketing: Is An "Unlawful Objective" a "Serious Substantial Evil"?, 37 Calif. L. Rev. 296 (1949).

155. See Smith, Labor Law 217 (1953).

156. The National Labor Relations Board has noted that "the unfair listing of a primary employer is a traditional weapon used by labor organizations in direct support of a primary labor dispute" and that it is designed to put pressure on the named employer "by diverse means, including withdrawal of services from him by union members..., refusal by such employees to accept his employment, product boycott by union employees and .. the public..., sympathetic refusal by union employers to trade with him, and the disconcerting effect of widespread publicity of the labor dispute". Denver Building & Construction Trades Council, 87 N.L.R.B. 755, 756 (1949).

157. Prosser, Torts, §106, p. 739 (2d ed. 1955).

158. Thornhill v. Alabama, 310 U.S. 88 (1940).

159. See e.g. Milk Wagon Drivers Union of Chicago v. Meadowmoor Dairies, 312 U.S. 287 (1941).

160. See, e.g. Gibboney v. Empire Storage & Ice. Co., 336 U.S. 490 (1949).

161. Note, Unfair Lists as Inducements to Secondary Boycotts under §8(b)(4)(A) of the Taft-Hartley Act, 62 Yale L. J. 1111 (1953).

162. New Negro Alliance v. Grocery Co., 303 U.S. 552, 561 (1938). The Court here reversed a federal court injunction against the picketing on the theory that a "labor dispute" existed between the parties within the meaning of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. In Hughes v. Superior Court, 339 U.S. 460 (1950), the Court assumed the privileged legality of Negro picketing to eliminate "race" as a factor in employment policies but sustained an injunction prohibiting Negro picketing designed to bring about employment of Negroes on a ratio equal of White-Negro patronage. "We cannot construe the Due Process Clause as precluding California from securing respect for its policy against involuntary employment on racial lines by prohibiting systematic picketing that would subvert such policy". 339 U.S. at 466.

163. Anora Amusement Corporation v. Doe, 171 Misc. 279, 12 N.Y.S. 2d 400 (Sup. Ct. 1939).

164. Stevens v. West Philadelphia Youth Civic League, 34 Pa. D & C. 612, 617 (County Ct., 1939).

165. The degree of self, family, group and public interest in the picketing is a factor in determining liability for interference with the prospective economic benefits of others. Prosser, Torts, §106, p. 735 (2d ed. 1955).

166. See text at fn. 48, <u>infra</u>. The federal courts have held that courthouse cafeterias cannot discriminate against Negro patrons, even when leased

to private entrepreneurs. Derrington v. Plummer, 240 F.2d 922 (5th Cir. 1956), cert. den. 353 U.S. 924 (1957).

167. See text at fn. 54, supra. The right to peaceful demonstrations is well recognized. See, e.g., Hague v. Committee for Industrial Organization, 307 U.S. 496 (1939).

168. See text at fn. 59, supra. The legality of sit-ins is discussed below.

169. See text at fn. 61, supra.

170. See text at fn. 104, supra.

171. See text at fn. 105, supra.

172. See text at fn. 114, supra. The federal courts have held that libraries receiving state money cannot discriminate against Negroes even though the library is privately originated and privately managed. Kerr v. Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore City, 149 F.2d 212 (4th Cir. 1945), cert. den. 326 U.S. 721 (1945).

173. See text at fn. 115, supra.

174. 154 Mich. 150, 117 N.W. 589 (1908).

175. 249 N.C. 733, ____S.E. 2d ____(1959).

176. 337 U.S. 1 (1949).

177. 337 at 4.

178. 340 U.S. 315 (1951).

179. 340 U.S. at 320-1.

180. 163 F. 2d 877 (8th Cir. 1947), cert. den. 332 U.S. 851 (1948).

181. R.S. §1979, 42 V.S.C. §1983.

182. 163 F. 2d at 881.

183. Gellhorn, American Rights p. 61-62 (1960).

184. The Mississippi court recently held that a financially able father can be compelled to provide college-education funds for his seventeen year old daughter even though his divorced wife has the child's custody. The Court remarked that the duty to provide a college education is a duty which the parent "not only owes to his child, but to the state as well, since

the stability of our government must depend upon well-equipped, a well-trained, and a well-educated citizenship." Pass v. Pass, 28 U.S.L. Week 2483 (Miss. Sup. Ct., March 28, 1960).

185. The fine levied by the North Carolina courts for trespass in the Durham ice cream parlor was $10.00. State v. Clyburn, 247 N.C. 455, 101 S.E. 2d 295 (1958). The fine levied by the Virginia courts for trespass in the Richmond bus terminal cafe was also $10.00. The New York Times, February 29, 1960, p. 18, col. 2.

186. Among the liberties guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment is "The right of the individual...to acquire useful knowledge." Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390, 399 (1923). The state has no power to standardize its children, Pierce v. The Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510, 523 (1925); or to compel uniformity of thought in the public schools. Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624 (1943).

187. The Legal Status of the Public School Pupil, 26 National Education Association Research Bulletin, 28 (1948). Private educational institutes are generally free to select whom they will admit as students, but once having admitted, the institution cannot expell students except for reasons and by procedures set forth in the Charters and Catalogues.

A Pennsylvania court held that it had no jurisdiction when suit was filed by an expelled student from a private college whose catalogue announced that it "reserves the right to exclude at any time students whose conduct or academic standing it regards as undesirable." Barker v. Bryn Mawr College, 276 Pa. 121, 122 Atl. 220 (1923). The New York courts, however, hold that a private institution cannot dismiss a student without reason or arbitrarily even though the catalogue reserved to the institution "the right to require the withdrawal of any student at any time for any reason deemed sufficient to it." Anthony v. Syracuse University, 224 App. Div. 487, 231 N.Y.S. 435 (1928). A Florida court held that a student can recover damages from a private institution for "wanton and malicious expulsion." John V. Stetson University v. Hunt, 88 Fla. 510, 102 So. 637

(1924). "It is uniformly held in the United States that the relation between a college and its students is a contractual one .... but in practice courts interfere only where there has been a palpable abuse of the wide discretion possessed by the authorities." Note, Right to Dismiss Student without Stating Cause, 77 U. of Pa. L. Rev. 694, 695 (1929).

188. Pulsley v. Sellmeyer, 158 Ark. 247, 250 S.W. 538 ( ).

189. Tanton v. McKenney, 226 Wis. 245, 197 N.W. 510 ( ).

190. State v. Clapp; 81 Mont. 200, 263 P. 433 (1928); cert. den. sub. nom. State of Montana ex rel Ingersoll v. Clapp, 277 U.S. 591 ( ).

191. State v. Marion County Board of Education, ____ Tenn. ____, 302 S.W. 2d 57 (1959).

192. It goes without saying that the courts have sustained expulsion for cheating on examinations, People ex rel Bluett v. Tustees of University of Illinois, 10 Ill. App. 2d 207, 134 N.E. 2d 635 (1956); for giving false testimony in a faculty investigation of a disciplinary disturbance, Goldstein v. New York University, 76 App. Div. 80, 78 N.Y.S. 739 (1902) and for creating a disturbance on the school bus. In re Neal, ____ App. Div. ____, 164 N.Y.S. (2d) 549 (195).

193. A recent illustration of a regulation banning membership in fraternities whose constitutions discriminate on basis of race and religion is found in Webb v. State University of New York, 125 F. Supp. 910 (N.D. N.Y. 1954).

194. Burkitt v. School District No. 1, ____ Ore. ____, 246 P. 2d 566 (195). See generally, The Legal Status of the Public School Pupil, note 187, supra. at 29.

195. Wright v. Board of Education of St. Louis, ____ Mo. ____, 246 S.W. 43 (1922).

196. 24 Mo. App. 309 (1887).

197. Elliott and Chambers, The Colleges and the Courts 26 (1936).

198. 101 Mis. 146, 167 N.Y. Supp. 202 (1917).

199. 17 U.S.L. Week 3374, cert. den. 338 U.S. 816 (1949).

200. 100 So. 2d 442 (Dist. Ct. App. of Florida. 1958).

201. For a general survey of the state statutes and decisions see The Legal Status of the Public-School Pupil, note 187 supra. at 28.

202. Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624, 629-30 (1943).

203. Id., at 637.

204. Note, Legislative Control of Loyalty in the School System, 29 Neb. L. Rev. 485, 501 (1950).

205. Statement of Charles E. Wyzanski, then President of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University in support of proposition that "What faculty members do outside their posts, we should leave to outside authority". Harvard Alumni Bulletin, p. 316, January 23, 1956.

Some forty years earlier President Lowell of Harvard repudiated the concept of punishing a professor for off-campus extreme or injudicious actions with the statement that "If a university or college censors what its professors may say, if it restrains them from uttering something that it does not approve, it thereby assumes responsibility for that which it permits them to say. This is logical and inevitable but it is a responsibility which an institution of learning would be very unwise in assuming". 15 Official Register of Harvard University No. 6, 19-20 (1916).

206. See text at note 91, supra.

207. See text at note 74, supra.

208. See text at note 131, supra.

209. Marsh v. Alabama, 326 U.S. 496 (1946). "The 'business block' serves as the community shopping center and is freely accessible and open to the people in the area and those passing through. The managers appointed by the corporation cannot curtail the liberty of press and religion of these people consistently with the purposes of the Constitutional guarantees, and a state statute, as the one here involved, which enforces such action by criminally punishing those who attempt to distribute religious literature clearly violates the First and Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution." Id at p. 508.

210. Kerr v. Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore City, 149 F.2d 212 (4th Cir. 1945), cert. den. 326 U.S. 721 (1945).

211. Derrington v. Plummer, 240 F.2d 922 (5th Cir. 1956), cert. den. 353 U.S. 924 (1957).

212. State v. Cooke, 248 N.C. 485, 103 S.E. 2d 846 (1958). Here Negroes were convicted for unlawful entry upon a golf course despite a prior federal court order enjoining racial discrimination. The North Carolina Supreme Court recognized that "if a party entering upon the land has a legal right to do so, of course he may not be convicted of a trespass," but sustained the trespass conviction because the defendants had failed to put the federal court order (which was not subject to judicial knowledge) into the record.

213. 247 N.C. 455, 101 S.E. 2d 295 (1958). The Negro litigants had to show unconstitutional "state" action, and put primary reliance on a city ordinance requiring segregation in restaurants. This would have been sufficient, but the litigants failed to put the ordinance into evidence, and the courts, consistent with prior holdings, refused to take judicial notice of its existence. The litigants additionally sought to prove "state" action because (1) the ice cream parlor was licensed and periodically inspected by health officials; and because (2) they had been arrested by a city policeman. The North Carolina courts, consistent with the decisions in other jurisdictions, held that the mere fact that an establishment is subject to state control through health and sanitation inspection is not sufficient to make the establishment an agent of the state for purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment. The North Carolina courts further held that the arrest by a policeman is not "state" action. This is contrary to the rulings of many courts, both state and federal. See text at fn. ____, <u>infra</u>.

214. United States v. More, 3 Cranch (7 U.S.) 159, 172 (1805); King Mfg. Co. v. Augusta, 277 U. S. 100, 135 (1928).

215. Bruce Boynton, a Negro student at Howard University in Washington, D. C. went south on a bus. The bus stopped for a forty-minute layover at a terminal in Richmond. Boynton went into the restaurant for Negroes which was crowded, and then into the "white" restaurant. He was refused service service and told to leave. When he refused, he was arrested and convicted of trespass. The Virginia Supreme Court affirmed the $10.00 fine without opinion. The United States Supreme Court granted the petition for review which raises two contentions: first, that when the private restaurant choose to invoke the power of the state by having Boynton prosecuted, the discrimination against him became official, not private, and hence violated the Fourteenth Amendment; second, segregation of terminal restaurants put an undue burden on interstate commerce. Boynton v. Va., No. 409, ____ U.S. ____, The New York Times, Feb. 24, 1960, p. 29, col. 6.

216. The Court might analogize bus terminal cafes to railroad dining cars and thereby hold the discrimination illegal under the Interstate Commerce Act. Henderson v. United States, 339 U. S. 816 (1950). This would be in keeping with the Court's practice when faced with two alternative grounds for decision to make its ruling on basis of statutory construction (which can be overruled by Congress amendatory process) rather than on the basis of the Constitution. Thus, if the Court conforms to prior practice, it will not reach the Constitutional issues unless it first rules that a bus terminal cafe is not an "instrumentality" of commerce within the scope of the Interstate Commerce Act.

217. The common law imposed upon innkeepers, common carriers, wharfingers, and others who operated businesses having the nature of a public utility to serve all well behaved customers without discrimination. In England rejection of a guest was long ago made a crime and remediable by suit for damages. The rule is viable there today, as witnessed by a recent case in which a renowned Negro West Indian cricketer recovered against a

British hotel for refusal to serve him. Constantine v. Imperial Hotels, Ltd., 1 K.B. 693, 2 Alt.E.R. 171 (1944).

The obligation to serve all comers is due to the public nature of the business,see e.g. Innkeepers, 28 Am. Jur. 565; the need to protect the traveler in a day when the solitary inn between cities was a necessity on long, dangerous journeys; and the unfairness in permitting an innkeeper to pick and choose when he "allured travelers to his tavern by holding himself out to the public as ready to entertain them." State v. Steele, 106 N.C. 766, _____S.W._____(1890).

The various states are free to accept or reject this common law doctrine. Delaware, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Florida have rejected it. Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law 97 (1959). North Carolina has accepted it with the modification that innkeepers are not required to accept guests "so objectionable to the patrons of the house, on account of the race to which they belong, that it would injure the business to admit them to all portions of the house..." State v. Steele, 106 N.C. at 782. This case was subsequently construed as holding that "Innkeepers may assign them (white and colored guests) separate apartments provided they furnish equal accommodations to both." McMillan v. School Committee, 107 N.C. 619, _____S.W._____(1890).

The common law obligation extended to hotel restaurants, but in Virginia such establishments need not serve casual Negro patrons. Alpaugh v. Wolverton, 184 Va.943, 36 S.E. 2d 906 (1946), see Note, Racial Discrimination by Restaurant, 46 Va. L. Rev. 123, 124 (1960).

218. Wood v. Leadbitter, 13 M. & W. 838, 153 Eng. Rep. 351 (1845). Here the English Court of the Exchequer ruled that tickets for admission to a race track were revocable at any time without return of the money paid and without assignment, by the owner, of any reason for the revocation.

219. 227 U.S. (1913). The Court, in an opinion by Holmes, held that a patron ejected from a race track with no more force than necessary did not have a cause of action in trespass, assault, or false arrest.

A few jurisdictions now allow recovery for wrongful rejection in the absence of statute. The Louisiana Supreme Court recently gave $250 damages for humiliation and embarrassment to a ticket holder ejected from a theater because he was a cripple, Vogel v. Saenger Theaters, 207 La. 835, 22 So. 2d 189 (1945); and a Federal court allowed recovery to a Negro when a hotel refused to honor his mail reservation. Thomas v. Pick Hotels, 224 F. 2d 664 (10th Cir. 1955).

220. See Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law 101 ff (1959); Emerson and Haber, Political and Civil Rights in the United States 1413 (2d Ed. 1958).

221. 168 F. 2d 845 (4th Cir. 1959).

222. 261 F. 2d 521.

223. Corfield v. Coryell, 4 Wash. C.C. 371 (1823), (a case arising under the Privileges and Immunities Clause of Art. IV, Sec. 2 of the Constitution) and quoted with approval in the Slaughter-House Cases, 16 Wall. (83 U.S.) 36, 76 (a case arising under the Privileges and Immunities Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment).

224. Oyama v. California, 332 U. S. 633 (1948), holding unconstitutional the California Alien Land Law prohibiting Japanese from acquiring agricultural land.

225. See fn. 2, supra.

226. Hurd v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24 (1948). "If there is any one purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment that is wholly outside the realm of doubt, it is that the Amendment was designed to bar States from denying to some groups, on account of their race or color, any rights, privileges, and opportunities accorded to other groups." Mr. Justice Black concurring in Oyama v. California, 332 U. S. 633 (1948).

227. Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60 (1917) (City ordinance districting city on racial lines to prevent race riots declared unconstitutional in suit brought by willing white vendor to enforce contract of sale with Negro purchaser); Richmond v. Deans, 281 U.S. 704 (1930) (City ordinance districting city on racial lines to prevent inter-racial marriage declared unconstitutional in suit brought by Negro who sought freedom to seek opportunity to purchase a house in white neighborhood).

228. Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U. S. 1 (1948).

229. Hurd v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24 (1948).

230. Browder v. Gayle, 142 F. Supp. 707 (E.D. Ala. 1956), aff'd. per curiam, 352 U.S. 903 (1956); Flemming v. South Carolina Elect. & Gas Co., 224 F. 2d 752 (5th Cir. 1955), app. dis., 351 U.S. 901 (1956).

231. Kerr v. Enoch Pratt Free Library, 149 F. 2d 212 (4th Cir. 1945), cert. den., 326 U.S. 721 (1945).

232. Commonwealth v. Taylor, 3 R.R.L.R. 313 (Arlington Va., Cir. Ct. 1958).

233. Dorsey v. State Athletic Commission, 168 F. Supp. 149 (E.D. La. 1958), aff. 359 U.S. 633 (1959).

234. Lonesome v. Maxwell, 220 F. 2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955), aff'd sub nom. Mayor etc. of Baltimore City v. Sawson, 350 U.S. 877 (1955).

235. Tate v. Department of Conservation, 231 F. 2d 615 (4th Cir. 1956), cert. den. 352 U.S. 838 (1956).

236. Holmes v. City of Atlanta, 350 U.S. 879 (1955).

237. Detroit Housing Comm's v. Lewis, 226 F. 2d 180 (6th Cir. 1955).

238. De Angelis v. Board of Liquor License Comm'rs, 1 R.R.L.R. 370 (Baltimore City Court 1955) (unconstitutional for the Baltimore Board of Liquor Commissioners to grant liquor licenses for colored or white patronage only, not both.)

239. People v. Moore, 50 Hun. 356, 3 N.Y.S. 159 (1888). Here a mining company directed an employee named Moore to keep various tradesmen out of the privately owned city where the company employees lived. Moore turned away a tradesman named Snyder, and consequently was charged with assault

and battery. The defense raised was that Snyder was a trespasser. The New York Court said this: "We assume that if Snyder was a trespasser, the assault was justifiable, for no more force was used than was reasonably necessary to eject him from the premises. But he was not a trespasser. The streets leading to and about this village were made and opened by the Burden Iron & Ore Company for such public use as was incident to the wants, convenience, and happiness of the people residing there. To the extent of this public use the company subjected its private property to the law which regulates public rights....By reserving the legal title to the thoroughfares of its village, it does not reserve autocratic powers over the people residing along them. To prevent the members of its community from buying supplies of Snyder, or of any tradesman not nominated by the company, would be to introduce a badge of vassalage inconsistent with our free institutions. If these families may buy of Snyder, then he may deliver his wares to them, and use for the purpose the appropriate thoroughfares. The assault was therefore not justifiable." 3 N.Y.S. at 161.

240. Derrington v. Plummer, 240 F. 2d 922 (5th Cir. 1956), cert. den. 353 U.S. 924 (1957).

241. 109 U.S. 3 (1883).

242. 109 U.S. at 17. The Court in the Civil Rights Cases dealt with a statute enacted pursuant to the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. It reserved for future litigation the question of whether Congress could prohibit racial discrimination by private individuals under some Constitutional power other than the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. The authority of Congress under the power granted it by the Interstate Commerce Clause to prohibit discrimination by private owners of transport facilities is now established, see e.g. Henderson v. United States, 339 U.S. 816 (1950), as is the authority of Congress under the power granted it to regulate the District of Columbia to prohibit discrimination by private owners of eating establishments, see e.g. John R. Thompson Co. v. District

of Columbia, 346 U.S. 100 (1953).

243. Screws v. United States, 325 U.S. 91 (1945).

244. Williams v. United States, 341 U.S. 97 (1951).

245. When a policeman fails to act in a situation requiring action, his failure to perform his duty is illegal "state" action which gives the Federal Courts jurisdiction over a suit against him. Catlette v. United States, 132 F. 2d 902 (4th Cir. 1943).

246. Valle v. Stengel, 176 F. 2d 697 (3d Cir. 1949), see Note, Freedom To Contract, A New Civil Right, 59 Yale L. J. 1167 (1950).

247. Manning v. Crowl (E.D. Pa., No. 10946, 1953; unreported), discussed in Emerson and Haber, Political and Civil Rights In The United States at 1415 (2d ed. 1958).

248. 100 U.S. 339, 346 (1879).

249. 310 U.S. 296 (1940).

250. 326 U.S. 496 (1946).

251. 312 U.S. 321 (1941).

252. 314 U.S. 252 (1941).

253. 334 U.S. 1 (1948).

254. 334 U.S. 24 (1948).

255. 334 U.S. at 14.

256. 346 U.S. 249 (1953).

257. 349 U.S. 70 (1955). Mrs. Rice, a caucasian, purchased a burial lot when her Indian husband was killed fighting in Korea. Services were conducted at the grave site, but after the burial party had disbanded the cemetery refused to bury the husband. The wife sued for damages, and the cemetery defended on a clause in the burial lot contract of sale reciting that "burial privileges accrue only to members of the Caucasian race." The wife moved to strike this defense, contending that judicial recognition

was unconstitutional state action. The trial court recognized the defense, and this was affirmed by the Iowa Supreme Court. The United States Supreme Court heard the case, and affirmed by evenly divided vote. The Supreme Court then agreed to hear the case again, but after argument discovered that the Iowa legislature had outlawed such clauses after this incident, and therefore dismissed the case as no longer raising "special and important" questions.

258. 351 U.S. 292 (1956).

259. West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish, 300 U.S. 379 (1937).

260. Adams v. Milwaukee, 228 U.S. 572 (1913).

261. Nebbia v. New York, 291 U.S. 502 (1934).

262. Williamson v. Lee Optical Co., 348 U.S. 483 (1955).

263. California State Auto Ass'n Inter-Ins. Bureau v. Maloney, 341 U.S. 105 (1951); Bob-Lo Excursion Co. v. Michigan, 333 U.S. 28 (1948).

264. The words are those of Mr. Justice Holmes in Hudson County Water Co. v. McCarter, 209 U.S. 349, 355 (1908).

265. Labor Board v. Jones and Laughlin, 301 U.S. 1 (1937).

266. Republic Aviation Corp. v. Labor Board, 324 U.S. 793 (1945).

267. Bonwit Teller, Inc. v. National Labor Relations Bd., 197 F. 2d 640 (2d Cir. 1952), cert. den. 345 U.S. 905 (1953).

268. Labor Bd. v. Babcock & Wilcox Co., 351 U.S. 105, 112 (1956).

269. Compare Republic Aviation Corp. v. Labor Board, fn. 266 supra with Labor Board v. Babcock & Wilcox Co., Ibid.

270. 326 U.S. 496 (1946).

271. 326 U.S. at 505-6.

272. Hall v. Commonwealth, 188 Va. 72, 49 S.E. 2d 369 (1948), appeal dismissed for lack of substance in question presented, 335 U.S. 875 (1948).

273. Watchtower Bible and Tract Society v. Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 297 N.Y. 339, 79 N.E. 2d 433 ( ).

274. Good v. Dow Chemical Company, 247 S.W. 2d 608 (Ct. of Civ. App., Texas, 1952).

275. Commonwealth v. Richardson, 313 Mass. 632, 48 N.E. 2d 678 (1943).

276. Martin v. Struthers, 319 U.S. 141, 146 (1943).

277. Breard v. Alexandria, 341 U.S. 622, 645 (1951).

278. Id. at 650.

279. Summers, The Right to Join a Union, 47 Colum. L. Rev. 33, 37 (1947).

280. Chafee, The Internal Affairs of Associations Not For Profit, 43 Harv. L. Rev. 993, 1021 (1930).

281. "The legal status of unions is practically identical with that of fraternal organizations." Witte, Government in Labor Disputes 13-14 (1st ed. 1932).

282. Ross v. Ebert, 275 Wis. 523, _____N.W. 2d _____(1957).

283. Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company, 333 U.S. 192 (1944).

284. James v. Marinship Corp., 25 Cal. 2d 721, 155 P. 2d 329 (1945); Betts v. Easley, 161 Kan. 459, 169 P. 2d 831 ( ). The necessity that a Negro employee have a voice and a vote in the union which represents his economic interest justifies a state statute prohibiting union discrimination. Railway Mail Ass'n. v. Corsi, 326 U.S. 88 (1945). There the Court said:

> "Appellant (union) contends that the law offends the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as an interference with its right of selection to membership....A judicial determination that such legislation violated the Fourteenth Amendment would be a distortion of the policy manifested in that amendment, which was adopted to prevent...discrimination on the basis of race or color. We see no constitutional basis for the contention that a state connot protect workers from exclusion solely on the basis of race, color or creed

by an organization, functioning under the protection of the state, which holds itself out to represent the general business needs of employees." (at p. 93-4).

285. Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1 (1948); Hurd v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24 (1948). These cases concerning a common situation where willing white vendors sold to Negroes. The willingness of the white vendor to sell, however, does not seem to be crucial. This is evident from the language of the opinion and from the fact that the Court relied upon cases upholding the rights of Negroes desiring to acquire and occupy property. The Third Circuit Court of Appeals subsequently held that a police officer who arrests a Negro for attempting to enter an amusement park swimming pool over the objection of the owner thereby unconstitutionally deprives the Negro of his fundamental "privileges and immunities." Valle v. Stengel, 176 F. 2d 697 (3d Cir. 1949).

286. Shelley v. Kraemer, supra at 19.

287. Id., at 22.

288. 326 U.S. 496 (1946).

289. 245 U.S. 60 (1917).

290. 281 U.S. 704 (1930).

291. 332 U.S. 633 (1948).

292. Whether or not the storekeepers can hire a private detective to eject Negro customers is a difficult and unresolved question. Marrone v. Washington Jockey Club, 227 U.S. 633 (1913) holds that a patron ejected with no more force than necessary from a race track has no cause of action in assault and battery. However, should an ejected Negro patron sue a restaurant owner for assault and battery, and should the restaurant owner defend on the theory that he does not serve Negroes, it is questionable that the Fourteenth Amendment would permit the state courts to recognize such a defense. See Rice v. Sioux City Memorial Park Cemetery, 349 U.S. 70 (1955) and fn. 257, supra.

293. 324 U. S. 793 (1945).

294. 25 Cal. 2d 721, 155 P. 2d 329 (1945).

295. 319 U.S. 141 (1943).

296. 334 U.S. 1 (1948).

297. 326 U.S. 496, 505-6 (1946).

298. The "sit in" demonstrators have been much condemned for adopting "illegal" tactics. It should be noted that there is no other convenient way to test the legality of the "white only" lunch counters, see e.g. Evers v. Dwyer, 358 U.S. 202 (1958); and it is well to remember that it was not until Negroes had "trespassed" into pullman cars, into train dining cars, and into the front part of buses that their right to non-discriminatory service was established.

299. Speech on March 11 before a United Nations Model Assembly in the Hall of the House of Burgesses of restored Colonial Capital in Williamsburg, Virginia. Carolina Times, March 19, 1960, p. 2, col. 3.

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
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Southern R[illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 6, 1971

TO: SECONDARY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
FROM: The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ABOUT: RACIAL TENSIONS WITHIN THE SCHOOLS

We are aware of three things:

1. Your job is difficult.
2. You are very busy.
3. This is a large packet of materials.

We ask two things:

1. That you read this two-page memorandum.
2. That you then decide to scan the enclosed materials or have them reviewed for you by a top assistant.

The Southern Regional Council is writing to you because we believe in the importance of education. We want to see all children of our region develop their fullest potential. That development depends on education.

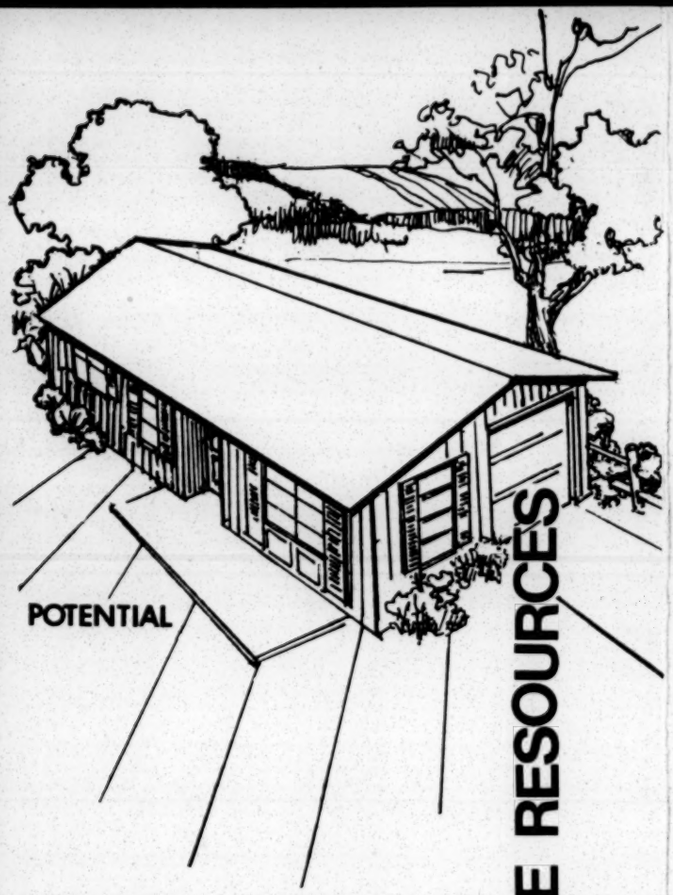
For many schools the process of desegregation is still unresolved. Even when the law is complied with, there may be serious failures in communication, inter-group understanding, and acceptance of education as a fully mutual and desirable undertaking. Schools, students, teachers, administrators have all been affected. Institu-

tional rigidity, community hostility, and the frustration of student rights (both real and fancied) have at times jeopardized the educational process. It is tragic that in some communities education has come to be viewed as a threat rather than as a continuing challenge for the development of individual and community life.

In a number of situations, desegregation and student rights have been intertwined. In general where student rights have been observed--and especially where even-handedness with blacks and whites was the rule--the desegregation process has proceeded much more smoothly. A CENTRAL RECOMMENDATION OF THIS MEMORANDUM IS THAT STUDENTS BE CONSIDERED A POSITIVE RESOURCE IN RESOLVING RACIAL TENSIONS WITHIN THE SCHOOLS. Some of the enclosed materials speak directly to this suggestion.

Of course, there is no substitute for administrative determination to make our schools places of learning, fairness, and understanding. This is a large task. The practical reasons for undertaking this task range from the requirements of the law to the preservation of public education. At a time when desegregation under firm court orders is a fact of life, it seems almost unnecessary to underscore these practicalities. But there are reasons relating to the quality of life, individual worth, and the community good which transcend practical necessities. We wish to reflect that larger interest in making this presentation.

Enclosed are materials which deal constructively with various aspects of school desegregation. Included are practical suggestions for superintendents, principals, teachers, and students. These suggestions relate to administrative policies, student involvement, case studies that reflect successes and failures, and faculty and student related issues. Also included are suggestions of other resources. Together they can aid in developing perspective and technique. THEY CAN ASSIST YOU IN YOUR DETERMINATION TO MAKE EDUCATION WHAT IT CAN BE FOR ALL THE YOUNG PEOPLE IN YOUR COMMUNITY.



MAXIMIZING AVAILABLE RESOURCES

SPONSORS

Rural Development Center
Georgia Department of Family and Children Services
Southern Regional Council
Georgia State University
Bureau of State Planning and Community Affairs

PLANNING COMMITTEE

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William Peace – Georgia Department of Family and Children Services

Rural Housing Conference

Rural Development Center

Tifton, Ga.
May 4 & 5, 1972

PRESENT

STATE CONFERENCE ON RURAL HOUSING

Thursday, May 4

9:00 - 10:00	Registration
10:00 - 10:05	Welcome . . . . . Darl Snyder
10:05 - 10:15	Presiding & Conference Theme Dr. Eugene Younts
10:15 - 10:45	THE NATURE OF THE RURAL HOUSING PROBLEM . . . . Clay Cochran
10:45 - 11:00	Break
11:00 - 12:00	Panel: OVERVIEW OF THE RURAL HOUSING PROBLEM IN GEORGIA Consumer . . . . . Jim Williams Industry . . . . . Charles Yeargin Government . . . . . John McDuffie
12:00 - 2:00	Lunch
2:00 - 2:45	ADDRESS . . . . . James Neville
2:45 - 3:00	Break
3:00 - 4:30	HOUSING PROGRAM WORKSHOPS Workshop IA . . . . . Single Family Programs Workshop IB. . . . . Single Family Programs Workshop II . . . . . Public Housing & Rent Supplement Workshop III . . . . . Land Development and Community Services
7:30	Dinner

Friday, May 5

Presiding . . . . . Jim Parham	
9:00 - 10:15	Panel: NEW APPROACHES TO SOLVING HOUSING PROBLEMS Land Banking . . . . Dr. Carol Van Alstyne Cooperative Housing . . . . . Roger Wilcox New Communities . . . Robert Thompson
10:15 - 10:30	Break
10:30 - 12:00	Panel: NEW FINANCIAL RESOURCES Housing Audience Council . . . . . Clarence Richardson Federal Land Bank . . . . . Robert Darr Federal Home Loan Bank . . . . . W. I. Gadling, Jr.
12:00 - 2:00	Lunch
2:00 - 3:30	HOUSING DELIVERY SYSTEM WORKSHOPS Workshop I . . . . . Technical Assistance Workshop II . . . Packaging Housing Loans Workshop III . . . . South Carolina's Rural Housing Program
3:30 - 4:15	GEORGIA'S COMMITMENT TO RURAL HOUSING . . . . . Gov. Jimmy Carter
4:15	Close Conference

E R R A T A S H E E T

Thursday, May 4

12:05-12:20 Gov. Jimmy Carter (telephone address)

7:30 Dinner Speaker, Congressman Robert G. Stephens, Jr.

Friday, May 5

9:00-10:15 Panel: NEW APPROACHES TO SOLVING HOUSING PROBLEMS

New Communities...Eugene Branch

10:30-12:00 Panel: NEW FINANCIAL RESOURCES

Housing Assistance Council instead of Audience

W. I. Gatling, Jr. instead of Gadling

3:30-4:15 SUMMARY SESSION

PLANNING COMMITTEE

William Y. McLean - Architect (Tifton)

James L. Greene - Colquitt Rural Electric Company

Augustus Hill - Cooperative Extension Service

Robert W. Eve - Farmers Home Administration

Jim Gentry - Coastal Plain APDC

Francis Stewart - Georgia Department of Family and Children Services

SITUATION SURVEY

A

Question List for Projects, Groups or Individuals

Contemplating a Low-Income Housing Program

Reprinted by permission of The Rural Housing Alliance
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

The following list of questions was designed to aid people attempting to grapple with the low-income housing problem at the local level. We hope that by answering these questions, which are not all-inclusive, local groups can better define the nature of the problem and identify potential sources of help. The list also gives some of the sources for information which can be tapped.

It is not intended that local groups feel they must spend months (or years) in preparing detailed, statistical answers to every question on the list before they even begin to deal with housing needs in their community. Rather, this is intended as a check-list of the types of information which are relevant to dealing with housing problems at the local level--and represent factors which will have to be considered sooner or later in mounting a housing program for low-income people.

For information on programs, agencies and approaches for alleviating the problem, we direct you to other RHA publications, particularly "Low-Income Housing Programs for Rural America," $.50 per copy. A publications order form is available on request. The Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) publish brochures and pamphlets on their programs. The Non-Profit Housing Center (1717 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.), and the Foundation for Cooperative Housing (1012 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.) also have published useful materials.

I. General Information About Community

1. What is the population of the community? (U.S. Census reports, usually available at college and public libraries)

2. What is per capita income of community? (U. S. Census reports)

3. What percent of population falls into low-income group? (U. S. Census reports)

4. What is per capita income of this group? (U. S. Census reports)

5. What is distribution of population by age? (U. S. Census reports)

6. What is distribution of low-income population by age? (U. S. Census report)

B 1. What are the major means of employment in the community? (Chamber of Commerce, Census reports, State Employment Service, local OEO agencies)

2. What employment is available to the low-income population? (Chamber of Commerce, U. S. Labor Department, State Employment Service, local OEO agencies)

3. What is the unemployment rate? (U. S. Labor Department, State Employment Service)

4. Is the community a center for economic and industrial growth? (Chamber of Commerce, local government and local OEO agencies)

5. How many people receive welfare assistance? (local Department of Social Services)

6. How many people draw Social Security benefits? (local office of Social Security Administration)

C 1. Is the community incorporated? (Mayor's office, County Commissioner's office, etc.)

2. What is the form of government for the community?

3. Does the community lie within the jurisdiction of planning commissions, economic development districts, Model Cities, water control boards, etc.? (office of local government)

4. Does the community have zoning and building codes? (office of local government, local Health Department)

5. Does the community have water and waste desposal systems? (local Health Department, office of local government)

6. What is the formula for assessing property values and what is the cost per thousand dollars for property taxes in the area? (assessor's office)

7. What is the cost of fire and hazard insurance of housing? (insurance agencies)

II. Current Housing Situation

A 1. What is the general level of construction activity by the housing industry in the community? (Chamber of Commerce, office of local government, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

2. How many single and multi-family units were built over the past year? (building permits on file with local government, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

3. What do new contractor-built, single family units cost on the open market? (real estate agencies, want-ads, building permits, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

4. What is the supply (vacancy rate) condition and price range of rental housing? (U.S. Post Office, real estate agencies, want-ads, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

5. What is the supply (vacancy rate) condition and price range of an existing single family dwelling? (U. S. Post Office, real estate agencies, want-ads, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

B 1. What is the availability and cost of land (developed and undeveloped lots and parcels)? (real estate agencies, tax assessor's office)

2. What financing through banks, savings and loans, and other private institutions is available (interim and permanent financing)? (banks, savings and loans, FmHA, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

3. What is availability of building suppliers and are their prices generally competitive? (yellow pages, FmHA)

C What low-income housing activity has there been and what are the resources available?

1. FmHA (county and state offices)

a. How active has FmHA been in providing loans to low-income people?

b. Which programs (502, 504, 515, etc.) have been utilized and how many loans under each program were made during the past year?

c. What is the average loan amount for Section 502 homeownership?

d. Has FmHA made water and sewer grants and loans and in what amounts?

e. Has FmHA made comprehensive planning grants, recreation loans, conservation loans and grants?

2. Federal Housing Administration--same questions as 1. a, b, and c. (local FHA Insuring Office)

3. Public Housing

   a. Is there a Public Housing Authority in the community? How many units does it operate and under which program (conventional, Turnkey I, II, and III, Section 23 leasing)? (local office of government, local housing authority)

   b. Does the Public Housing Authority have plans for additional units? How many units, under which program and when? (local housing authority)

   c. What is the average cost per month to tenants of public housing units? (local housing authority)

   d. What is the vacancy rate and/or how long is the waiting list for occupancy of units? (local housing aurhority)

4. HUD

   a. Has HUD made a comprehensive planning grant (701) to the community? (office of local government, HUD area office)

   b. Are there Urban Renewal, Model Cities, or Neighborhood development funds in the community? (office of local government, HUD area office)

   c. Have community facilities grants been made to the community? Water and sewage grants? (local government office, HUD area office)

   d. Is there a Concentrated Code Enforcement program in the community? If so, how many Section 115 loans and Section 312 grants have been made? (office of local government, HUD area office)

5. Other

a. Does the state have any housing programs and to what extent have they been utilized? (State Office of Community Affairs, or equivalent, local OEO agencies)

b. What other groups (non-profits, universities, etc.) are involved in low-income housing, what have they accomplished and what resources have they used? (local OEO agencies, local office of government)

D 1. What are the housing conditions of the low-income population? (U.S. Census reports, local government, regional planning commissions, local OEO agencies)

2. How many low-income families are homeowners and what is the general condition of their housing? (U. S. Census reports, local government, regional planning commissions, local OEO agencies)

3. How many low-income families are renters and what is the general condition of their housing? (U. S. Census reports, local government, planning commissions, local OEO agencies)

4. What problems do low-income families encounter in obtaining decent, adequate housing (racial, economic descrimination, inadequate supply, inadequate credit, etc.)? (Human Rights Commissions, local OEO agencies)

5. What percent of housing is substandard, dilapidated, overcrowded in community? (U. S. Census reports, local government, regional planning commissions, local OEO agencies)

STUDENT INVOLVEMENT OR STUDENT UNREST?

A SUMMARY OF THE REPORT BY THE NORTH CAROLINA TASK FORCE FOR STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

MATERIALS FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

STUDENT INVOLVEMENT OR STUDENT UNREST?

Student unrest is a national phenomenon. It is as widespread today in the high schools as it was earlier in universities. In high schools that have recently changed racially, it often surfaces destructively.

This development challenges us all to recognize and to encourage the positive potential of student concern and energy. Most students want to help improve our society; most at least have something to say. They should be heard.

What they say may or may not have racial significance. It is the appeal of a generation which in many ways has matured faster than earlier ones, which is more alert, expectant, insistent, and perhaps greater in its potential than any other high school generation. Yet these high school students are not adults. They are young people grappling with what they will be as adults, young people in need of both response and guidance. They cannot be served by repression or by the insincere surrender of adult responsibilities.

Frequently the current student unrest <u>is</u> related to racial change in the schools. The notion that integration simply means bringing blacks into white schools is, fortunately, dying. The courageous black students who endured dangers and tensions in the 1950's and 1960's to bring about school desegregation did not intend to cause the death of black indentity in the 1970's. (White Southerners, who have treasured their own special identity within the nation, should understand that particularly well.) But these black students seemed to know that the destinies of white and black Southerners must be a <u>mutual</u> destiny, that the old separatism must die. What they said--and sometimes added as a verse to the triumphant hymn of their movement "We Shall Overcome"--was: "Black and White Together."

Our schools and the relationships within them, forged to serve earlier generations, clearly need to change to meet new challenges. Already some students and administrators are showing the way.

Two recent developments that particularly illustrate positive student potential are: (1) The Task Force for Student Involvement formed under the auspices of North Carolina's State Department of Public Instruction; and (2) the Youth Bi-Racial Advisory Committee of Tampa, Florida, Commission of Community Relations (a report of which is included separately in this kit).

In late 1969, the Task Force for Student Involvement was formed under the auspices of the State Department of Public Instruction of North Carolina. Since then, it has involved the state's youth directly in proposing how schools can meet their current challenges. The Task Force grew out of serious student unrest; it has produced recommendations which merit attention everywhere if the unrest is to become creative rather than destructive. The Task Force concluded that the greatest resolution for student unrest is greater student involvement. Is it surprising that students living in a nation reputed to be the world's greatest democracy desire greater democracy in their own situations? Through the Task Force, students themselves are showing the way.

The Task Force has produced an extremely valuable publication entitled "Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total Education," which may be obtained from the state Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina, 27602. "Involvement" presents a series of student-inspired proposals, worked out with school administrators and others, which are applicable to high schools everywhere.

In the report you are reading, the Southern Regional Council summarizes these recommendations, hoping that they may gain wider attention. We have sought to present them as the students drew them up, with some rearrangement and shortening in the interest of brevity. We hope they will serve as useful starting points for administrators, students, teachers, and parents.

SUMMARY OF THE TASK FORCE REPORT

Disciplinary Matters and Rumors

Administrators should be honest, straightforward, and frank with students. Especially when rumors are involved, they should tell the entire truth about any and all incidents. Combating rumors and the potential for rumors is primarily the responsibility of administrators.

Students should not be threatened with real and/or imaginary potential punishments. Nor should they be forced into positons in which they are required to reveal fellow offenders in order not to face stricter punishments.

Whenever disciplinary actions are taken, administrators should give full explanations. Suspensions and expulsions should be used only as the last resort. Rules and regulations set by the highest levels of policy-makers and administration--e.g., the Board of Education and the superintendent--should be limited so that the local high school staff has as much flexibility as possible in regulatory and disciplinary matters.

Principals should distribute to all students a pamphlet explaining the grounds on which a student will be disciplined, suspended, or expelled. These rules should list specifically what are considered minor infractions, major infractions and grounds for suspension or expulsion. In light of recent court cases, the principal should make known to all parents as well as students the procedures that will be followed in disciplinary actions.

Police should be used minimally and then only to protect, not discipline students.

Administrative Practices to Involve Students and Facilitate Fairness

Students should be distributed alphabetically in home-room assignments, rather than by tracking systems or other methods. Alphabetic distribution will foster better understanding between students of different backgrounds.

Dialogue and seminar sessions should be held regularly for school problems, current events, and matters arising from differences in students' backgrounds and interests. A suggested approach is that a regularly scheduled course period be set aside once every 2 or 4 weeks for this session; the time could be rotated among school periods to relieve any one period from excessive loss of class time.

Teenagers should be allowed to organize emergency committees to investigate and propose solutions to problems of unrest.

School unity should be fostered by the utilization of athletic event cheers that represent the choices of all segments of the student body.

All clubs in the school, whether of a selective nature or not, should be open to all students. The administration should encourage the creation of more service-oriented and interest clubs and should foster full student control of these.

Ethnic sensitivity training should be a major objective for faculty members. This training might be provided during recertification and in-service training periods. Minority faculty members' experience should be utilized fully in this.

An active interest should be taken in expediting racial integration at school levels below high school, especially on the elementary level.

Extending Structures for Student Involvement

A. A student court for advising on student discipline. Such a court or advisory group might be established

on an application-selection basis. Interested students would apply and be selected by a student-faculty committee. Terms on the court should rotate, perhaps involving every grading period in order to allow an optimum number of students to participate.

B. Advisory Committees for Academic Departments.

These committees should be made up of students taking the various subjects. They would meet with the departmental faculties and individual teachers. Students might help with the instruction, sponsor study outside the classes, and advise the teachers on how well students are comprehending and reacting to the subject matter and instruction.

C. Student-administered Tutorial Programs.

These programs should utilize all students rather than be placed under one organization such as the National Honor Society or Beta Club. Perhaps a Big Brother program or a one-to-one tutoring program can be established to help potential dropouts and low-achievers.

D. Student-administered Study Halls During Lunch Periods

A study hall run by students away from the eating area would help teach students responsibility. Also, the creation of a student union for social mixing during lunch would encourage better communication. Though dancing and extremely loud music would be inappropriate, a place where students could go to talk or play music would be conducive to helping students unwind and release pressures.

E. Student-administered Monitor Systems, When Needed.

This should be used only when absolutely necessary. It would enable students to learn greater responsibility.

F. Advisory Committees for Guidance Departments.

Students could help relieve over-worked guidance counselors by helping with their paper work during study halls and after school. Most important, however,

is the role they could play in research and communication. The advisory committee could look into all possibilities for scholarships and report their findings. This committee also could assist counselors in spotting and helping potential dropouts.

G. Cultural Exchange Programs Administered by Students and Teachers.

Study topics might include black history, history and literature; the state's folklore; Indian history and culture; and local culture. Seminars could be held after school, during activity periods or during class time.

H. Living-and-Learning Exchange Programs Within the Community.

This program would be directed toward better student understanding of the whole community. Students might visit in each others homes and make trips to learn more about the city, town, and country.

I. Social-learning Events Administered by Students and Teachers.

Interracial projects and parties can help teenagers get together on an informal basis, heightening the opportunity for communication and understanding. Projects might include cleanup campaigns around the school, parties for school unity, and school fix-up programs on athletic fields and student unions.

J. Curriculum Study Programs.

Students should be encouraged to serve in ex officio roles in curriculum study programs. They could aid communication between adults and students on matters of common interest and concern.

K. Money for Student Participation.

Administrators should consider minimum monetary expenditures to extend participation in student activities so that those of poorer economic status will not be less involved that those of stronger economic background.

Special Recommendations in Hyper-Sensitive Areas

CHEERLEADERS

A. Cheerleaders should be selected, not elected. The position of cheerleaders, like that of a football player, should be one which is gained by ability, not popularity. Judgment should be made upon the characteristics necessary to being a cheerleader: Poise, leadership, personality, physical ability to work with other girls and with large crowds.

B. No grade requirements, activities record, or conduct requirements should be made of any prospective cheerleader. (After a student is selected to the squad, perhaps she should be required to maintain the same academic standing that students on athletic squads must hold--the passing of three academic subjects.) By eliminating these requirements before selection is made, any and all students may try out for the squad. Thus more interest will be created, more students will be involved in tryouts, and less dissatisfaction will occur because certain students were "discriminated against."

C. The judging panel should be made up of impartial people, preferably from outside the school staff. The panel should represent fairly all races and cultural groups. Selection of panel members should be based on ability to judge cheerleading styles, to judge personality and leadership, and to be fair in appraising all strong and weak points of each student trying out for the squad.

D. Judgment should be made on merit; hence, the use of a scoring sheet is highly recommended. This sheet should allow each judge to score independently each student on several different categories (See I.-A. of this group of recommendations) with points being used in the manner of five--excellent, four--good, three--satisfactory, with two and one being unsatisfactory. In this manner the selection will be based on all students trying out, with only the tabulation picking the final winners. Tabulation should be done by an impartial person, witnessed by students. (Tabulator should not be a student nor one of the judges.)

E. Cheers used for selection proceedings should be truly reflective of all cheers liked in the school. Differences between white and black cheers do exist, as do differences for other cultural groups. Utilization of all types of cheers will eliminate any subtle discrimination.

F. Tryouts should be well announced to all students, with area for tryouts and selection procedure outlined well in advance of opening tryouts.

HOMECOMING COURTS AND QUEENS

Beauty contests should be constructed as to give all students a fair and representative chance at selection.

Any club or athletic team, homeroom, or individual should be allowed to sponsor a girl for the crown. No standards as to academic standing or conduct record should be made of any girl, and "black-balling" by any teacher or student, individual, or group, is highly discouraged. Selection should be done by popular vote, with plurality serving as the deciding vote, rather than by majority.

No selection of queens or other beauty emblems can ever be done fairly until all students recognize the worth and dignity of all their fellow students. Continuation of beauty being defined as the "fair young maid with waxen hair and sky blue eyes" will only lead to further difficulties. Encourage girls of all races and ethnic groups to be sponsored for the crown. Do not allow any girl who has been queen at any other school function during the year to repeat with another crown (i.e., Homecoming Queen also being May Queen). Serious consideration should be given to not including a girl who has won that title in past years. Once again, only a spirit of unity and understanding can overcome society's influence of prejudice and long-standing definitions of beauty.

MARSHALS

Marshals should be selected strictly on the basis of academic standing. One suggested method is to take the top ten girls and top ten boys in academic standing for marshals. Methods which are selec-

tive or use a screening process generally run into more dissatisfaction than a clear cut method such as by academic standing.

SUPERLATIVES

Superlatives are generally traditions carried over from the day of small schools from one community only. In a day of consolidation and enlargement, superlatives are not the same commodity as before. Today few students really emerge as "Best All Around" or "Best Looking." In addition, such titles as "Best Dressed" emphasize wealth rather than personality. Superlatives should be expanded with more students involved. Or, superlatives should be dropped altogether with selection of more students to such groups as the National Honor Society or a "Who's Who" in the school. The main thought behind any honor is to acknowledge those students who are performing up to or beyond their own capabilities.

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF STUDENT NEWSPAPERS

The principal's relationship to the school newspaper should be worked out early in the year to avoid embarrassment and misunderstanding. The principal should advise the paper, but neither he nor any faculty member should ever censor or alter the newspaper. Rather, also early in the year, the student staff should establish guidelines under which they will print articles. (These should probably deal with the areas of obscenities and libelous statements). It is recommended that a "Principal's Column" be included in the paper, to allow him to communicate his feelings on any and all areas of school concern. By this column a principal may communicate to the students on specific situations which warrant concern (congratulations to successful school groups, clarification of misunderstandings, and comments on future activities). This column should in no way limit the principal's concern with and practice of other forms of communication, but should be yet another avenue towards complete communication.

Increasing the Student Council's Role

A. The "Student Council" concept of student representation should be changed. Presently, the Council acts as a

link of communication between the administration and the student body. This, however, is only a theory, for in practice the Student Council does not truly carry communications, for the students do not feel compelled to support an organization which can do little more than run social events and help with announcements before school. The Student Council should become a Student Government, capable of making final decisions on many student policies. Matters which are not so large as to require the principal, by law, to act, should be handled by the Student Government, with the final decisions resting with the students, without being subject to veto by the administration. Certainly matters such as hall monitors and school dress codes are areas which students could and should deal with, while disciplinary action should be ultimately decided by the administrator. Even in the area of discipline, however, advisory boards of students and student guidelines will encourage greater' awareness, responsibility, and involvement on the part of the student.

B. In line with the "Student Government" form of Student Council, election procedures should be altered so as to gain optimum representation of all student groups. Because homerooms should be a mixture of all types of students, the homeroom is increasingly becoming inadequate as a voting district. Because most Student Councils or Student Representatives are chosen from homerooms, many students have little chance of getting involved. As we are well aware, homeroom representatives are usually chosen on a popularity basis. Hence, a means of election reflecting more responsibility is necessary. Although there may be several methods, below is a suggested revision in voting procedures.

1. Voting shall be done on a precinct or ward basis, utilizing the existing adult municipal/county

voting precinct or ward construction. In rural areas, these precincts or wards may have to be drawn by an impartial body of administrators, teachers, and students. By this method one capitalizes on housing patterns, social, and economic backgrounds to gain students truly representative of their voting district.

2. Students should file or run for office in his or her voting district only. Each student should vote on candidates from his or her voting district only. No qualifications should be required of a student beyond his being a registered student in the school. No requirements should be made concerning grades, club activities, activities outside of school, or previous conduct. In this manner all students are eligible to run for office, thus eliminating all concerns about a "prestructured" Student Council or "discrimination" by qualifications. The reasoning that more activities reduces one's effectiveness should be applied on an individual basis, not for the group at large. Each Student Council should be responsible for helping its members maintain his or her ability to be responsible and representative.

3. Students running for office should be encouraged to formulate platforms or statements of goals to be pursued during the next school year. In this manner popularity would hopefully stand second to issues. Campaign speeches and debates should be encouraged during lunch and activity times, as well as at scheduled convocation or assembly appearances, to gain maximum awareness and responsibility before and after the election.

4. At-large candidates may be utilized but it is recommended that these be few in number (no more than 10 per cent of total representation on Student Council) and they should be voted on by the entire student body.

5. Election of major officers (including president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer) should be by a vote of the entire student body.

6. Procedures should be designed before election time to deal with all possible situations (i.e., write-in ballots, defaced ballots, incorrect voting methods). These procedures should be made known to the entire student body before election day.

C. The Student Council, in its "Student Government sense," should be prepared to meet, develop, and solve student needs. Hence, it should create only such committees and groups as are really necessary and desirable. Rather than a "Welcome Committee" or similar group that functions only on the whim of the chairman, viable and dynamic groups which would catch student interest and meet student problems should be organized. A good example is a Human Relations or Student Relations Council, which could deal with problems resulting from racial, economic, or social differences in understanding and cooperation.

D. Student Councils and the administration, to effect greater positive student involvement, should identify and utilize the "transitional leaders" within the student body. That is, the students that can relate to the "apathetic," disinterested student, to the "militant" teenager (black or white), and to the "middle-of-the-road" student. While relating to these various segments of the school populance, these "transitional leaders" at the same time can relate to the "involved students" (i.e., Student Council) and the administration. By capitalizing on these groups of leaders, a principal and Student Council can spread awareness

and a sense of "everybody getting in on the action." These "transitional leaders" may not always be the top academic students; they may have poor conduct records. But by using their capabilities of leadership in their own groups, the principal and Student Council can help that individual and his group become more aware and involved. Appointment to special committees, responsibility for certain projects, and recognition of viewpoint at Student Council meetings are but a few ways to utilize the "transitional leader."

E. Student Council and the principal should recognize the differences in attitude and background of differing racial, economic, and social groups. Particularly, it is important to realize that black students often do not hold with the opinions of their parents, while in general white students still agree with their parents' viewpoint. Hence, various steps should be made to insure cognizance of all students' backgrounds. Far-ranging student attitudes should not be interpreted as impudence, but rather as an exploration for identity and accomplishment. Recognition of these factors can contribute to greater awareness and involvement of all segments of the student body.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

ALLEN, Jr., James E. "Allen Looks at High School Unrest," COMPACT 3:45, October, 1969. U. S. Commissioner, James E. Allen, Jr., spells out specific steps that can be taken to prevent school disturbances.

COLES, Robert. CHILDREN OF CRISIS. Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown, 1967.

DIVOKY, Diane. "Revolt in the High Schools," SATURDAY REVIEW 52:83-84+, February 15, 1969. Subtitled: "The Way It's Going to Be," this article directs attention to the "new breed" of students assuming leadership roles in their drive for civil rights and involvement in school affairs. The author warns that school systems throughout America will be affected. Administrators are urged to react positively--to listen--to understand or the subsequent confrontations will play havoc with the public school system.

FIELDER, Marie. "A Diversified Team Approach to Conflict Intervention," EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP 27:15-18, October, 1969. Public school education can only lose if racial, cultural, social class, and age groups have no means to resolve problems. This article describes the diversified team approach used in Palm Springs where students and teachers worked with one another to keep the schools operational.

HOUSE, James E. "Can the Student Participate in His Own Destiny?" EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP 27:442-446, February, 1970. House is a firm believer in the ability of students to participate in educational decision making. Citing several examples of districts where students are involved in their education with positive results, he makes recommendations as to how it can be accomplished.

"How Student Involvement Pays Off," SCHOOL MANAGEMENT 14:29-32, March, 1970. School administrators across the land are finding new ways to meet student demands for greater involvement--ways which strengthen the administration's hand and improve communications with boards and community. This article demonstrates how "participatory democracy" abruptly reversed an antagonistic situation in the Niles Township, Illinois, high school.

INTEGRATED EDUCATION: A REPORT ON RACE AND SCHOOLS. Integrated Education Associates, 343 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

McGREW, Jean B. "Student Participation in Decision-Making," NASSP BULLETIN 54:124-134, March, 1970. It appears that a type of militancy and group polarization is something to be lived with for the foreseeable future. Educational change to be effective will require a lot of talking and planning. The McRel conference on "Student Participation in Decision-Making" discussed in this article is a positive step in that direction.

"POLICIES THAT CLARIFY STUDENT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES," A school board policy development kit. Educational Policies Service of the National School Boards Association, 1233 Central Street, Evanston, Illinois 60201. $2.00

WEINBERG, MEYER, COMPILER. THE EDUCATION OF THE MINORITY CHILD: A Comprehensive Bibliography of 10,000 Selected Entries. Integrated Education Associates, Chicago, Illinois. 1970.

WELLBORN, Susan. "High School Student Unrest: An Overview of Pertinent Reading". Research and Information Center, State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina. December, 1970.

WOODWARD, C. Vann. THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW. Boston: Galaxy Books, 1966. A brief and authoritative history of segregation in the southern states.

"YOUR SCHOOL'S DESEGREGATION-HOW REAL?" Integrated Education Associates, 343 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60604. Questions about your school which can help focus on answers in school desegregation situations related to: Community, instruction materials, teachers, and school practices. Bibliography, $1.00

Some of these listings and notes were taken from the "Bibliography" prepared for the Task Force on Student Involvement, North Carolina Department of Public Instruction and from the bibliography included in "Your School's Desegregation--How Real?" published by Integrated Education Associates.

"WHAT'S IN THIS KIT"

I. A condensation of a report by the North Carolina Task Force for Student Involvement. This committee of high school students from across North Carolina produced a series of recommendations, under the auspices of the State Department of Public Instruction, concerning ways schools can meet th challenge of integration. Their fundamental conclusion is to foster greater student involvement in school decision-making.

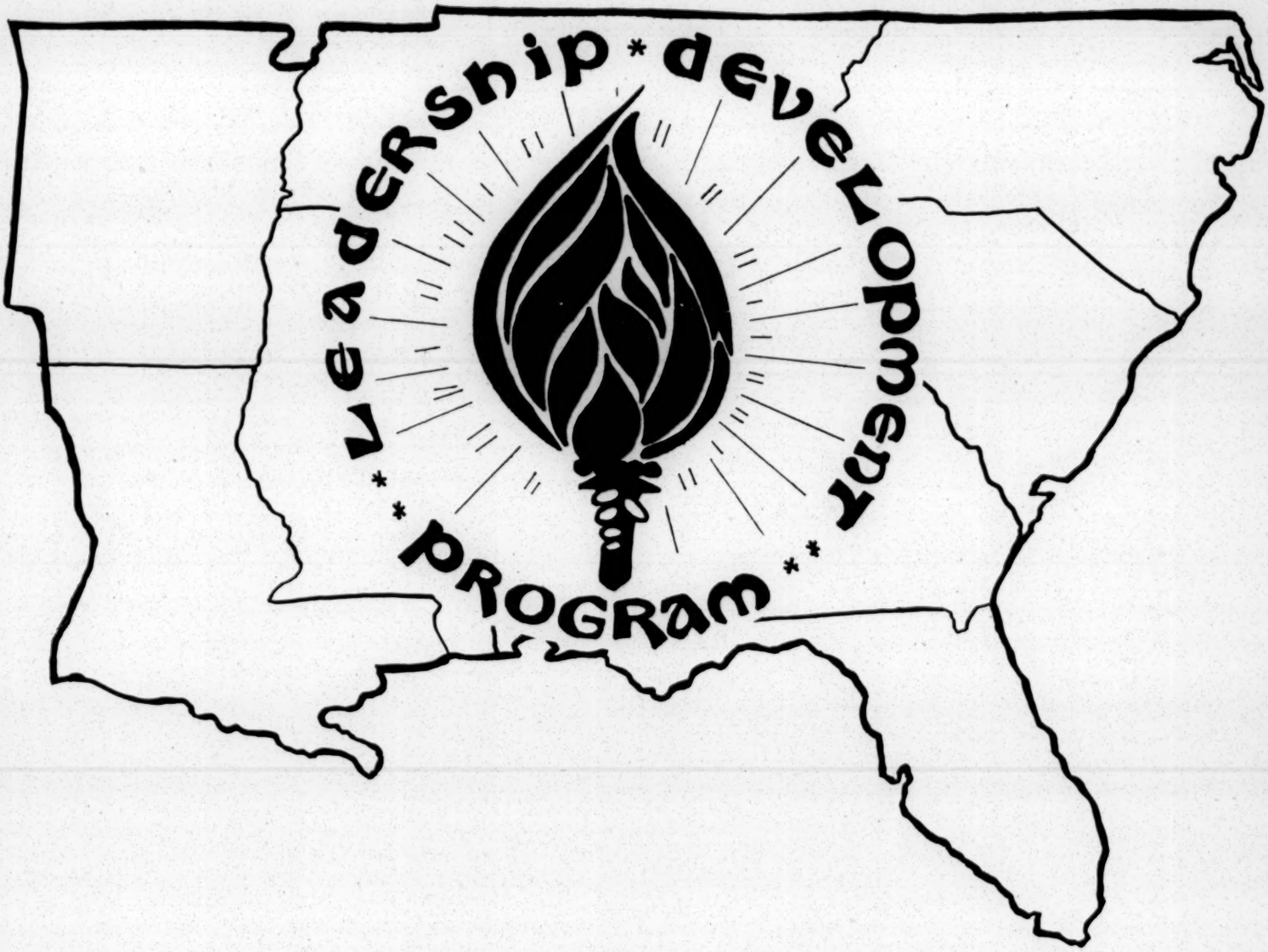
II. "Planning Educational Change: Integrating the Desegregated School." This pamphlet, prepared by the national Office of Education, presents straight forward and concrete suggestions concerning every phase of school integration, particularly as it presents challenges to the high school administrator.

III. A report by the Tampa, Florida, Youth Bi-Racial Advisory Committee. This group of seventy-six high school students, representing all public and private high schools throughout Hillsborough County, suggested program areas which can be used by youth to help bridge the gaps between different race and age groups. These project areas include a youth speakers' bureau, community service, and remedial-tutorial programs.

IV. "The South and Her Children: School Desegregation 1970-71." This original report by six Southern Regional Council staff members includes a general appraisal of Southern school desegregation, four community studies, (Athens, Georgia; Beaufort, South Carolina, Charlotte, North Carolina; and Mobile, Alabama), an assessment of the continuing segregation academy movement, and a profile of four black students' reactions to their first year of desegregated schooling.

V. Summary of the recent major Supreme Court decisions concerning integration. This extract from Race Relations Law Survey discusses the five Supreme court decisions handed down on April of this year in relatively readable, straightforward language.

MATERIALS FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303


leadership * development
* program *

Thank you for inquiring about the

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

WHAT IT IS: The LDP is a special project of the Southern Regional Council funded by the Ford Foundation which awards fellowships to rural teachers, school administrators, and community workers to help them upgrade themselves, their classrooms, their schools, and their communities.

The awardee (called an LDP Fellow) combines study and experience in his areas of special concern for a period from 6-12 months, usually at several different locations in the United States. Working with recognized authorities who serve as mentors and program advisors, he acquaints himself with established and experimental programs and projects consistent with his interests.

LDP is primarily a non-degree oriented program, focusing on informal study, internships, and participation in rewarding activities.

The LDP Fellow receives his full salary, plus funds budgeted individually for his proposed travel, study, lodging, and miscellaneous expenditures.

Awards of one to six months of study are also available to those for whom a longer absence would be impractical.

After participating in an LDP Fellowship, the Fellow will return to his community to utilize his newly gained knowledge and resources. With the continued support of his program advisors and the Leadership Development Program, he will assist in the effective development of new, viable, and innovative programs, working with his school and community to find new solutions to old problems.

WHO MAY APPLY: Any individual living in a rural or small community who is concerned with upgrading the standards of his classroom, school and/or community may apply.

Generally, the applicant should be under 35, although exceptions are sometimes made.

The applicant should be more interested in informal self-improvement than in the obtaining of an advanced graduate degree.

HOW TO APPLY: Complete the enclosed form. Fold, seal and return it to us.

Our Program Director will contact you either personally or by letter, possibly arranging a mutually convenient meeting for further discussion.

Applications for Fellowship awards are presently being reviewed in order that final selection of candidates may be made by March 31.

All persons interested in being considered as candidates for the LDP Fellowship award should submit the attached application on or before January 31.

For further information or additional brochures, please contact:

Tel: (404) 681-2390

MR. K. Z. CHAVIS
Program Director
Leadership Development Program
Mezzanine
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LDP Initial Application Form

886

FIRST NAME	MIDDLE INITIAL	LAST NAME	HOME TELEPHONE NUMBER OR TELEPHONE NEAREST YOUR HOME	HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED AT THIS ADDRESS?		
MR. MRS. MISS						OWN ☐ RENT ☐ WITH PARENTS ☐
STREET ADDRESS (OR MAILING ADDRESS IF DIFFERENT)		CITY	STATE ZIP CODE	YEARS	MONTHS	
IF AT ABOVE ADDRESS LESS THAN ONE YEAR, GIVE FORMER STREET ADDRESS		CITY	STATE	YEARS	MONTHS	

AGE and Date of Birth			OTHER DEPENDENTS AND AGES	
	☐ SINGLE ☐ DIVORCED ☐ MARRIED ☐ WIDOWED	BOYS _____ AGES _____ GIRLS _____ AGES _____	_____	TOTAL DEPENDENTS ☐

EMPLOYER (OR SCHOOL AND SYSTEM)	POSITION AND/OR JOB TITLE (IF TEACHER, GRADE LEVEL AND SUBJECT)	SALARY $ _____ Wk. $ _____ Mo. $ _____ Yr.	HOW LONG? YEARS	MONTHS
BUSINESS STREET ADDRESS	CITY STATE	BUSINESS PHONE	TOTAL NO. OF YEARS EXPERIENCE	
SUMMER OR PART TIME EMPLOYER (STATE WHICH)	CITY STATE	POSITION AND JOB TITLE	SALARY $ _____ Wk. $ _____ Mo.	

SPOUSE'S NAME	SPOUSE'S OCCUPATION	SPOUSE'S EMPLOYER	CITY STATE	HOW LONG? YEARS	MONTHS

EDUCATION	LOCATION	DATES ATTENDED FROM TO	MAJOR MINOR	TYPE OF DEGREE YEAR
HIGH SCHOOL				
VOCATIONAL TECHNICAL				
COLLEGE				
COLLEGE				
COLLEGE				
SPECIAL PROGRAMS, SEMINARS, WORKSHOPS				
SPECIAL PROGRAMS, SEMINARS, WORKSHOPS				

PRESENT MILITARY STATUS	PRESENT CLASSIFICATION	DATE OF DISCHARGE	RANK

TRAVEL EXPERIENCE OUTSIDE TOUR STATE			
PLACE	PURPOSE	YEAR	LENGTH OF STAY

POPULATION OF THE COMMUNITY IN WHICH YOU WORK	TOWN	COUNTY

DESCRIBE YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN A RECENT EDUCATION OR COMMUNITY PROJECT

DESCRIBE THE SPECIAL AREA OF INTEREST YOU WISH TO PURSUE IF GRANTED AN AWARD, WHERE YOU WOULD LIKE TO STUDY (LOCATIONS), AND WITH WHOM.

WHAT DO YOU PLAN TO DO UPON COMPLETION OF YOUR FELLOWSHIP YEAR (IF YOU ARE SELECTED FOR A FELLOWSHIP)?

DO YOU LIVE NEAR YOUR WORK?
☐ YES ☐ NO EXPLANATION:

PLEASE LIST THREE PERSONS WHO ARE FAMILIAR WITH YOU AND YOUR WORK (INCLUDE AT LEAST ONE SUPERVISOR OR EMPLOYER)

NAME

STREET ADDRESS

CITY STATE

TELEPHONE

NAME

STREET ADDRESS

CITY STATE

TELEPHONE

WITH WHOM HAVE YOU DISCUSSED LDP AND YOUR STUDY PLAN?

NAME

STREET ADDRESS

CITY STATE

TELEPHONE

DESCRIBE YOURSELF (PHYSICAL APPEARANCE, PERSONALITY, LEADERSHIP ABILITY) DESCRIBE WHAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO BE.

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There are many individuals in the rural areas of the South who are unobtrusively struggling to improve their educational systems and communities. Products, themselves, of the isolation and and inadequate services, they have defined the many problems in education, health, housing, economics, and politics, but are frustrated in their efforts to find solutions. Yet, they are committed to trying, and to remaining in their home communities, and to searching for effective approaches to developing their home land and to bettering the lives of their neighbors and, most important, the lives of the next generation.

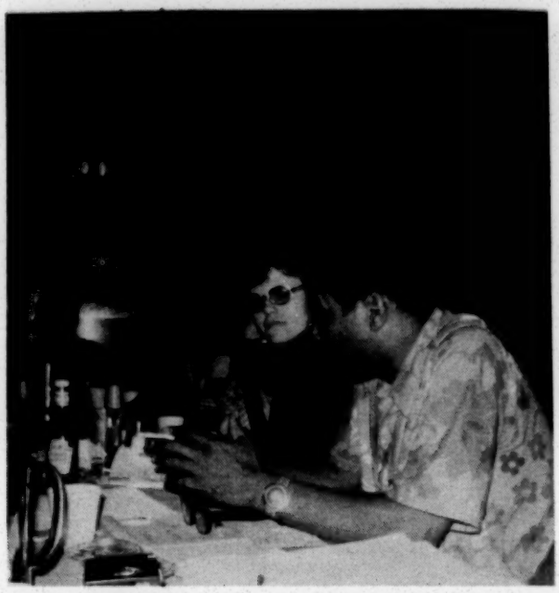
The Leadership Development Program, funded by the Ford Foundation, seeks to identify and develop this often hidden talent in the rural South. Begun in 1967 under the Fund for the Advancement of Education, the Leadership Development Program has awarded over 200 Fellowships. Originally conceived to find and fund public elementary and secondary teachers in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, the Program has expanded its outreach to include individuals more broadly involved in educational reform and community development, recognizing the significant impact of the entire community system on educational efforts and outputs.

Administered directly by the Ford Foundation for its first seven years, the Program this year became a special project of the Southern Regional Council and has expanded its geographical area to more closely coincide with that organization's boundaries, and has included the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, and the boot heel of Missouri.

Harold Howe III, Vice President of Education and Research Division, The Ford Foundation, chats with Ralph Bohrson, Program Officer, at LDP annual conference.

K. Z. Chavis (right), LDP Director, discusses state organization activties with post fellows.

Current LDP Fellows team up to develop their yearbook, while interning in the Regional Office.



Dr. T. J. Pinnock, Director of Tuskegee's Human Resource Development Center, confers with Joan First, Early Childhood Education Specialist, at Selection Conference.

Leadership Development Program efforts are based on the belief that the most valuable agents of change are those individuals who understand the intricacies, mores, and norms of their particular system, and who have a vested interest in improving that system because it is their home and the home of their children. The fellowship program is based on offering these individuals exposure and first hand experience with organizations and individuals throughout the country, and in some instances, throughout the world who are involved in reform efforts. Thus, established leaders of innovation agree to serve as Mentors, and welcome the LDP Fellow as an intern and apprentice in their organization. A typical Fellow would intern at five or six different locations during his Fellowship year, gaining exposure to various leadership styles, and different strategies and approaches to development, as ecclectically he seeks to develop his own plan, program and style, appropriate to his own personality and the needs and particularities of his home community.

While not designed as a degree oriented program, a number of Fellows have profited also from course work and independent study at various universities throughout the country. The Leadership Development Program is unique in that there are no educational requirements for entry into the program. Many applicants have been deprived of early educational opportunities, victims of the tenant farm system and no compulsory school attendance laws, but are self-educated through their experience. One such LDP Fellow came in the program with only a sixth grade education and returned to his community to become the first black county commissioner ever elected in his county. On the other hand, another LDP Fellow was able to complete his masters degree at a leading school of educational administration while on the program, and returned to his community as a key administrator in the school system.

Working toward achieving non-discrimination in the Region, the Program's selection criteria and process reflect that goal. While an emphasis has been placed on recruiting individuals in the age range of 25-35, many individuals older and younger have been selected. Men and women have been selected in equal proportion, throughout the seven years, as the program pioneered in recognizing the rights and outstanding leadership potential of women. The color of one's skin has never been a deterrant to one's selection, as the Program has sought to develop a coalition of black and white leadership efforts, cognizant of the importance of unity in developing a truly new South.

Rather, selection has been based on that often elusive quality to define—"leadership potential." A panel of leading Southerners in their respective fields, from university deans to grass roots community organizers, have served as the Selection Committee, and each year grappled with the difficult decisions of selecting Fellows. Interviewed a total of five different times, a candidate is queried regarding his past involvements and commitments, his proposed program, and his vision, as efforts are made to select tomorrow's future leaders. The rigor of selection has proven invaluable, as LDP Fellows, often enticed by lucrative job offers outside the region, have returned home at increasingly high rates, so that ninety-five percent of those awarded fellowships are now actively involved in reform efforts within the region, or are pursuing further education with plans to return. Working at many different levels, LDP Post Fellows can be found throughout the South, quietly and effectively trying out their new skills and knowledge, developing and implementing programs and plans to improve situations in the rural areas.

In the business of developing new leadership in the South, the Leadership Development Program, itself, has developed over the past seven years, as it has successfully adjusted to changing strategies, priorities, and programs in the region. Each individual has been recognized as possessing a unique set of needs, skills, hopes, and fears, as his Fellowship Program was developed and modified accordingly. As an adult education program, through the utilization of staff input, information, and experience, individualized programming and experience-based learning have been proven to be viable approaches to developing leaders.

Begun as an experimental program, the Leadership Development Program has continuously guided the development of its Fellows, and through them, numerous reform and development efforts throughout the South, and looks forward to many years of continued service and intervention wherever there is need for the development of new leadership.

The Leadership Development Program seeks to develop concerned and committed individuals, vital in directing the development of a reformed and unified South.

ALABAMA

Jacquelyn N. Adams (67-68)
Field Representative, Auburn Univ.
Auburn, Alabama

Robert J. Armour (73-73)
Principal, Goodwater Elementary School
Goodwater, Alabama

James L. Barnett (71-72)
Security Guard, Reynolds Metal Alloys Division
Sheffield, Alabama

Ronald Chatman (68-69)
Director of Veterans and Governmental Affairs Programs
Compton College
Compton, California

Romelia N. Cobb (72-73)
Teacher, Muscle Shoals Head Start
Muscle Shoals, Alabama

Doris D. Crenshaw (70-71)
Outreach Specialist
Federation of Southern Co-ops
Epes, Alabama

Chester A. Fredd, Jr. (70-71)
Electricity Instructor, Tuscaloosa State Trade Vocational-Technical School
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Carrienelle F. Gadson (67-68)
Staff Developer,
Follow Through Program
Macon Board of Education
Tuskegee, Alabama

Sallie M. Hadnott (71-72)
Community Worker
Prattville, Alabama

Jean H. Hargrove (71-72)
Human Relations Consultant
Illinois Education Association
Chicago, Illinois

Consuello J. Harper (67-68)
Executive Director, Central Ala. OIC
Montgomery, Alabama

Ezekiel Harrison (69-70)
Teacher, Paramount High School
Birmingham, Alabama

Doris J. Hegmon (70-71)
Social Services Supervisor
Economic Opportunity Atlanta
Atlanta, Georgia

Dorothy J. Hinson (72-73)
Teacher, Lowndes County
Hayneville, Alabama

Rufus C. Hoffman (67-68)
Educational Field Director, NAACP
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Annie B. Jackson (72-73)
Teacher, Wilcox County
Hayneville, Alabama

Curtis D. Jernigan (69-70)
County Coordinator
Human Resources Development Center
Selma Springs, Alabama

Charles A. Johnson (70-71)
Teacher, Choctaw County High School
Butler, Alabama

Toreatha Johnson (67-68)
Project Director, Choctaw County
Board of Education
Butler, Alabama

Bettye J. Kirksey (67-68)
Student
Greene County Board of Education
Eutaw, Alabama

Mary Y. Mack (68-69)
Counselor, Morristown High School
Morristown, New Jersey

Selene Manning (69-70)
County Coordinator, Seasonal Employed Agricultural Workers Program
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Curtis Mitchell (69-70)
Teacher, Central Junior High School
Phoenix City, Alabama

Cecil E. Moody (67-68)
Teacher, Greenville Junior High School
Greenville, Alabama

Seth M. Okorley
Associate Executive Director
Jefferson County Committee for Economic Opportunity
Birmingham, Alabama

Claudia F. Poole (69-70)
Severn, Maryland

Annie R. Price (68-69)
Teacher, Goodwyn Junior High School
Montgomery, Alabama

Charles Smith (70-71)
County Commissioner, Lowndes County
Calhoun, Alabama

James R. Thompson (67-68)
Teacher, Jacksonville High School
Jacksonville, Alabama

Martha L. Washington (69-70)
Display Supervisor
Gunter Air Force Base
Montgomery, Alabama

Brenda J. Williams (72-73)
Teacher
Mobile, Alabama

Dorothy B. Williams (68-69)
Teacher, Stillman College
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Minnie M. Williams (72-73)
Community Organizer
Detroit, Michigan

GEORGIA

Mae E. Armster (67-68)
Teacher
Susie H. Dunlap Elementary School
Thomasville, Ga.

Wade Ash (67-68)
Principal
Powder Springs Elementary School
Powder Springs, Georgia

Lois Benjamin (70-71)
Doctoral Candidate
University of California
Berkeley, California

Linda R. Bulloch (70-71)
Author and Researcher
Atlanta, Georgia

ReJohnna R. Brown (71-72)
Doctoral Student
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Donald P. Conroy (71-72)
Author, Water Is Wide
Atlanta, Georgia

Patricia A. Copley (71-72)
Counselor, National Scholarship Service Fund for Negro Students
Atlanta, Georgia

S. J. Dorsey (68-69)
Consultant, West Georgia Educational Service Center
Carrollton, Georgia

Carol Duffey (71-72)
Social Worker, Youth Development Center
Macon, Georgia

Willie W. Dyson (69-70)
Teacher, Ivy Street Elementary School
New Haven, Connecticut

Lu Elrod (68-69)
Music Teacher
Athens, Georgia

Stine P. George (68-69)
Teacher, Seminole School
Donaldsonville, Georgia

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HUD-FHA ASSISTED PROGRAM
FOR RENTAL AND CO-OP HOUSING FOR LOWER-INCOME FAMILIES

SECTION 236, NATIONAL HOUSING ACT

WHAT IT IS

- Privately built rental and cooperative housing for low- and moderate-income families.
- Provides assistance in the form of monthly Federal payments to mortgagee, reducing cost to occupant by paying part of interest on market rate project.

ELIGIBLE PROJECT

- Five or more units - detached (need not be contiguous), semi-detached, row, walk-up or elevator structures.
- Only new structures or existing ones involving major rehabilitation.
- May include non-dwelling commercial-must be predominantly residential.
- Designed so that basic rent is less than 25 percent of maximum income limits.
- An insured limited dividend project purchased by nonprofit organization or co-op.

ELIGIBLE SPONSORS AND MORTGAGORS

- Private, nonprofit organization, limited dividend mortgagor, or cooperative housing corporation.
- Consideration given to qualifications of sponsor's character, integrity, motivation, past successful participation in housing, demonstrable interest in this type of housing, recognition of continuing responsibility, financial ability, capacity to provide competent management.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT

- Sponsors must have management program - realistic plan for providing socially oriented management and related human services.
- Housing owner expected to assist tenants in application preparation.
- Management has fiscal responsibilities - monthly statements, re-certifications of incomes.
- Management program must be approved by FHA at least 30 days prior to initial endorsement.

FINANCING

- By private lenders, (nonprofit mortgagors eligible for GNMA Tandem Plan).
- By State or local governments through loans, or under State or local program of loan insurance or Tax abatement.

MORTGAGE LIMITS

Lesser of the following:

- $12,500,000 (maximum)
- 90 percent of FHA estimate of cost (100 percent for nonprofit or cooperative mortgagor).
- The sum of the per unit-limit under Section 221.

TENANTS AND COOPERATIVE OCCUPANTS

- Must meet specified income requirements and one of the following: be a family (two persons related by blood, marriage or operation of law), or single (at least 62 years of age), or handicapped persons (no age requirement).
- 10 percent of dwelling units may be for single people under 62 years of age.
- Priorities to those displaced by urban renewal, government action, national disaster.

TENANT INCOME LIMITS

- Adjusted income cannot exceed 135 percent of limits applicable to public housing locally.
- Adjusted income is current income from all sources before taxes of all members of the family occupying unit excluding a 5 percent deduction for unusual or temporary income, less $300 for each minor and less earnings of each minor.
- Income recertified every two years and needed adjustment in rental charges made.
- During initial rent-up tenants over-income are required to pay fair market rental.

MONTHLY RENTAL CHARGES

- After the initial rent-up eligible tenant pays basic rental or 25 percent of income whichever is greater; over-income tenant pays 25 percent of income but not in excess of fair market rental.
- Basic monthly rental charge is based on operation at 1 percent interest rate mortgage.
- HUD-FHA makes monthly assistance payments to mortgagee to reduce mortgage payments from market rate to an amount required for a 1 percent mortgage.
- Eligible tenant pays greater of basic rental charge or 25 percent of adjusted income (a limited number of tenants may also receive rent supplement assistance).
- Fair market rental (over-income tenants) based on operation at market interest rate.
- Will include all utilities except telephone.

INFORMATION SOURCE

HUD Area Office or HUD-FHA Insuring Office.

ADMINISTERING OFFICE

Assistant Secretary for Housing Production and Mortgage Credit—FHA Commissioner.

January 1971 GPO 911-878 HUD-90-F(3)

SITUATION SURVEY

A

Question List for Projects, Groups or Individuals

Contemplating a Low-Income Housing Program

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1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

The following list of questions was designed to aid people attempting to grapple with the low-income housing problem at the local level. We hope that by answering these questions, which are not all-inclusive, local groups can better define the nature of the problem and identify potential sources of help. The list also gives some of the sources for information which can be tapped.

It is not intended that local groups feel they must spend months (or years) in preparing detailed, statistical answers to every question on the list before they even begin to deal with housing needs in their community. Rather, this is intended as a check-list of the types of information which are relevant to dealing with housing problems at the local level--and represent factors which will have to be considered sooner or later in mounting a housing program for low-income people.

For information on programs, agencies and approaches for alleviating the problem, we direct you to other RHA publications, particularly "Low-Income Housing Programs for Rural America," $.50 per copy. A publications order form is available on request. The Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) publish brochures and pamphlets on their programs. The Non-Profit Housing Center (1717 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.), and the Foundation for Cooperative Housing (1012 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.) also have published useful materials.

I. General Information About Community

1. What is the population of the community? (U.S. Census reports, usually available at college and public libraries)

2. What is per capita income of community? (U. S. Census reports)

3. What percent of population falls into low-income group? (U. S. Census reports)

4. What is per capita income of this group? (U. S. Census reports)

5. What is distribution of population by age? (U. S. Census reports)

6. What is distribution of low-income population by age? (U. S. Census report)

B 1. What are the major means of employment in the community? (Chamber of Commerce, Census reports, State Employment Service, local OEO agencies)

2. What employment is available to the low-income population? (Chamber of Commerce, U. S. Labor Department, State Employment Service, local OEO agencies)

3. What is the unemployment rate? (U. S. Labor Department, State Employment Service)

4. Is the community a center for economic and industrial growth? (Chamber of Commerce, local government and local OEO agencies)

5. How many people receive welfare assistance? (local Department of Social Services)

6. How many people draw Social Security benefits? (local office of Social Security Administration)

C 1. Is the community incorporated? (Mayor's office, County Commissioner's office, etc.)

2. What is the form of government for the community?

3. Does the community lie within the jurisdiction of planning commissions, economic development districts, Model Cities, water control boards, etc.? (office of local government)

4. Does the community have zoning and building codes? (office of local government, local Health Department)

5. Does the community have water and waste desposal systems? (local Health Department, office of local government)

6. What is the formula for assessing property values and what is the cost per thousand dollars for property taxes in the area? (assessor's office)

7. What is the cost of fire and hazard insurance of housing? (insurance agencies)

II. Current Housing Situation

A 1. What is the general level of construction activity by the housing industry in the community? (Chamber of Commerce, office of local government, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

2. How many single and multi-family units were built over the past year? (building permits on file with local government, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

3. What do new contractor-built, single family units cost on the open market? (real estate agencies, want-ads, building permits, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

4. What is the supply (vacancy rate) condition and price range of rental housing? (U.S. Post Office, real estate agencies, want-ads, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

5. What is the supply (vacancy rate) condition and price range of an existing single family dwelling? (U. S. Post Office, real estate agencies, want-ads, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

B 1. What is the availability and cost of land (developed and undeveloped lots and parcels)? (real estate agencies, tax assessor's office)

2. What financing through banks, savings and loans, and other private institutions is available (interim and permanent financing)? (banks, savings and loans, FmHA, local Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office)

3. What is availability of building suppliers and are their prices generally competitive? (yellow pages, FmHA)

C What low-income housing activity has there been and what are the resources available?

1. FmHA (county and state offices)

a. How active has FmHA been in providing loans to low-income people?

b. Which programs (502, 504, 515, etc.) have been utilized and how many loans under each program were made during the past year?

c. What is the average loan amount for Section 502 homeownership?

d. Has FmHA made water and sewer grants and loans and in what amounts?

e. Has FmHA made comprehensive planning grants, recreation loans, conservation loans and grants?

2. Federal Housing Administration--same questions as 1. a, b, and c. (local FHA Insuring Office)

3. Public Housing

   a. Is there a Public Housing Authority in the community? How many units does it operate and under which program (conventional, Turnkey I, II, and III, Section 23 leasing)? (local office of government, local housing authority)

   b. Does the Public Housing Authority have plans for additional units? How many units, under which program and when? (local housing authority)

   c. What is the average cost per month to tenants of public housing units? (local housing authority)

   d. What is the vacancy rate and/or how long is the waiting list for occupancy of units? (local housing aurhority)

4. HUD

   a. Has HUD made a comprehensive planning grant (701) to the community? (office of local government, HUD area office)

   b. Are there Urban Renewal, Model Cities, or Neighborhood development funds in the community? (office of local government, HUD area office)

   c. Have community facilities grants been made to the community? Water and sewage grants? (local government office, HUD area office)

   d. Is there a Concentrated Code Enforcement program in the community? If so, how many Section 115 loans and Section 312 grants have been made? (office of local government, HUD area office)

5. Other

a. Does the state have any housing programs and to what extent have they been utilized? (State Office of Community Affairs, or equivalent, local OEO agencies)

b. What other groups (non-profits, universities, etc.) are involved in low-income housing, what have they accomplished and what resources have they used? (local OEO agencies, local office of government)

D 1. What are the housing conditions of the low-income population? (U.S. Census reports, local government, regional planning commissions, local OEO agencies)

2. How many low-income families are homeowners and what is the general condition of their housing? (U. S. Census reports, local government, regional planning commissions, local OEO agencies)

3. How many low-income families are renters and what is the general condition of their housing? (U. S. Census reports, local government, planning commissions, local OEO agencies)

4. What problems do low-income families encounter in obtaining decent, adequate housing (racial, economic descrimination, inadequate supply, inadequate credit, etc.)? (Human Rights Commissions, local OEO agencies)

5. What percent of housing is substandard, dilapidated, overcrowded in community? (U. S. Census reports, local government, regional planning commissions, local OEO agencies)

A STATUS STUDY

OF NEGRO EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES

IN FOUR SOUTHERN CITIES

(HOUSTON, ATLANTA, CHATTANOOGA, AND MIAMI)

A Research Project of the Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 16, 1961

PART I.

INSTRUCTIONS AND GUIDES FOR USE BY STUDY GROUPS IN THE EMPLOYMENT SURVEY OF FOUR SOUTHERN CITIES

PURPOSE: To discover the nature and extent of racial discrimination in job opportunities, in access to training facilities (including apprenticeships), in chances for promotions, and in wages or salary paid for the same or comparable service.*

General Instructions

Although this is not to be a study in depth, in the academic sense, there is no reason why the findings should not be well documented and arrived at with all the objectivity it is possible to command. The fact that the responsibility for making the study will be in the hands of dedicated volunteers is an advantage provided there is good teamwork in the study group, and provided also that the distinction between fact-finding and advocacy is scrupulously maintained. The desire to eliminate discriminatory practices needs to be subordinated here to the effort to find out exactly what the practices are.

Information will be secured chiefly from existing records and from interviews with key persons. Careful planning by the local study committee will minimize the possibility of overlapping and wasted motion. In arranging the interview schedule it is important to select for each appointment the interviewer most likely to get the desired information with the least resistance. It would also be helpful to avoid the necessity of a second interview with the same person.

The questions are supposed to direct attention to the critical areas in which discrimination may occur. They also will serve as a basis for a point by point comparison of the four communities involved in the study. The resourcefulness of the local interviewer may be depended upon to devise additional probe questions in order to ferret out the desired information, if it is available. The complete interview report should always include an evaluation of the reliability of the materials collected.

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* Within this broad objective, two areas of particular importance are: 1) the job opportunities available to high school graduates who do not plan to go to college; and 2) discriminatory practices in agencies of the Federal Government and in plants with government contracts.

The case studies suggested need not be elaborate in order to provide valuable insights into the kinds of problems encountered by Negro workers. They would be illustrative of the factual information, not documentation for it.

The members of the local committee will have helpful suggestions about sources of information and possible subjects for case histories. Whenever it is necessary, informants should be reminded that their names will not be used unless specific permission to do so is given. Many times this assurance of anonymity will make it possible to get leads not otherwise obtainable.

The importance of planning sessions cannot be over-emphasized. One procedure would be to provide members of the study group with copies of the guide questions prior to the first briefing, with a request that each person prepare a list of names of likely informants to be interviewed. Specific dates should be set for subsequent progress reports and for the resolution of problems that may have arisen.

Instructions for Use of Interview Guide

Section 1 seeks background information on the labor force characteristics in the South as a region and in the four cities under survey. This section of the research is the responsibility of the research staff of the Council. Information as compiled for the four cities will be forwarded to the study groups as completed.

Section 2 states the underlying assumptions that provide the basic orientation for the employment study. These assumptions are not intended to serve as undisputed truths, but rather to provide guidelines for the series of questions that follow in the interviewing outline. It may well be that some of the assumptions which we have made will, in the course of the study, need revision, and perhaps at the conclusion of the survey require complete reformulation.

Section 3 of the outline seeks information on employment practices with regard to Negro youth. In addition to the questions raised in the interviewing guide, this section of the questionnaire focuses on the following questions:

> What is the situation with respect to guidance and counseling among Negro high school students? Here it is important to find out the ratio of pupils to guidance teachers or counselors in White and Negro schools; also, it is important to know the training of guidance teachers for the job they are expected to do.
>
> Are there careers which are usually ignored in the advice given by counselors to Negro pupils? Is counseling in Negro schools based primarily on the kind of jobs now available to Negroes in the community? To what extent does this policy operate to keep Negro pupils from knowing about the possibilities in a variety of careers?

Some additional questions related to Section 3 on initial hiring difficulties experienced by Negroes at all educational levels might include:

What are the referral practices of both public and private employment agencies with respect to Negro job applicants? Are requests from employers separated by race--that is, are Negroes denied the opportunity to qualify for placement for some jobs which are available? Over the past years, what does the record show in regard to Negro placement?

What are the "Negro" jobs in the community--that is, for what kind of work are request made for Negroes only, never for Whites?

In reverse, what kinds of jobs are specifically reserved for qualified White persons?

Also under Section 3, particularly with respect to policies of both private and public employment agencies, some important considerations raised are:

Public employment may be at the federal, state or local level. At the federal level it is important to know whether civil service examinations are adequately advertised in the Negro community and whether any systematic effort is made to get Negroes to take examinations on the state and local level. It is important to know whether the state or the municipality has a merit system for certain kinds of positions, whether applicants for such jobs have to indicate race on the application blank, and whether there is an avowed policy of non-discrimination in the area.

In this connection it is important to examine very closely the practices in regard to federal employment where by law discrimination is forbidden. In the post office, for example, are there any Negroes in supervisory jobs? Have any Negroes taken examinations for such positions and been rejected on the basis of the "rule of 3" (the appointing officer has the right to select one of the first three qualifying applicants and if none are suitable he may select from the next three, etc.).

With respect to skilled and unskilled workers, treated also in Section 3, background for information sought in this section involves the following considerations:

Normally the main categories of people seeking employment are as follows: 1) young people who have dropped out of school; 2) high school graduates who do not go to college; 3) college graduates and those who have attended but are not college graduates; 4) others who are transferring from one job to another and have been employed before; 5) young people seeking summer employment.

For each of these categories the question will be raised:

what are the chances in the community for this person getting a job for which he is qualified? In one community approximately three-fourth of the Negro high school graduates do not go on to college. What kinds of jobs do they get, or can they get, in the local community? Perhaps information on this point may be secured from the principals of local high schools and from guidance teachers and counselors. Perhaps a few case studies of a few recent high school graduates might be made in order to get a picture of the difficulties encountered in finding a job. The principals of the high schools will undoubtedly know several young people who finished high school within the last two years but could not go to college from whom this kind of information may be secured. They, the principals, also are likely to be used as references by the recent graduates who are seeking jobs. This becomes a valuable source of information about the job outlook for such persons.

A study of employment practices in Pennsylvania, reported by John Hope, suggests that chances of discrimination increase "substantially with the level of training obtained by Negro applicants." A corollary of this will be that many Negroes seeking jobs will have to accept a job at a lower level than that for which they are qualified. This leads to underemployment. It is important to discover the extent to which Negroes employed for the first time are forced to accept jobs which do not utilize fully the training they have received. Here again a few case studies will illustrate the point.

In a few selected establishments where Negroes are employed, inquiry might be made concerning the opportunity they have within the plant to prepare themselves for better positions. This is a sometimes concealed area of discrimination.

In regard to upgrading and transfer, the two rules which seem to operate in the American industry in the South are: 1) a Negro must not supervise White workers regardless of his qualifications for such a job; and 2) White workers will not knowingly work with Negroes on terms of equal status. Therefore, the points of inquiry here should center around the opportunity available to move up within the plant and whether or not the jobs which Negroes hold are dead-end jobs.

Is there a limit beyond which they cannot aspire within the plants which have been selected? Even where Negro and White workers have what appears to be equal status, a difference in job classification may place the Negro worker at a disadvantage. The reverse of this is also true and the question should be asked: are Negroes in this plant doing the work appropriate to a higher job classification than they have (e.g., a Negro maid in a department store may arrange the display window. Another approach in order to find out about upgrading is to search for Negro workers who have been in one job classification for a number of years and find out from them why they have never advanced.

The same kind of questions with regard to discrimination and upgrading may also be applied to opportunities to transfer to better paying jobs. The whole matter of seniority rights may be examined here because a transfer may be discriminatory in that a worker may lose his seniority in the job category in which he has long experience.

Section 4 deals with employment practices in regard to terminations, demotions, and lay-offs. The background against which data collected in this section will be analyzed is discussed below:

It has been said repeatedly that the Negro is the last hired and first fired. Is there any evidence of the truth or falsity of this statement in your community? Of course, discrimination in lay-off is easily discernible if the plant organization is a segregated one: that is, if there are separate Negro and White units doing the same kind of job. In this way segregation therefore facilitates the discriminatory practices.

For nearly all of the foregoing items the situation differs with the kind of employment. For example, upgrading and transfer may be a quite different problem among teachers than among industrial workers. Consequently, it is important to give special consideration to occupations which do not conform to the normal industrial pattern. In a segregated school system, for example, a Negro school teacher may become a principal or possibly, if the system is large enough, a Negro supervisor--but may never aspire to an administrative position which applies to the whole school system. This practice is likely to continue after the schools are desegregated.

The material in Section 5 poses some additional questions of interest in the study:

What unusual or pilot positions do Negroes hold in your community? For example, in most communities jobs in which a Negro supervises White workers is considered unusual. Are there such positions held by Negroes in your community? It might be of interest to secure interviews with such persons and also with their employers in order to illustrate the differences in making a break-away from the traditional pattern.

Are there many jobs over which Negroes hold a monopoly? (For example, domestic service, bell boys, waiters, maids in department stores, janitorial work, garbage collectors and the like).

Section 6, comprising case studies in employment practices, may be sharpened considerably with these suggestions:

1) Select an illustration that best represents, not the exceptional instance of employment discrimination, but those instances which involve the problems faced by a broad group of people.

2. Secure the facts in the case study from the most authentic sources: the age, sex, training; type of job sought; role persons involved; condensed account (including a factual time sequence) of the employment sought by the individual involved in the case; the decision made with respect to the employment; and what follow-up action, if any, was taken. An illustration follows:

> John X, male, 19 years of age, high school graduate, sought job as meter reader with the municipal public utilities corporation. Application first made as a result of announcement sent to high school, February 1961. Counselor reviewed the qualifications of John X, noting that he was in the top 5% of his class, exhibited high leadership potential, limited family resources for college education. Suggested that he formally make application. March 7, John X is interviewed by the director of personnel in the utilities corporation office and is given a series of tests and other required forms to complete. Two weeks later, March 14, John X receives notification of his rejection, giving no reason why he is not hired. Since an appointment of a Negro to this job would constitute a break-through in employment at this level, the guidance counselor, the local president of the NAACP, and the human relations counsel in the city are interested in following up the reasons for his rejection.

3. If at all possible, secure at least one case study for each of the points cited under Section 6.

In Section 7 it is most desirable that local study groups make their own summaries and interpretations of facts collected in the study, but it is strongly urged that all of the raw materials, as well as the summaries be submitted to the research department of SRC for its analysis and writing of the report.

PART II.

AIDS IN GETTING THE INTERVIEW

1. Carefully select a key respondent(s) and alternative to be interviewed under each section of the outline--i.e., is this the most knowledgeable, most articulate, most reliable person to provide information in the area under survey?

2. Unless the respondent is personally known to the interviewer, a letter should be sent, on the letterhead of the sponsoring organization, indicating the objectives of the interview, the desired information from the person to be interviewed, the time limits of the study, and a request for cooperation. This letter should be followed up with a telephone call, within a few days after the letter is sent, to fix the time for the interview and make any other arrangements which might be necessary for securing information useful in the study.

3. Promptness in keeping the appointment for the interview is stressed. Ask only those key questions included in the interviewing guide. Record as quickly as you can the comments being made but maintaining, if possible, facial communication with the respondent. If the respondent expresses a preference for your not taking notes, acceed to his wishes but immediately after the interview record as accurately as possible the substance of the interview.

   Please do not seek to "educate" the respondent; you are his guest and there to secure information from him.

   At the conclusion of the interview, thank him for his time and his cooperation and, if your organization plans to do so, indicate that you would be glad to send him a copy of the finished report of the survey.

   A good closing question might be: is there anyone else whom you might suggest that we talk to? is there anything else you would like to discuss that might be of help to us?

4. Please type the report of the interview as soon after its conclusion as possible, with one carbon copy for yourself and the original to be sent to the Southern Regional Council.

PART III

EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES IN FOUR SOUTHERN CITIES

1. Characteristics of the Labor Force in the South.

1.1. Characteristics of the Non-White labor force

1.1.1. A comparison of Non-White labor force characteristics in four Southern cities (Houston, Atlanta, Chattanooga, Miami)

1.1.1.1. Age, Sex, Marital status, Educational levels, Occupational categories, Income, Type of industry, Nature of Employment (permanent, temporary; part-time, fulltime)

SOURCES: Monthly Report on the Labor Force
United States Department of Labor
Current Population Survey, unpublished Data, Troutman file Non-White data on occupation, education, employment, income
Employment and Earnings, Annual Supplement U.S. Department of Labor, May 1960

2. Some Tentative Assumptions with Respect to Employment of Non-Whites in the South.

2.1. Negro young people 18 years of age and under, particularly those who have not completed high school, find it especially difficult to secure employment at a competitive level with Whites of their own age.

2.2. Difficulty in securing employment in the younger age brackets of the labor force has its sources in:

a. prevailing attitudes of both Whites and Negroes towards vocational training for Negro young people;

b. the extent of facilities for vocational preparation and the quality of training offered;

c. the adequacy and quality of vocational counseling services;

d. types of work experiences open to Negro young people.

e. the recruitment and employment practices of both public and private employment agencies.

2.3. Non-White workers in the unskilled and skilled categories, experience employment difficulties in the areas of job tenure, on-the-job training programs, apprenticeship programs, union affiliation, upgrading, promotions, job transfer, and in the use of in-plant facilities such as restrooms, cafeterias, recreation, hospitalization, and other fringe benefits.

2.4. Negro college students experience fewer opportunities for Summer employment in their areas of training and internships than do White students, providing the latter with an edge on experience when the two groups compete for jobs on an equal level.

2.5. Negro college graduates without professional training experience increasing difficulties in securing permanent employment in their local areas, thereby necessitating migration to other states in search of employment, or are under-utilized with respect to their training.

2.6. With training in the professions, the Negro is still less assured of equal opportunities with Whites to practice his profession, to be promoted and advanced on merit, and to share the advantages with his White professional colleagues of membership in professional associations and societies.

SOURCES:

3. <u>Information to be Collected on Employment Practices in Four Southern Cities.</u>

3.1. Negro youth and employment practices

3.1.1. Vocational Guidance, Counseling, and training in public schools.

3.1.1.1. WHAT FACILITIES FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING ARE PROVIDED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS? (Specify availability by race)

<u>Subsidiary Questions</u>: How many vocational high schools are there? What vocations are taught in them? What are the vocations for which training is available in regular, unspecialized high schools? To what extent are vocational courses offered to Negro young people to upgrade job aspirations? May Negro students avail themselves of these facilities? What arrangements exist between the schools and labor unions or industry for the operation of these vocational courses? Do any of these arrangements exclude Negroes or limit their participation? For example: Is is possible for a Negro boy to use his last year of high school to begin apprenticeship for a trade? Or can a Negro girl get sales experience in downtown stores during the summer or the Christmas rush period? To what extent are vocational courses offered to Negro young people limited only to those fields in which there is an established practice of employing Negroes? [1]

3.1.2. WHAT DIFFERENCES, IF ANY, EXIST IN THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING SERVICES PROVIDED FOR WHITE AND NEGRO PUPILS?

3.1.3. WHAT ARE THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY A NEGRO WHO IS SEEKING HIS FIRST JOB?

<u>Subsidiary Questions</u>: <u>The young person who has quit school.</u>

Aside from unskilled labor or domestic service, what jobs are available for such persons? For what trades do they have a chance to qualify? To what extent do bellboys,

waitresses, elevator operators, etc. come from this category? What jobs can white youngsters in this category get from which Negroes are excluded?

Negro high school graduates who do not attend college.

Year in, year out, what proportion of Negro high school graduates fall in this category? What kinds of jobs do they get? Is there a significant difference between the opportunities available to these high school graduates and those open to youngsters who have dropped out of school? Is there really any incentive for the youngster to finish high school? In comparison with white high school graduates, what is the nature and extent of the disadvantage in employment opportunities from which Negro youngsters suffer? Ascertain, if possible, the extent to which Negro young people are forced to accept jobs considerably below the level of their qualifications. Is there any way to find out about what proportion of Negro high school graduates of a city seek jobs elsewhere?

3.1.4. The Recruitment and Employment Practices of both public and Private Employment Agencies with respect to Youth.

3.2. Skilled and Unskilled Workers and Employment Practices

3.2.1. WHAT BARRIERS, IF ANY, ARE FACED BY NEGROES IN INDUSTRY IN THEIR EFFORTS TO GET TRAINING WITHIN THE PLANT THAT WOULD QUALIFY THEM FOR HIGHER LEVEL JOBS OR BETTER PAY?

Subsidiary Questions: Are Negroes placed in categories which automatically preclude their participation in training programs? Explain. To what extent do Negroes take advantage of the opportunities for training available to them? In what ways are they discouraged from doing so? What part, if any, do labor unions play in on-the-job training?[2]

3.2.2. IN THE SELECTED PLANTS, IN WHAT CATEGORIES -- JOB CLASSIFICATIONS -- ARE NEGROES NOW WORKING, OR NONE WORKING AT ALL?

Subsidiary Questions: Are Negroes employed in some divisions of the plant but not in others? Specify. To what extent is there segregation within the plant? What about rest rooms and cafeterias? In what capacities are Negro women employed? If this is a government contract plant operation, are all of the requirements being met? Which ones are being violated? Are Negro jobs "blind alleys"? Explain.[3]

3.2.3. IN COMPARISON WITH WHITE WORKERS IN THE SAME PLANT AND WORKING AT SIMILAR JOBS, WHAT ARE THE CHANCES FOR NEGRO WORKERS TO BE UPGRADED OR TRANSFERRED TO BETTER JOBS -- EITHER TO OTHER PLANTS OF SAME COMPANY OR WITHIN SAME PLANT?

Subsidiary Questions: What are the chances of a Negro becoming a foreman or supervisor? Are these opportunities limited to all-Negro units? In what kinds of situations do Negroes supervise White workers? In what situations, if any, are the seniority rights of Negro workers violated? Explain.[4]

3.2.4. TO WHAT EXTENT AREDENIAL OR RESTRICTION OF UNION MEMBERSHIP AND FULL CONTRACT BENEFITS BARRIERS TO THE EMPLOYMENT AND UPGRADING OF NEGRO WORKERS? WHAT LIMITATIONS OPERATE AGAINST EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO PROMOTION AND UPGRADING?

Subsidiary Questions: What unions, if any, bar Negro membership on any basis? What unions have separate Negro units? Which ones are fully integrated? In the matter of discrimination against Negroes, does there remain any distinction between the old trade unions (AFL) and the newer industrial (CIO) unions? Explain. What unions, if any, are dominated by Negroes? In these cases, is there any evidence of discrimination in reverse? What difficulties, if any, are encountered by the skilled Negro migrant in his effort to affiliate with the appropriate local? (e.g., high initiation fees) To what extent do Negro skilled workers, barred from unions, ply their trades without benefit of union affiliation? To what extent does union policy in assignment to jobs operate to the disadvantage of Negro union members? [4]

3.2.5. WHAT OPPORTUNITIES ARE AVAIALBLE TO THE NEGRO ADULT WHO SEEKS TO LEARN A NEW VOCATION? (opportunities for vocational training outside the public schools)

Subsidiary Questions: What schools of the vocational type are listed in the yellow pages of the telephone book? Which admit Negroes? What are the vocational training courses not available to Negroes even on a segregated basis? (e.g., check the following: comptometer, diesel engine, radio, electronics, automation, radar, flourescent engineering, television) [5]

3.2.6. TO WHAT EXTENT ARE NEGROES EMPLOYED AT JOBS CONSIDERABLY BELOW THEIR QUALIFICATIONS? (Take a look at federal civil service)

Subsidiary Questions: What evidence is there that Negroes are systematically relegated to "dead end" jobs? Are there instances that can be documented in which White supervisors are less qualified in training and length of service than Negroes they supervise?

ARE THERE DOCUMENTED INSTANCES IN WHICH NEGROES ARE ACTUALLY DOING WORK AT A HIGHER LEVEL THAN THE JOB CLASSIFICATION TO WHICH THEY ARE ASSIGNED?

Subsidiary Questions: For example, are there any Negro maids in department stores who also dress the store window? [7]

IN WHAT SKILLED OCCUPATIONS, IF ANY, ARE NEGROES NOW LOSING OUT WHICH AT ONE TIME THEY DOMINATED?

Subsidiary Questions: Are there any instances paralleling that of the locomotive firemen? (In Louisville, for example, a Negro firm dominated the moving and packing business for a long time and its skilled workmen were the best in town. Now that the old timers have died, there are few, if any, Negroes employed as skilled movers and packers.) [8]

3.2.7. WHAT PRACTICES, IF ANY, IN THE OPERATION OF THE STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE LIMIT OR CURTAIL: EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES OF NEGROES? PROMOTION AND UP-GRADING?

Subsidiary Questions: Is there a Negro division of the State Employment Service? If so, how are requests channelled to the Negro office? (If there is one unified office, what jobs are available to Negroes in the office itself?) Other questions on page 1 in "Materials." [9]

TO WHAT EXTENT ARE PUBLIC JOBS AT THE FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL LEVELS EQUALLY AVAILABLE TO NEGROES AND WHITES?

Subsidiary Questions: Is there any sort of merit system applying to city jobs? What about jobs with state agencies located in the city? Check police and fire departments, city and state welfare services. What are the recruitment and referral policies and procedures for these and other public jobs? Are clerks and stenographers recruited on a non-discriminatory basis? See "Materials," p. 2.

SOURCES:

1. School officials (Supervisors of industrial arts, principals of technical high schools, vocational guidance teachers); Trade unions and industry (those responsible for apprentice training or education).

2,3,4. Interview personnel managers in plants selected from the top ten operations in the city. (A list may be obtained from the local chamber of commerce.)

5,6,7. Telephone call; interview technique -- has any Negro applied and been turned down?

8. Find survivors of the "old days" and get their story.

9. Director and staff members of State Employment Service.

10. Public officials, civil service examiners, official manuals, etc.

3.3. College Trained Youth and Employment Practices

3.3.1. Negro young people who are "drop-outs" from college.

3.3.1.1. What are the kinds of job opportunities open to Negro youth who have completed some college training, but have not continued on to graduation? Are the avenues of employment open to them substantially different from those open to White young people or to Negroes who have only completed education up through high school?

3.3.2. College graduates without professional training.

Aside from teaching in public schools, what are the first jobs of Negro college graduates? What evidence is there that the difficulty in obtaining a job "increases substantially with the level of training attained by Negro applicants?" Here again the question posed above is in point: within the last few years, what proportion of the college graduates, educated in local high schools, are now employed elsewhere?

3.3.3. Students seeking summer jobs.

Sometimes summer jobs are internships for future careers. Are any cpportunities of this sort available to Negro college students? If not, what do they do during the summer? Do they have to seek jobs out of town? To what extent does the Negro business community absorb these students? [1]

SOURCES: School people, key people in the Negro community, graduate chapters of Negro sororities and fraternities, Urban League branches, AFSC. Caution: careful selection and documentation.

3.4. Negro Professionals and Employment Practices

3.4.1. WHAT LIMITATIONS ARE PLACED UPON THE NEGRO PROFESSIONAL PERSON IN THE PRACTICE OF HIS PROFESSION AND HIS ADVANCEMENT IN IT?

Subsidiary Questions: In a segregated school system what is the highest attainable position for Negro teachers? How many, if any, internships and residencies are available to the Negro physician? What difficulties are encountered by the Negro physician in entering special fields of medicine? Is he excluded from membership in professional societies? Explain. What discrimination, if any, handicaps the Negro lawyer? Is membership in the local bar association open to him? Can a qualified Negro become a CPA? Under what conditions? What level can the Negro social worker reach? In public agencies? In private agencies? What are the opportunities for advancement in the nursing field?

SOURCES: Negroes in the professions cited.

4. Employment Practices with Respect to Termination, Demotion, and Lay-offs.

4.1. WHAT EVIDENCE IS THERE OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES IN THE MATTER OF LAY-OFFS AND JOB TERMINATION?

Subsidiary Questions: Where Negro and white are in separate units in the same plant, is there evidence that the all-Negro units are laid off first? Do plans for school desegregation call for the closing of some Negro schools and the release of Negro teachers? Is there equality in the matter of job security for Negroes with Whites in similar employment? Are tenure provisions equally protective of Negroes and Whites?

SOURCES: Only clear, well-documented cases of discrimination should be cited.

5. Breakthroughs in Employment for Negroes.

5.1. WHAT ARE THE UNUSUAL JOBS HELD BY NEGROES IN THE COMMUNITY?

Subsidiary Questions: Find out from several informants in the Negro community what these unusual jobs are. Why is the job considered unusual? Is it merely that it is the first time such a job has been held by a Negro? Is the job unusual because it violates one or both of the basic rules of Negro employment? (i.e., (1) A Negro must not supervise White workers; (2) White workers will not knowingly work with Negroes on terms of equal status.)

5.2. WHAT ARE THE JOBS IN WHICH ONLY NEGROES ARE EMPLOYED IN THE COMMUNITY?

5.3. WHAT ARE THE JOBS IN WHICH NO NEGROES ARE EMPLOYED IN THE COMMUNITY?

SOURCES:

6. Case Studies in Employment Practices.

6.1. What case studies other than those suggested below will throw light on the employment situation?

6.1.1. Suggestions for case studies:

6.1.1.1. High School or college graduates who have become successful elsewhere after trying to get a job at home.

6.1.1.2. Young people who have sought to get into a trade or occupation for which they were qualified but have been turned down.

6.1.1.3. Negroes who have been forced to accept jobs considerably below their training and abilities.

6.1.1.4. Negroes in "dead end" jobs.

6.1.1.5. Negroes in unusual jobs.

6.2. Summaries and interpretations of case studies

7. Summary and recommendations: Employment practices of four southern cities.

SOURCES:

SECTION IV

RESOURCE MATERIALS

BOOKS

I. The following deal in general with the PROFESSIONS and indicate what has been accomplished in various fields.

Bardolph, Richard The Negro Vanguard, Rinehart & Co., 1959

A study of leadership. An excellent bibliography of the professions as well as a biographical source of professional people.

Chambers, Lucille Arcola America's Tenth Man, Twayne Publishers, 1957

The extent of the Negro's participation in the everyday life of the United States. Traces the rise of organizations representing him in the legal, political, economic struggle.

Edwards, G. Franklin The Negro Professional Class, The Free Press of Glencoe, Ill., 1959

A study of the problems encountered by the Negro in becoming a professional worker and in advancing in his occupational career. Very good.

Johnson, Charles S. The Negro College Graduate, University of North Carolina Press, 1938

Pictures the opportunities open to college trained young people. The study was completed in 1936

Reitzes, Dietrich C. Negroes and Medicine, Harvard University Press, 1958

Describes the opportunity for Negroes in medicine, the status of medical care for and by Negroes. Traces the factors blocking or facilitating integration in the profession. Findings are based on a study of 14 communities, one of which is Atlanta.

II. The following deal with the progress made through the LEGISLATIVE process.

Berger, Monroe Equality by Statute, Columbia University Press, 1950

The thesis of the book is that legislation can reduce discrimination and indirectly diminish prejudice; it is documented by findings from social studies as well as from legal data. The author suggests that the law can affect our acts and through them our beliefs.

Greenberg, Jack Race Relations and American Law, Columbia University Press, 1959

Describes the legal doctrines that govern race relations in the United States: how they have worked or failed to work in education, employment, etc. Appendices list relevant laws.

Murray, Pauli States' Laws on Race and Color, Women's Division of Christian Service, 1950

_____ Supplement, 1955

Up-to-date listing, annotated, by states.

Nelson, Bernard H. The 14th Amendment and the Negro since 1920, Catholic University of America Press, 1946

Gives background, covering years from 1920 to 1943. Interpretive.

III. The following deal with the ECONOMICS of discrimination and include materials on FAIR EMPLOYMENT, LABOR, VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND GUIDANCE.

Becker, Gary S. The Economics of Discrimination, University of Chicago Press, 1957

Presents the subject in terms of wage rates and income, showing how they vary by region, by urban and rural location, by professions and occupation, etc. Good resource.

Bond, Horace Mann The Search for Talent, Inglis Lectures, Harvard University Press, 1955

An evaluation of the National Merit Scholarships in their relation to Negro vocational training and Negro occupations and professions.

Ginzberg, Eli The Nation's Children, White House Conference on Children and Youth, Parts I, II, III; Columbia University Press, 1960

Three essays in this report are of particular value: In Part I: "The Changing Negro Family" by Hylan Lewis; in Part II: "Wasted Talent" (intellectual achievement and ability) by Horace Mann Bond; and in Part III: "Negro Youth in the South" by Lewis W. Jones.

_____ The Negro Potential, Columbia University Press, 1956

Describes the gains made by Negroes since 1940 by getting more and better jobs in the urban economy of the South and

North. The chapter on education points up how far Negroes lag behind their fellow citizens; the final chapter suggests what the Negro and white communities must do to ensure steady progress.

Hope, John II Equality of Opportunity, Public Affairs Press, 1956

This is the story of the efforts of one union - the United Packinghouse Workers of America - to study and improve human relations in plants, union hall, and community. An excellent guide in exploring the labor union relationships in your community.

Kephart, William M. Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957

The book explores the interaction between white officers and Negro offenders, between Negro officers and Negro offenders, and between Negro and white police, Valuable tables of statistics and organization by race, verbatim accounts of interviews with high-ranking police officials are included.

MacIver, R. M., Ed. Discrimination and National Welfare, Harper, 1949

Includes chapters on "The Price Business Pays" by Elmo Roper, "Educational Costs" by Theodore Brameld, "Discrimination and the Law" by Milton R. Konvitz, and "Discrimination and the Trade Unions" by Herbert R. Northrup.

National Manpower Council A Policy for Skilled Manpower, Columbia University Press, 1954

The second part of this book indicates the trends in the demand for skilled manpower, the education and training employers seek for their skilled workers, how workers become skilled, the opportunities and incentives for acquiring skills, etc. Also includes chapters on vocational education and guidance.

Norgren, Webster, Borgeson, Patten Employing the Negro in American Industry (Industrial Relations Monograph, No. 17), Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., N. Y., 1959

What has been the experience of companies with the employment of Negroes in occupations requiring skill and educational background. Given are depth interviews with management people in 44 establishments. The companies surveyed now employ Negroes in jobs for which they had not been traditionally considered. Excellent.

Oak, Visknu V. The Negro's Adventure in General Business, Antioch Press, 1949

Valuable for its historical background of progress. Delineates business opportunities open to Negroes, new fields of business ventures, organization for business advancement, case histories of successful business ventures. Tables in Appendix include lists of Negro corporations, private, Negro-owned Schools of Business, etc.

Southall, Sara E. Industry's Unfinished Business, Harper, 1950

An assessment of top management's responsibilities. The experience of International Harvester and others in fitting Negroes into effective employment relations. Gives methods which have been successfully employed to make possible the inclusion of Negro employees on industrial staffs. Good chapters: An Experiment in the Training of Supervisors; Procedure in Introducing a Fair Employment Policy; Guides to Successful Integration.

Vance, Rupert B. and Demereth, Nicholas J., Eds. The Urban South, University of North Carolina Press, 1954

See Chapter Ten, "Urbanism and Race Relations," by Henry Allen Bullock.

Weaver, Robert C. Negro Labor, a National Problem, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946

What happened to the Negro in the war years and what racial problems will face workers and management in the post-war period. Valuable because of the present position of the author.

Woodward, C. Vann The Strange Career of Jim Crow, Oxford University Press, 1955

Part III, "The Man on the Cliff," contains an account of development along all lines. Somewhat out of date, but may contain facts new to some.

IV. The following deal with the SURVEY PROCESS itself.

Colcord, Joanna C. Your Community, Russell Sage Foundation, 1947

How to investigate a community's resources.

Karon, Bertram P. The Negro Personality, Springer Publishing Co., 1958

A description of the American caste system and the psychology of the Negro. Has value as background study for those making survey or interpreting data.

Loomis, Clarence B. An Experience in Community Development and the Principles of Community Organization, The Rabun Press, Clayton, Ga., 1944

A community development experiment in Greenville County, South Carolina, in 1936. Report to the Foundation which gave a grant to the Greenville County Council for Community Development.

Ogden, Jean and Jess These Things We Tried, University of Virginia Extension, 1947

How to help a community help itself. A report on three counties in Virginia. An excellent guide.

Tumin, Melvin M. Desegregation - Resistance and Readiness, Princeton University Press, 1958

This is a field study of white adult male citizens of Guilford County, North Carolina, "to show. . .what attitudes. . . exist and what actions they would take when faced with situations." The responses are grouped according to respondent's educational level, exposure to mass media, occupation, income, etc.

Wormser, Margot Haas and Claire Selltiz How to Conduct a Community Self-Survey of Civil Rights, Association Press, 1951

Invaluable as a resource book. Contains sections on Information Which Might Be Gathered, Organizing and Planning a Self-Survey, The Tasks of a Self-Survey, The Follow-Up Program, Work Materials, etc.

V. The following deal with GENERAL BACKGROUND.

Nicholls, William H. Southern Tradition and Regional Progress, University of North Carolina Press, 1960

Published in 1960, this gives up-to-date background and trends. Contains a good chapter on "If the South Wants Economic Development."

Peters, William The Southern Temper, Doubleday, 1958

This book, though very general in nature, contains a few pertinent chapters. Takes a look at the progress of desegregation and particularly at the groups working to bring about a harmonious end. Contains facts, figures, and interpretation.

Ruchames, Louis Race, Jobs and Politics -- The Story of the FEPC, Columbia University Press, 1953

Self-explanatory!

REPORTS, ETC.

County and City Data Book, 1952, Bureau of the Census

Miami Metro, Reinhold P. Wolff, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Miami, 1960; Area Development Series, # 9

Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South, National Planning Association, Washington D.C., 1955 (Includes a chapter on "Negro Employment Practices in the Chattanooga Area")

Hearings Before the Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, April 12, 13, 1961
Sections relating specifically to Florida and Texas

Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1959, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington

_____ Equal Protection of the Laws in Public Higher Education, 1960

Reports of the State Advisory Committees to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1959

This Changing South

Integration: North and South, Progress Memorandum, David Loth and Harold Fleming, Meridian Books, 1956

Working Papers sent to Delegates to the White House Conference on Youth and Children, 1960

Contains information on vocational guidance.

Negro Membership in American Labor Unions, National Urban League, 1930

PAMPHLETS, ARTICLES, ETC.

"Proposed Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity," June, 1961

"Equal Job Opportunity," 3rd Annual Report, The President's Committee on Government Contract, 1955-1956

Commission on Employment Report: "Toward Equality in Employment"; NAIRO, Sixth Annual Conference, 1952

"Negro Employment; A Progress Report" John A. Davis, 1952

"Notes on the Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States," U. S. Department of Labor, Revised August, 1959

"The Negro in Our Economy," W. Hardin Hughes; S.R.C.

"Negroes in the United States: Their Employment and Economic Status," Bulletin No. 1119; U. S. Department of Labor, 1952

"Recent Effects of Racial Conflict on Southern Industrial Development," Herbert Hill, Phylon, Winter, 1959

"Income in the South Since 1929," Frank A. Hanna, Inter-University Committee for Economic Research on the South, 1960

"The Negro Market," Advertisers Guide to Marketing for 1958

"Discriminatory Aspect of the Labor Market of the 60's," pp. 75-78, Interracial Review, March, 1961

"Discrimination in Industry: Extravagant Injustice," Elmo Roper, Industrial and Labor Relations Review, July, 1952.

"American Negroes -- A Wasted Resource," J. J. Morrow, Harvard Business Review, Jan.-Feb., 1957

"The Employment of Negroes in the United States by Major Occupation and Industry," John Hope II; The Journal of Negro Education, Summer Issue, 1953

"Negroes in the Work Group," Jacob Seidenberg; Research Bulletin No. 6, Feb., 1950; New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University

"Negro Employment in Southern Industry," Donald Dewey, The Journal of Political Economy, August, 1952

"Negro Firefighters in Selected Southern and Border Cities," National Urban League, 1951

"The Negro Municipal Worker in Richmond and in Eighteen Selected Southern Cities," Richmond Urban League

"The Negro in Administration," pp. 35-37, Overview, June, 1961

"Factors Which Block or Facilitate Integration in the Field of Medicine," pp. 198-200, Interracial Review, September, 1960

"The Utilization of Negro Teachers in the Colleges of New York State," James A. Moss, Phylon, Spring, 1960

"Current Minority Policies and Their Implementation in International Unions," John Hope II; The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, pp. 371-388, 1952

"Apprentices, Skilled Craftsmen and the Negro: An Analysis," New York State Commission Against Discrimination, April, 1960

"The Negro Wage-Earner and Apprenticeship Training Programs," NAACP, 1960

"Development of Training Incentives for the Youth of Minority Groups," The President's Committee on Government Contracts, April, 1957

"From School to Job: Guidance for Minority Youth," Ann Tanneyhill; Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 200, 1953

"Education for Opportunity, Opportunity for Education," State of Michigan, FEPC, February, 1961

"Questions and Answers About Employment on Merit," American Friends Service Committee, Inc., 1951

"Will Negroes Get Jobs Now?" Herbert R. Northrup, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 110, 1945

"Handbook of Florida Employment Statistics, 1939-1954." Florida Industrial Commission

HAAS, HOLLAND & ZINKOW

HERBERT J. HAAS (1905-1953)

JOSEPH F. HAAS
J. KURT HOLLAND
JACK H. ZINKOW
RICHARD C. FREEHAN
S. JARVIN LEVISON

ROSE H. SCHREIBER
WILLIAM H. SINRICH

LAW OFFICES
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 9, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I see no reason why you should not appear to testify at the invitation of the Chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Labor.

The purpose of Congressional Investigating Committees is to ascertain facts and to determine whether or not legislation is needed in the area under investigation. An organization which, at the request of a Congressional Committee, appears and gives testimony is not doing anything more than making available to the Committee the facts ascertained in a particular area under study.

Even if by some exceedingly technical construction this could be considered action in support of a legislative program (questions immediately arise "what is the program", "is the testimony in support of it", etc?) This constitutes such a minute part of the total SRC activities, that it would be what we call in law "de minimis", that is, too inconsequential to be of importance.

The exemption is not jeopardized unless "a substantial part" of the program is devoted to"attempting to influence legislation".

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

JFH:RS

For Haas, Holland and Zinkow

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DON LOVE
DIRECTOR

429 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
EXTENSION 457

Special Subcommittee on Labor

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington 25, D.C.

October 3, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Pursuant to your conversation with a member of our staff, I wish to formally invite you to appear before the Special Subcommittee on Labor, of which I am Chairman, to testify as to the findings of employment studies made under the direction of your organization in Atlanta, Ga., Miami, Fla., Chattanooga, Tenn., and Houston, Texas. We request that you appear at the U. S. Courthouse, Atlanta, Georgia, on Thursday, November 2, 1961, at 2:00 p.m.

It is requested that you limit your oral testimony to fifteen minutes but submit a comprehensive written statement containing the findings, in detail, of these studies. We would appreciate receiving an advance copy of this statement at this office, within a reasonable time, prior to the hearing date so that pertinent questions may be prepared. At the time of your appearance before the committee, we would like you to submit approximately thirty copies of your written statement for distribution to the Members and the Press.

Your cooperation in the preparation and presentation of this material will be greatly appreciated as we feel that your organization can contribute valuable assistance in the consideration of this proposed legislation.

Sincerely yours,

for Don Love

James Roosevelt
Chairman
Special Subcommittee on Labor

JR:og

Employment

I M
Central Subject file

October 10, 1961

The Honorable James Roosevelt, Chairman
House of Representatives
Special Subcomittee on Labor
Washington 25, D. C

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of October 3 I accept your invitation to testify before the Special Subcommittee on Labor in Atlanta, Georgia on November 2 at 2:00 p.m. My testimony will be limited to such findings as are then complete in relation to our studies of employment opportunities in Atlanta, Houston, Chattanooga, and Miami.

I shall endeavor to forward my written statement to your office a few days before the hearing.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

DISPOSITION FORM

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION (if any)

FILE NO. GDATH

SUBJECT Equal Employment Opportunities for Minority Groups

TO See Distribution

FROM CG

DATE 29 October 1961

COMMENT NO. 1

1. The Civil Service Commission is increasing its emphasis on equal opportunities in Federal employment -- and other personnel management practices -- without regard to race, creed, sex or national origin. This emphasis is intended to fully implement the Commission's rules which are based on the President's policy of equal opportunity for members of minority groups outlined in EO 10925.

2. The Commission has developed a checklist which it will use in all civilian personnel management surveys after 1 September 1961. Attached is the listing of agenda items being used for this purpose. I desire that all operating officials and supervisors become thoroughly familiar with these items; and that there be the fullest compliance with the intent and spirit of giving equal opportunity to minority group employees in all personnel management matters at our Depot. It is further desired that this subject be discussed at an early regular or special staff meeting to acquaint supervisors at all levels with these topics to which the Civil Service Commission will be giving special attention.

3. Once the above information has been disseminated, any areas or items of particular concern should be coordinated with the Deputy Employment Policy Officer, H. Dan Kirk (8373), or the Industrial Relations Officer, Ernest J. Keller (8558), as appropriate.

R C Kyser

1 Incl
Agenda for Inspecting,
Equal Employment Opportunities

R. C. KYSER
Brigadier General, USA
Commanding

Distribution "B" & "H"

DD FORM 1 FEB 50 96 (stencil) REPLACES NME FORM 96, 1 OCT. 48, WHICH MAY BE USED.

AGENDA FOR INSPECTING IN THE AREA OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

I. GENERAL QUESTIONS ON SYSTEMS WITHIN THE ACTIVITY

-- How does management assure itself that minority groups receive equal consideration in employment? In training? In promotions?

- o Have statements of policy been issued?
- o What is being done to encourage minority group members to seek employment and advancement?
- o What has management done to establish a climate of full acceptance of minority groups in the employment situation?
- o What is being done to foster favorable attitudes among supervisors and employees?
- o How does management assure strict adherence to merit system principles?

-- Has the activity conducted any periodic inventories to identify and isolate trends?

- o Have grade distribution studies been conducted to identify grade levels of minority group members?
- o Have surveys been conducted to reveal the extent of participation in training programs?

-- Is the Deputy Employment Policy Officer aware of any problems or potential problems in his activity?

- o Has he analyzed the appeal cases for any indication as to problem areas in the activity?
- o Does he regularly appraise the personnel operations of the activity to assure continuing conformity to the employment policy?
- o Is he reporting to management on the problems he has identified?
  - -- What action has this stimulated?
- o What else is he doing to foster fair employment consideration for minority groups?

Incl 1

II QUESTIONS ON SPECIFIC PERSONNEL PROGRAM AREAS

-- Formulating and Issuing Policy

- Has the President's policy on equal opportunity been incorporated into an agency issuance? (agency, bureau, local issuance).

- Is the policy issuance on equal opportunity readily available to all employees?

  -- Use of bulletin boards

  -- At least annually in employee bulletins or newsletters

- Does the policy issuance make provision for acting on individual complaints or appeals which consist of, or include, allegations or discrimination based on race, color, or national origin?

- Does the policy issuance indicate the name and address of the Deputy Employment Policy Officer?

- What means is used to assure employee understanding of the policy?

-1) Staffing

- Recruitment

  -- Do college recruitment practices indicate a reasonable effort to recruit at colleges and other institutions having a representation of minority groups?

    - Does college recruitment include those institutions having a substantial or total minority group enrollment?

  -- When filling positions from the applicant supply file, what is done to assure consistent application of qualification standards to members of minority groups?

  -- What steps are taken to assure that only valid job requirements are established for any position?

  -- What is being done to assure equitable evaluation of the training, experience, physical ability, and general suitability of candidates for positions are in the activity?

Incl 1

-- Are agency officials aware of any local conditions that, tied in with our examining practices, constitute a bar to employmen?

-- Is any follow-up conducted of repeated instances of non-selection of minority group applicants or of candicates found "best qualified" for promotion?

-- Are follow-ups made of the placements of minority group members to assure that a fair opportunity is provided to adjust to the new assignment?

o Merit Promotion Program

-- What has management done to assure full understanding by all personnel of the objectives of the promotion program and that equitable consideration will be afforded all members of minority groups under the program?

-- Where promotion plans provide for the advertising of vacancies, is management aware of any occupations where qualified minority group members do not apply for consideration.

-- Can the activity cite examples of promotion of minority group members to positions at grades GS-7 and above (or the Wage Board equivalent)? Any during the past year?

-- Are there any supervisory positions (positions with a responsibility for assigning and reviewing the work of 3 or more subordinates) in the activity occupied by members of minority groups?

o Can the activity cite any cases where minotiry group members moved into supervisory positions during the past year?

o Employment Development

-- Is provision made in the orientation program for newly appointed employees to become informed on the equal employment practices of the activity?

-- Is provision made in the supervisory training program for enhancing the understanding of supervisors relative to equal employment practices?

-- Are minority group members considered for attendance at training sessions provided for potential supervisors?

-- Is equal developmental opportunity afforded minority group members through

-- On-the-job training

-- Off-the-job training

-- Encouragement of self-development activities?

III MISCELLANEOUS

-- Are there any factors outside the personnel area itself that have a bearing on the appointment and retention of minority group members, such as problems of eating facilities, quarters, restrooms, etc.?

November 13, 1961

Miss Frances V. Smith, Librarian
Fellowship Commission of Philadelphia
260 S. 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Miss Smith:

In response to your letter of November 3, requesting publications to display at your Equal Opportunities meeting of representatives from the 600 organizations on December 5, 1961, with the theme "Nation-Wide Changes in Employment Opportunities," we are enclosing our latest publication, The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South: Houston.

It is possible that we will have ready to release by the time of your meeting the second of this series: Miami. If so, we will send you a copy.

I feel sure that you are aware of various reports put out by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, some of which deal with employment. If you do not have copies, I am sure they would be happy to send them to you. The office is in Frankfort, Kentucky.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

PHILADELPHIA FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION

FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION BLDG.
260 S. 15th STREET
PHILA. 2, PA. - KI 5-8430

1941 - 1961

Twenty Years of building a Community which lives by THE GOLDEN RULE

HON. THOMAS D. McBRIDE, President
MAURICE B. FAGAN, Exec. Director

November 3, 1961

TO: Human Relations Agencies

FROM: Frances V. Smith, Librarian

RE: Nation - Wide Changes on Employment Opportunities

The Philadelphia Fellowship Commission will present John G. Field, Executive Director, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities to representatives of our 600 organizations, December 5, 1961. The theme for the evening will be "Nation-Wide Changes in Employment Opportunities."

In order to present the theme "visibly" I would like to display pamphlets, bulletins, newsletters, postures and brochures from as many states and city agencies as possible. We would appreciate sample copies of your publications relative to employment opportunities, needs, and trends.

Please place the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission on your mailing list for future publications.

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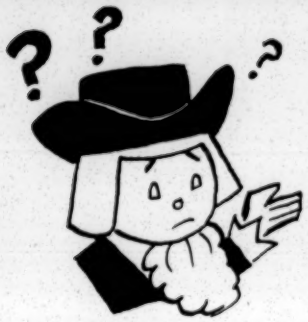
FOR THOUGHTFUL PHILADELPHIANS

A vast number of Philadelphians want— to assure equal rights for all— to allow broader opportunities for everyone—to preserve the dignity of the individual. These principles are among the most precious assets of American life.

■ Yet, some Americans without holding any personal grudge against any individual, are disinterested or honestly disagree over how and when these principles should be applied.

■ Still another group, unconsciously, or to serve their own purposes, stir up strife, suspicion, ill will and intolerance. The tensions they foment disrupt community life—benefit no one—harm everyone and do not build one fine or useful thing.

■ But, misunderstandings and tensions are not altogether the results of deliberate acts by individuals or groups. In part, they have resulted because of America's tremendous population explosion. The mushroom growth of cities, fast transportation and efficient mass communications have broken down barriers which a few years ago isolated many communities from each other.



Well, who wants disharmony?

■ No one says so . . . and too few work to prevent it.

■ Who can now deny that our relationships have become highly complex . . . or that our days are filled with countless individual contacts, each one a distinct entity.

■ Life today is like a fabric.

■ The weaving is a continuous process. The warp and woof are the efforts and energies of many people . . . the colors are varied . . . the pattern is being determined by the relation of millions of human threads to each other—the closely woven relationship of man and man.

■ ***And so, a group of thoughtful Philadelphians, unwilling that the quality and texture of Philadelphia's cloth be left to chance, have devoted 20 years of serious effort to fashion it in orderly design. This effort—this conscious, deliberate effort to interweave intelligently the many complex relationships of this great metropolitan area, instead of leaving them to the haphazard ebb and flow of circumstance, is the real meaning of Philadelphia's Fellowship Commission.***

■ Since October 11, 1941, the Fellowship Commission has existed to create conditions which foster human dignity and development. Voluntarily supported by memberships and contributions from more than 6,000 individuals, businesses and organizations, it has worked imaginatively to eliminate intergroup tension and enthusiastically to promote understanding, cooperation and unity.

■ The achievements of the Fellowship Commission are too numerous to list in their entirety. However, a quick review shows that the Commission has worked . . .

■ FOR THE SECURITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL . . .
by setting up an area-wide Committee on Community tensions to analyze all causes of racial or religious violence, vandalism and bigotry, to plan preventive measures—and to promote a police-community relations program.

■ FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL . . .
through education and fair legislation to provide full opportunities for jobs, homes and education—and human rights guarantees in the City Charter.

■ FOR THE LIBERTIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL . . .
through protection of religious liberty—the first Fair Election Practices Code in America to keep unwarranted racial and religious issues out of campaigns.

■ FOR BROADER OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE INDIVIDUAL . . .
by heading up the effort which created the Philadelphia Commission on Higher Education—by spearheading the current citizens' movement for a Junior College in Philadelphia.

■ FOR ACCEPTANCE OF INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY . . .
through two decades of close cooperation with school leaders in Philadelphia and the suburbs—by free bus service to classes to attend film discussions—by inter-group programs in all teacher education schools—through promotion of interreligious understanding—by development of civic pride and community responsibilities.

■ FOR PROVIDING COMMUNITY SERVICES . . .
by providing the only free library of books, magazines, films and pamphlets on racial and religious understanding—consultants, speakers, meeting rooms, conferences, codes of fair play, relations with press, radio, television, and a monthly Report to the Community.

■ All Fellowship Commission committees are channels through which constituent agencies cooperate, in addition to carrying out their independent programs.

*Constituent agencies are:

American Civil Liberties Union of Greater Philadelphia

Council for Equal Job Opportunity

Fellowship House

International Institute of Philadelphia

Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Philadelphia Branch

National Conference of Christians and Jews Philadelphia Area Office

Greater Philadelphia Council of Churches Community Service Department

Friends Committee on Race Relations

*Excepting the Council for Equal Job Opportunity, constituent agencies are self-supporting.

■ President of the Commission is the Honorable Thomas D. McBride. Executive Director is Maurice B. Fagan. The Commission is housed since 1946 in its own building at 260 South 15th Street.

■ The Fellowship Commission seeks to involve Philadelphia's leaders and organizations—"the gatekeepers"—in efforts to change community and institution practices for the good of all.

■ The Fellowship Commission is no mere adventure in human relations—it is a definite program with definite purposes. It is in a position to look forward—to translate its knowledge of the City's past experiences into constructive actions and programs—to recognize the implications of "coming events" which cast their shadows across the path of Philadelphia' progress—to anticipate and prevent situations before they occur.

■ The success of the Fellowship Commission lies in its effectiveness to stimulate people to live by the Golden Rule. Which of all the elements—experience, foresight, planning, objectivity, organization—is the most vital to this success is hard to say.

■ But certainly without the moral and financial support of people nothing more would be accomplished. In this respect, the Commission extends to the entire community its gratitude for support in the past . . . welcomes support in the present . . . thus assuring a bright future for all.

PHILADELPHIA FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION

Fellowship Commission Bldg. 260 South 15th St.
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

KIngsley 5-8430

SOCIETY OF GRAPHIC ARTS LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA PHILADELPHIA 7

June 1, 1962

Mr. Stephen G. Wilson
Director
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
2314 South Main Street
Houston 2, Texas

Dear Mr. Wilson:

We have given much thought to your letter which I asked you to send to us proposing some employment studies focusing on the variety and number of skills existing in the Negro community and available for use in some selected southern cities. I still think that such skill inventories are an urgent need in the light of frequent complaints offered by employers to the effect that they would hire more Negroes if there were such trained Negroes available.

As we look over our research budget for the coming year we are starkly reminded of the considerable research monies spent this year on employment studies and do not see ourselves able to invest more funds and energy in this direction for the coming year. We would, of course, be pleased to sit down with you and help in the formulation of a research design for a study to be conducted by either the American Friends Service Committee or any other similarly interested organization.

I do want to thank you for sharing with me the materials which you have been distributing under the title "Job Facts" and would welcome receiving all of these as they come off the press. It was a pleasure talking with you when you were here and hope that you will drop in to see us again whenever you are in the Atlanta area.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:JL
cc: Jean Fairfax

Jim & Leo D

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT PROGRAM ★ 2314 SOUTH MAIN STREET, NO. 136 ★ HOUSTON 2, TEXAS ★ JA 3-3447

April 16, 1962

Dr. James A. Moss, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Moss:

Our discussion last week about the need for a study to determine as realistically as possible, the qualifications of Negroes who enter the job market, was an interesting one for me. This letter is being written in response to your suggestion that I briefly lay out what I see as the need for such a study.

As I told you, I think the study which you directed on the Negro and employment opportunities in Houston very vividly described the facts as to where Negroes are presently employed and as to their educational and vocational opportunities. There have been a few changes in the eight months since the study was executed but essentially the picture is still the same. I also told you about our experiences with the American Friends Service Committee's Employment on Merit Program here in Houston. We have found a number of job openings for Negroes and in a number of cases we have been able to fill these with qualified Negroes who are now performing well. We have also found, however, quite a number of jobs at a variety of skill and educational levels which, for a variety of reasons, we have been unable to find qualified Negroes to fill. In addition to the usual "impossible" job requests for machinists, chemists, physicists, mathematicians, and other highly qualified persons, we have had job openings for stock clerks, clerk-typists and taxi drivers, all jobs for which there should be no serious barriers for Negroes. I have seen the records of the Texas Employment Commission in regards to examinations for clerks and typists for their own use and the use of other state agencies. Negroes are either unable to pass the examination with the necessary grade of seventy or they make a grade in the low seventies which makes it impossible for the Texas Employment Commission to hire them. These examinations are graded by machine and there is no reason to believe that the data I saw was biased in any way. I was told that out of 435 Negro college seniors taking the Federal Service Entrance Examination, all but 35 failed.

In Houston we have already reached a point where the deficiencies in Negroes looking for jobs are an even more serious problem than the job discrimination which they face. The deficiencies are a result of many causes which you are only too familiar with, such as poorly prepared teachers, poor health facilities, low incomes, lack of hope and a variety of other important factors.

I think that a study of the Negroes available for jobs in a city such as Houston, to determine their qualifications relative to the majority of the white group, is essential before effective remedial work can be done. Such a study could include evaluations of high school graduates from white and Negro high schools and also an evaluation of Negro college graduates. It should include analysis of attitudes, performance level and other factors which affect job placement and advancement.

We here in Houston would certainly like to cooperate in any way we can in the laying out and execution of such a study.

Yours very truly,

Steve Wilson

Stephen G. Wilson,
Director

cc:Jean Fairfax

SGW/mjr

JOB FACTS

(AFS JM)

February, 1962

Job Situation For Negroes In Houston Looking Up

The job situation in Houston for Negroes is improving apparently because of four developments:

1. Increased activity of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.
2. The generally improved economic conditions.
3. The location of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration facility in Houston.
4. The survey on job opportunities by the Houston Council on Human Relations and the Southern Regional Council.

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity was formed last spring to insure equal job opportunities in federal government and government contract employment. All firms with government contracts must agree to take positive steps to eliminate discrimination because of race, nationality or creed. Twenty-one large contractors have signed up and have pledged stepped-up, affirmative action in the field of equal employment opportunities in so-called "Plans for Progress". While these companies are not generally represented in the Houston area, the national publicity is apparently causing effects here.

A Look At The Other Side Of The Coin

"Negroes, last to be hired, first to be fired" has been the rule so long it's difficult to see the handwriting on the wall pointing to a brighter day for Negroes. "Career Break for Non-whites", "Negroes get Jobs in South Once Held Only by Whites", "Given a Chance Negroes Excel", are articles now appearing in the daily press. Daily now, the nation's sixth largest city, too, offers new job opportunities to that fifth of its population known as Negroes.

Alas! with the emergence of the break-throughs we've been"yelling and knocking on doors for", comes the startling fact that right here in "Big H" with some doors open, there is a dearth of applicants with well developed technical skills and professional training to qualify for these new job opportunities! Recently we have had the following positions open and been unable to find qualified Negroes to fill them:

clerk-typist	taxi drivers(for white cab company)
secretaries	physicists
lab technicians	biologists
stock clerks	mathematicians
draftsmen	chemists

Our contacts with educators, business colleges, businessmen, employment offices, including T.E.C., indicate that there

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EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT PROGRAM
American Friends Service Committee, 2314 South Main, Houston,Texas
JA3-3447
Stephen G. Wilson, Director Esther B. Payne, Associate Director

SECRETARIAL POSITION
Available with large International airline.
Good Salary and

FOREIGN SEISMIC DRILLERS
Experienced shot hole drillers with good maintenance records on May-hew. Single status only. Include de-tails of experience and education in

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

6 MEN
To very important and specialized work for me in this area.
These men will be carefully selected and trained at our expense. Upon completion of training, the men I select will have an annual earning potential of over $7,000 per year.

Clerk-Typist
A local firm in the Southeast area is searching for a capable young woman with limited experience. Pleasant telephone voice, good typing skills, and good spelling are re-

MEN WE NEED YOU
Age 21 to 45
Are you mechanically inclined? If you are reliable, sober, and want permanent work, apply in

Registered Nurses
3 TO 11 SHIFT
FULL TIME OR PART TIME

Patent Attorneys

BOOKKEEPER
Opening for alert young lady w. o. some bookkeeping experience. Position with trade association. Liberal salary, for advancement, opportunity, insurance and other

FOREMAN WANTED

ELECTRONIC ENGINEERS
Wanted for challenging design of digital data gathering and analysis systems. Must be able to assume responsibility and work with a minimum of supervision. Salary commensurate with ex-

are well qualified and trained Negroes, but they are already working on good paying jobs.

Despite the fact that thousands are graduating from our high schools and colleges each year, the percentage considered "well trained and qualified" is far too small to meet the demands of today. Half trained and unguided, the plight of the remaining percentage is alarming. Sure, we are painfully aware of the continued discrimination in education and training opportunities for our Negro youth, which lends itself as a contributing factor to a large number of inadequately trained Negro employees. We are equally painfully aware that the time to do something about this problem is now, and that far too many of us are totally unaware of the "signs of the times".

Do you know of QUALIFIED, JOB-LESS NEGROES? Send them to us.

What can we do to help SPEED UP the opening of MORE AND BETTER TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES for our YOUTH? Give us your suggestions. We will be glad to help you any way we can on projects.

N A S A

In addition to the jobs above, for which we have had difficulty finding applicants, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in Houston is interviewing biologists, physicists, chemists and engineers (except chemical), and administrators(to be selected from the Federal Service Entrance Examination). Stenographers are being hired from the Civil Service register maintained at the Veterans' Administration Hospital. By the first of March, many additional types of jobs will be available. Ask us about other Civil Service positions and examinations.

T E C

Also the Texas Employment Commission gives examinations every month on both the first and third Saturdays for clerks, child welfare workers, interviewers and a dozen other positions.

We believe that the best way to improve the job situation is to place qualified applicants.

JOB FACTS

May, 1962

from
The Employment on Merit Program

Open House at San Jacinto

An open house was recently held at San Jacinto High School. A number of Negroes attended and were treated with courtesy. The school provides courses for white students only, and is the only place in Houston that the following courses are offered:

welding	photography
business machines	printing
commercial art	trade auto mechanics *
drafting	radio and television
machine shop	air conditioning and refrigeration

The School Board provides a course when ten students request it. Interested students should be encouraged to request courses not now offered at Negro schools.

Youngsters--preferably those entering low tenth next fall--should be encouraged, if relevant courses are not available to them elsewhere, to investigate the availability of opportunities at San Jacinto High School.

Merit Employment staff will be glad to discuss vocational objectives with interested individuals.

* Auto mechanics is offered at Jack Yates, but is a two-year course designed to teach students how to take care of their own cars. The course at San Jacinto is a three-year course with curriculum aimed at teaching students how to make a living as auto mechanics.

Jobs Available to Negroes in Houston

duplicating machine operator	medical technicians
clerk-typists	life insurance salesman
stenographers	industrial nurse
draftsmen	taxi driver
lab technicians	skilled craftsmen
secretaries	physicists, chemists
librarian	engineers

New companies are advertising every day as "Equal Opportunity Employer". Watch the ads.

American Friends Service Committee, 4717 Crawford, Houston, Tex.
Steve Wilson, Director ** JA6-1069 ** Esther Payne, Associate

SECRETARIAL POSITION
Available with large International airline.
Good Salary and

FOREIGN SEISMIC DRILLERS
Experienced shot hole drillers with good maintenance records on May-new. Single status only. Include details of experience and education in

DIETICIAN
AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

STA
Registered
hour week, liberal

6 MEN
To very important and specialized work for me in this area.
These men will be carefully selected and trained at our expense. Upon completion of training, the men I select will have an annual earning potential of over $7,000 per year.

Clerk-Typist
A local firm in the Southeast area is searching for a capable young woman with limited experience. Pleasant telephone voice, good typing skills, and good spelling are re-

MEN WE NEED YOU
Age 21 to 45
Are you mechanically inclined? If you are reliable, sober, and want permanent work, apply in

Registered Nurses
3 TO 11 SHIFT
FULL TIME OR PART TIME

Patent Attorneys

BOOKKEEPER
Opening for alert young lady w. o. some bookkeeping experience. Position with excellent opportunity for advancement. Liberal salary, paid vacation, insurance and other

FOREMAN WANTED
One of the
and trans
the
Wanted for challenging opportunities in development and design of digital data systems. Must be able to assume responsibility and work with a minimum of supervision. Salary commensurate with ex-

ELECTRONIC ENGINEERS

How to Get Jobs With State of Texas

Qualify by taking examinations the first and third Saturdays, 8 a.m. at the TEC Office, 2918 San Jacinto. Applications may be secured from the TEC Office.

Clerical Group I thru IV--salary range $210.00-$300.50.

Jobs included:	file clerk	posting machine operator
	mail clerk	accounting clerk
	switchboard operator	statistical clerk
	stock clerk	receptionist

The minimum qualification is high school graduation. Additional qualification for groups III and IV is a year full-time paid employment, or 15 semester hours of college work.

Clerk-typist I must type at least 35 words per minute.

Clerk-typists II and III must type at least 45 words per minute and have a knowledge of transcribing machines.

The stenographer examination requires the ability to type 40 words per minute and to write shorthand 80 words per minute. The salary range is $240.00-$366.50.

Organizations Take Steps to Meet Problems

The Negro Chamber of Commerce, 224 West Dallas, has established an employment committee to accept and process applications from qualified Negroes. White employers will be able to get trained Negroes for non-traditional jobs by applying to the N.C.C. Help by encouraging qualified persons to apply.

The Spartans Community Service Club is advertising for speed typists, tabulating machine operators, switchboard operators, technicians, mathematicians, and biologists. They can be contacted at P.O. Box 2962, in care of the Forward Times.

JS ✓

NORTH CAROLINA CIVIL RIGHTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE August 15, 1962

RECEIVED AUG 14 1962

Equal Protection of the Law in Employment by the State: Merit System Agencies vs. Other State Agencies.

In 1941, North Carolina established a Merit System Council to administer a system of employment on a merit basis for certain State agencies. Only seven, out of approximately 100 State agencies, are subject to this Merit System. These are the State Board of Health, State Board of Public Welfare, Medical Care Commission, Civil Defense Agency, Employment Security Commission, State Commission for the Blind, and the Merit System Council itself.

Data from 88 agencies in the State, including all seven of the Merit System agencies, indicate that the percentage of Negroes employed by the latter (7.9) is lower than that for other State agencies not under the Merit System.

Even so, in employment by the State Government, the overall percentage of Negro employees (10.8) is significantly lower than the Negro percentage of the total population of North Carolina (25.4). These 88 State agencies do not include the public schools, where about 20,000 Negroes are employed, of which 10,849 are teachers (1960 figure) and the remainder are in janitorial and service work.

Applicable Law

G. S. 126-1 authorized the Governor to appoint a Merit System Council of five citizens of recognized ability "in the impartial selection of efficient government personnel."

> All applicants for positions in the agencies or departments affected by this chapter shall be subjected to an examination by the Merit System Council which shall be competitive and free to all persons meeting requirements prescribed by said Council, subject to reasonable and proper limitations as to age, health, and moral character, which said examinations shall be practical in their character, and shall relate to those matters tending fairly to test the capacity and qualifications of the applicants to discharge proficiently the duties of the position to which they seek appointment, and shall include examinations as to physical and mental qualifications as well as general fitness; but no such applicant shall be examined concerning his or her political or religious opinions or affiliations. The said Council shall establish such necessary and proper regulations as it sees fit relating to the moral worth and character of all applicants for positions in the agencies and departments affected by this chapter, to the end that all persons certified by said Council as eligible for employment in said agencies or departments shall be persons of good character as well as possessing necessary mental and physical qualifications.
> (G. S. 126-4)

The Council is required to keep a permanent register of all persons successfully passing such examinations and their grades.

> Whenever any appointment is to be made to any of said agencies or departments the Council shall certify from said registered list of successful applicants 3 names for each appointment so to be made, and the appointments shall be made only from among the names thus certified by the Council, exclusive of the names of those persons who failed to answer or who declined appointment or of those names to whom the appointing authority offers an objection in writing which objection is sustained by the supervisor with the approval of the Council. (G. S. 126-8)

Other provisions of the Merit System Act relate to promotion and dismissal or suspension of employees, and the maintenance of service ratings and seniority. Since all these agencies administer Federal funds in North Carolina, G. S. 126-15 provides that wherever the Federal agency providing such funds uses "other or higher, Civil Service or merit standards or different classifications" then the latter may be adopted by the Council for these North Carolina agencies which are subject to the Merit System. (G. S. 126-15)

In addition, G. S. 128-15 gives all citizens who are war veterans ten points extra credit on all such examinations for positions with the State or any of its agencies, and directs the agencies to give preference in employment and in promotion to such veterans, and to their widows or the wives of disabled veterans. And this preference applies regardless of age, if the applicant is otherwise qualified. In promotional examinations, an additional preference rating of one point for each year of service in time of war, up to a total of five such extra points, is to be added to the applicant's examination grade.

Thus the statutes regulating employment by these agencies do not discriminate against any citizens on account of their race or color. Indeed the statutes are couched in language to insure "impartial selection of efficient government personnel. . .on a merit basis." Whatever preference is allowed to veterans, their widows, or wives of disabled veterans would be as available to Negro veterans as to white.

Application of the Statute

The table below summarizes white and Negro employment in the seven Merit System agencies.

	Total Emp.	White Emp.	Negro Emp.	Percent White	Percent Negro
Merit System	17	17	0	100.0	0
Medical Care	13	13	0	100.0	0
Civil Defense	26	26	0	100.0	0
Public Welfare	164	161	3	98.2	1.8
Employment Security	996	945	51	94.9	5.1
Board of Health	352	333	19	94.6	5.4
Blind Commission	361	281	80	77.8	22.2
Total	1929	1776	153	92.1	7.9

The Board of Health figures refer only to employees at the State level and information as to employment by the county boards of health has not been collected. About 1500 persons are employed by these county boards of health. As indicated in Hunter v. Retirement System, 224 N. C. 359, 362 (1944), "the employees of the county board are therefore operating under the Merit System. . .and for this reason neither the city nor county have jurisdiction over their salaries." Of the 1,515 professional and clerical positions in the State and local health departments, only 84 are held by Negroes, the great majority of these being nurses.

Nor do the above figures for the State Board of Public Welfare refer to any employees except at the State level. The Commissioner of Public Welfare wrote:

> "Since the present appointment forms do not give information as to race, we would be unable to give an accurate breakdown of staff by race in the county departments of public welfare. We are also unable to give you from our records the number of employees upgraded or promoted last year in the county departments of public welfare. If this information is essential to the survey, it will be necessary to send a questionnaire to the counties requesting a list of Negroes presently employed by classification and the number upgraded or promoted last year. Information on employees at the State level is given on the questionnaire."

There are about 2,000 county welfare employees subject to the Merit System.

A tabulation of questionnaires supplied by eighty-eight agencies of the State of North Carolina shows that the overall percentage of Negro employees is 10.8. The percentage for the Merit System agencies is 7.9, a significantly lower figure than for the non-merit agencies. Three of the Merit System agencies employ no Negroes at all. The relatively high percentage figure for the Blind Commission has a significant effect on the overall percentage figure. If one considers the percentages of Negro employment in the remaining six agencies the low employment of Negroes in these agencies is striking.

Positions Filled by Nonwhites

In the Merit System agencies which employ nonwhites, such persons occupy positions in the following categories: unskilled labor, service (janitors, guards, cafeteria helpers, etc.), clerical and sales, managerial and supervisory, professional and technical. The Employment Security Commission and the Commission for the Blind show, for example, employment in these categories by race:

	Managerial & Prof.		Clerical		Skilled		Unskilled	
	W	N	W	N	W	N	W	N
Employment Security	681	39	264	2			0	10
Blind Commission	105	6	41	1	75	52	60	21

In the other Merit System agencies specific positions occupied by nonwhites include the following: Negro Welfare Consultant, Stenographer, Case Work Supervisor, Case Worker, Public Health Dentist, Public Health Educator, Medical Social Worker, Laboratory Technician, Laboratory Helpers. No numbers were available.

The percentage of nonwhite population of North Carolina is 25.4. Thus the rate of Negro employment in these State agencies (7.9) is far below the population ratio.

North Carolina has prided itself for many years upon its excellent Negro schools and colleges. Thus it might be expected that in the Negro population there would be many persons qualified to fill higher positions than they now occupy in the Merit System agencies.

Examinations

The Committee requested data on how many Negroes took the Merit System examinations, what grades they made, and how their grades compared to those of other applicants. All examinations offered during the period April 1, 1961 through March 31, 1962 were reviewed. Tables I and II, prepared by the Council Supervisor, give the details. In general, it can be seen that during this period there were no Negro applicants in 66 classes of jobs. Except for Interviewer I, Sanitarian I and Public Welfare Worker I (all of these applicants are qualified for any one of the three classes), Intermittent Interviewer I, Clerk I and Typist I, there were relatively few Negroes applying in any of the other classes. In six classes, some of them advanced, there was only one Negro applicant but his or her score was equal or higher than that of the average of the white applicants. In nearly all the other classes, the percentage of Negroes passing and their average scores were lower than for the white applicants.

Recruitment

On examinations for the entrance clerical positions, recruitment is conducted to a large extent through high school commercial teachers and business schools. These teachers arrange for a group examination for their students who are interested in such employment. "Looking at last year's experience," said Mr. Claude E. Caldwell, Council Supervisor, "I note that no Negro high school

commercial teachers or Negro business schools made such arrangements during this period. Such groups have been included in the past in these examinations, and their students have seldom passed the examination. This may account for the current lack of interest on the part of these schools, and, therefore, partially account for the relatively low number of Negro applicants in these categories."

On May 9, 1962, which was after the period covered by Tables I and II, one group of examinations was given to a group of students from one of the State teachers colleges. Twenty-six individual applicants were examined and seven of these passed one or more of the examinations, as shown in Table III. This table is set up in the same manner as Table I and may be used for comparison with it.

Certification

The Council's certification records for the period April 1, 1961 through March 31, 1962 indicate that Negro applicants were certified in only three classes of employment: Public Welfare Worker I (nine), Interviewer I (five), and Intermittent Interviewer I (five). In each of these cases, Negro applicants were appointed.

According to Mr. Caldwell, "there is generally a greater demand for qualified Negro applicants than we can supply, although in some cases well-qualified applicants of the Negro race are not placed due to the problems of location. In some cases the applicant is simply not available in any place where vacancies occur; but, more frequently, they are not reached because the local welfare, health department, or the local Employment Security office having the vacancy requests that applicants of that area be given preference. The Merit System rule permits these local departments this discretion, and it is widely used. For this reason, well-qualified White or Negro applicants may fail to be considered even though others with less suitable grades are appointed if the more highly qualified applicant does not happen to live in one of the areas in which the vacancies occur."

Mr. Caldwell also added, "Our certification records do not give a full and complete picture of all appointments. In many cases where there is not an adequate certificate (less than three available eligibles), this fact is well known to the appointing authority and individuals are recruited locally for provisional appointment. When these provisional employees qualify through examination, they are certified by memorandum after ascertaining that they are high enough on the register of eligibles to be reached. It is certain that more than nineteen Negroes have been appointed during the year, but only a complete review of all employees' records would permit us to give accurate information on this point."

Whenever an agency requested a Negro, and there were qualified Negroes on the register, Negroes were certified for the job even if it meant skipping over white applicants who had higher scores. On the other hand, Mr. Caldwell stated that where there was no specific request for Negroes to fill a position, he could not recall and the Council records did not show any instances where a Negro was certified for a job request. "I think this is almost entirely true that the only way we can get a Negro on the certificate is by skipping over the white applicants who have higher scores."

When asked whether it would be fair to say that insofar as he had been able to determine, no Negroes had been certified to blanket job requests unless they were specifically called for by the agency, Mr. Caldwell replied "That's right. I talked this over with men who've been on this job for a long time, longer than I have, and it was our experience that the only way you could certify Negro applicants was for the agency specifically asking for it. Our rule is to permit them to give them preference. Although it could be used to discriminate against the Negroes, it actually has worked to give them preference when they've been asked for. This is about the only time that anything is different."

The application forms and the Council's records do not contain photographs of any applicants. There is a reference on the application to the race of the applicant, but when the Council submits the list of registered candidates, only the names, addresses, and ranks are given. The employing agency does not see the applications.

The "rule-of-3" set out in the statute requires three names of those who have passed the examinations to be submitted for each job and the vacancy must be filled by the hiring of one of those three. Even if the three names submitted are those with the highest grades, and even if one or two of these should be Negroes, the agency or department head may choose the third person for the job. Thus it is not sufficient for any candidate, white or Negro, to pass the examination. He must demonstrate superior acceptability in order to get the job.

Conclusions

This information on the participation of Negroes in Merit System employment in North Carolina, after more than 20 years experience, raises the question as to whether qualified Negroes sufficiently interest themselves in applying for available positions in the State's Merit System. It is probable that both the employing agencies and the potential Negro employee are influenced by traditional views of suitable employment for nonwhite persons, but it would seem that the Merit System should offer just as good if not better than any other opportunity for employment on the basis of individual ability and without discrimination as to race or color.

If qualified North Carolina Negroes are not applying for such positions in our State, but are moving elsewhere, this in the long run is a net loss to our State and the investment which it has made in the education of all its people.

On the other hand, if Negroes are taking the examination but making disproportionally low grades, this may indicate deficiencies of Negro schooling and other training influences.

The Merit System is intended to find and place the most efficient workers for certain State jobs; not to provide jobs. There may be certain skilled positions, such as nursing or counseling, where a person's racial experience enables him to be more effective in working with other citizens of his race. But the general practice of passing over white applicants in order to favor Negro applicants with lower grades for certain jobs where only Negroes are requested (or vice versa) is a departure from the principle on which the Merit System was established; namely the "impartial selection of efficient government personnel. . .on a merit basis." It encourages the idea that certain jobs are "Negro jobs" or "white jobs." Our aim should be that a man should not expect to get a job because of his race or color. Even if it should deprive a Negro of a preferred call for certain jobs at the outset, the steady adherence to this principle will, in the long run, bring out the best performance in all of our citizens.

Whatever the reasons, the discrepancy in nonwhite employment by the State government, particularly in agencies charged by law with the duty of employment only by merit, is a proper concern of all of our citizens, white and nonwhite alike.

Respectfully submitted,

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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TABLE I

MERIT SYSTEM EXAMINATIONS APRIL 1, 1961 THROUGH MARCH 31, 1962

Position	Applicants Tested			No. and Percentage Passing and Placed on Register			Average Raw Score		
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
Interviewer I, Sanitarian I, and Public Welfare Worker I	1272	1036	236	815 (64%)	761 (73%)	54 (23%)	60 (100 questions in exam)	63	45
Intermittent Interviewer I	192	156	36	126 (66%)	116 (74%)	10 (28%)	50 (85 questions in exam)	52	37
Public Health Nurse I	72	68	4	65 (90%)	63 (93%)	2 (50%)	78 (125 questions in exam)	78	68
Laboratory Technician II	10	7	3	6 (60%)	4 (57%)	2 (67%)	52 (125 questions in exam)	53	49
HEALTH									
Health Education Assistant	3	1	2	3 (100%)	1 (100%)	2 (100%)	98 (150 questions in exam)	106	95
Public Health Nurse II	36	31	5	27 (75%)	26 (84%)	1 (20%)	106 (150 questions in exam)	110	80
Public Health Nurse III	7	5	2	6 (86%)	5 (100%)	1 (50%)	103 (150 questions in exam)	109	88
(Second Examination)	7	6	1	6 (86%)	6 (100%)	0	92 (160 questions in exam)	96	69
Sanitarian Aide	9	8	1	7 (78%)	7 (88%)	0	62 (90 questions in exam)	65	40
(Second Examination)	10	9	1	8 (80%)	8 (89%)	0	63 (100 questions in exam)	66	38
Senior Public Health Educator	1	0	1	0	0	1 (100%)	124 (180 questions in exam)	0	124
WELFARE									
Child Welfare Case Worker I or Case Worker I	11	10	1	10 (91%)	10 (100%)	0	109 (150 questions in exam)	113	79
Child Welfare Case Worker II or Case Worker II	11	10	1	10 (91%)	10 (100%)	0	114 (155 questions in exam)	116	100
Case Work Supervisor	7	6	1	6 (86%)	5 (83%)	1 (100%)	124 (170 questions in exam)	125	116
Senior Case Work Supervisor	2	1	1	2 (100%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	125 (180 questions in exam)	125	124
CIVIL DEFENSE									
Public Information Officer, CDA	10	9	1	10 (100%)	9 (100%)	1 (100%)	89 (130 questions in exam)	88	100
Women's Activities Officer, CDA	8	7	1	7 (88%)	7 (100%)	0	89 (130 questions in exam)	91	74

TABLE I - (continued)

Position	Applicants Tested			No. and Percentage Passing and Placed on Register			Average Total Stanines on Written Section			Average Typing Speed (net words per minute)			Average No. Errors in Transcription of Dictated Material		
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
Typist I	1314	1291	23	589 (45%)	584 (45%)	5 (22%)	22	22	18	30	30	22	-	-	-
Typist II	723	713	10	288 (40%)	287 (40%)	1 (10%)	19	19	7	37	37	17	-	-	-
Stenographer I	477	472	5	274 (57%)	274 (58%)	0	26	26	17	38	39	30	32	32	51
Stenographer II	419	417	2	257 (61%)	257 (62%)	0	23	23	16	45	45	46	25	24	109
Clerk I	1223	1207	16	914 (75%)	906 (75%)	8 (50%)	21	21	19						
Clerk II	643	636	7	372 (58%)	371 (58%)	1 (14%)	18	18	13						
Claims Examiner I	162	159	3	97 (60%)	97 (61%)	0	19	19	8						
Stenographer III	13	12	1	10 (77%)	10 (83%)	0	119 (160 questions in exam)	121	96	51	53	29	23	20	64
(Second Form of Exam)	7	7	0	5 (71%)	5 (71%)	-	102 (135 questions in exam)	102	-	48	48	-	13	13	-
Typist III	13	13	0	11 (85%)	11 (85%)	-	105 (150 questions in exam)	105	-	43	43	-			
(Second Form of Exam)	13	12	1	5 (39%)	5 (42%)	0	81 (120 questions in exam)	81	85	45	45	Did not try			
Clerk IV	9	8	1	7 (78%)	6 (75%)	1 (100%)	93 (130 questions in exam)	91	113						
Clerk III	26	25	1	14 (54%)	13 (52%)	1 (100%)	84 (120 questions in exam)	83	103						
Research Analyst I	7	6	1	5 (71%)	4 (67%)	1 (100%)	93 (150 questions in exam)	93	90						
Accountant I	20	19	1	5 (25%)	5 (26%)	0	59 (120 questions in exam)	59	53						
Accounting Clerk III	20	19	1	13 (65%)	12 (63%)	1 (100%)	83 (125 questions in exam)	82	99						
Accounting Clerk II	28	27	1	21 (75%)	20 (74%)	1 (100%)	81 (120 questions in exam)	81	97						

TABLE II

CLASSES IN WHICH THERE WERE NO NEGRO APPLICANTS

CLERICAL

Addressing Equipment Operator
Data Processor I, II, III
Bookkeeping Machine Operator, I, II
Switchboard Operator
Key Punch Operator II, III
Research Analyst II
Research Assistant
Accounting Clerk, I, IV

WELFARE

County Director of Public Welfare, I, II, III
Child Welfare Institutions Supervisor
Senior Child Welfare Case Worker or Senior Case Worker
Statistician (PW)

MEDICAL CARE COMMISSION

Hospital Analyst
Assistant Hospital Analyst

EMPLOYMENT SECURITY COMMISSION

Tax Auditor
Employment Counselor
Public Information Officer III

STATE COMMISSION FOR THE BLIND

Business Enterprises Representative

CIVIL DEFENSE

Administrative Officer - Area Director, CDA
Administrative Assistant, CDA, I
Assistant Director of Civil Defense
Civil Defense Officer, Welfare
Food Supply Officer, CDA
Radio Operator
Training Officer, CDA

HEALTH

Administrative Assistant (LHO)
Clinic Nurse
Clinical Psychologist I, II, III
Junior Photofluorographic Operator
Junior Sanitarian
Public Health Laboratory Technician
Public Health Nursing Supervisor I, II
Psychiatric Social Worker I, II, III
Bacteriologist I
Bedding Inspector
Biostatistician
Electrocardiographic Technician
Industrial Hygiene Associate
Mobile X-Ray Technician I, Aide
Nutritionist I, II
Public Health Dietician
Physical Therapist I
Physical Therapy Supervisor
Puppeteer
Sanitarian II (local), III
Sanitary Engineer I, III
Public Health Nursing Consultant
Personnel Assistant III

TABLE III

NEGRO APPLICANTS FROM ONE COLLEGE TESTED BY MERIT SYSTEM MAY 9, 1962

	Number of Applicants	Number and Percentage of Applicants Passing	Average Stanines on Written Section	Average Net Typing Speed	Average Number of Errors in Dictated Material
Clerk I	7	3 (43%)	24		
Clerk II	7	3 (43%)	17		
Claims Examiner I	1	1 (100%)	23		
Typist I	19	6 (32%)	18	30	
Typist II	11	2 (18%)	16	40	
Stenographer I	19	3 (16%)	20	36	68
Stenographer II	13	1 (8%)	16	39	65
Total Number of Individuals Included			26		
Total Number of Individuals Passing One or More Examinations			7		

LWD - fyi
JS - file

NEGRO EMPLOYMENT IN TENNESSEE STATE GOVERNMENT

A Report by the

Nashville Community Conference
on Employment Opportunity

Prepared by Dr. Herman H. Long and Dr. Vivian W.
Henderson, Consultants

Submitted: December 14, 1962

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

The Conference on Community Employment Opportunity expresses its deep gratitude and appreciation for the interest and cooperation which Governor Buford Ellington gave, unhesitatingly and unstintedly, to the furtherance of this inquiry.

To the heads of the Departments sharing in the study and making available essential information, we also extend thanks.

No better example can be cited, perhaps, of the value and worth of the democratic process than the honest encounter of Chief-of-State, public official and citizen demonstrated in this effort to redress grievance.

NEGRO EMPLOYMENT IN TENNESSEE STATE GOVERNMENT

(A Preliminary Report)

In the spring of 1962, Governor Buford Ellington was waited upon by a committee of Negro citizens largely representing the Nashville Community Conference on Employment Opportunity, although membership of the committee included persons active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations. This meeting was part of a series of conferences and interviews which the NCCEO had initiated among both private and public sectors of the employment field, aimed toward determining the status of Negro utilization and altering the assumptions and practices which have produced local, regional and national patterns of chronic exclusion and under-use. It was perhaps the first occasion in the recent history of the community that a representative group of Negro leaders had opportunity to raise, with the chief policy-maker of the state, basic considerations of policy and practice underlying Negro employment in state government. The discussions produced a full, candid and rewarding review of the problem and led to some initial steps toward further study and amelioration.

The major proposal to come out of this session was the need to determine the actual status of Negro employment in agencies of the state government and to appraise the degree to which the directors of these agencies were attempting, or were inclined, to effect practices of <u>merit employment</u> of Negro workers broadly across all occupational levels in contrast to the traditional pattern of

"Negro jobs." Accordingly, the NCCEO undertook an interview coverage of the several agencies and Governor Ellington, in his own interest and in good faith to the Committee, introduced the study effort to the departmental executives and elicited their full cooperation. This report summarizes the findings produced by interviewing teams of the NCCEO in conference with the heads of 14 agencies of the Tennessee State Government and from reports submitted to NCCEO in two instances where direct interviews could not be arranged.

In the main, this report will deal with the essential statistical data on the number of Negro employees and the levels of occupation in which they were used by the several agencies. Important qualitative information obtained in the interviews can be added in a later and fuller account. As a reflection of the general climate of attitude which obtained in this effort, it should be mentioned, at the outset, that in every instance the interviewing teams were warmly welcomed by the several department heads, and full cooperation was given. In retrospect, the interviewing teams look upon this direct and friendly encounter as an invaluable educational experience -- both for themselves and the departmental directors -- in entering into issues which, for the most part, had lain unattended.

Extent of Negro Worker Use

The major findings of the study are summarized in the four tables contained in the text of this report. An additional appendix table, Table A, carries a full breakdown of the Negro employes by specific jobs and job levels. Among the 14 agencies covered, a total of 17,295 employees were reported, representing approximately 85 percent of an estimated 20,000 workers serving all of the agencies

in state government. (See Table I.) These agencies had a total Negro employee force of 1,223, and it is likely that this number is a very close approximation to all of the Negro workers under state agency employment.

Negro workers were 7.1 percent of the total employee force of the state agencies, exclusive of the personnel of state institutions of higher learning who, because they are directly hired by the institutions involved, were not immediately pertinent to the study. As a benchmark for purposes of rough comparison, it may be observed that Negroes constitute 16.4 percent of the state's population. Thus, their representation in employment opportunities offered in state government, 7.1 percent, is grossly below their proportion in the total population -- less than half.

As to extent of Negro employment over the range of state agencies, the following findings are most salient:

1. Some Negro workers were found in all of the 14 reporting state agencies, with the number ranging from a low of one worker in the Department of Standards and Purchases to a high of 492 in Public ~~Welfare~~ HEALTH.

2. Even with such representation, however, in all but one agency, Public ~~Welfare~~ HEALTH, the number of Negro workers fell far below their proportion in the general state population. In this agency, Negro employment exceeded the gross population standard by a conspicuous margin.

3. Negro employment in state government is largely concentrated in two agencies -- Mental Health and Public Health -- which together had 797 Negro workers, amounting to <u>65 percent</u> of all Negro employees in state establishments.

   The third highest proportion of Negro employees was found in the Department of Education where its 83 Negro workers constituted 10.4 percent of the total employee force.

Table I Tennessee: Total Emplooyees and Number and Percent of Negro Employees by Department (14 Departments) 1962

Department	Total Employees	No. Negro Employees	Percent Negro Employees
All Departments	17,295	1,223	7.1
Agriculture	179	9	5.0
Conservation & Commerce	1,575	44	2.8
Corrections	975	82	8.4
Education	795	83	10.4
Employment	861	35	4.1
Highways	6,018	55	.9
Insurance & Banking	204	9*	4.4
Labor	70	2	2.9
Mental Health	2,419	305	12.6
Personnel	30	2	6.7
Public Health	2,096	492	23.5
Public Welfare	1,418	93	6.6
Safety	655	11	1.7
Standards		1	

* Includes Regulatoary Boards -- Total 113; Negro 6.

5. On the other extreme the most severe under-representation of Negro workers was in the departments of Highways and Conservation. In the case of the latter agency, the 44 Negro employees were only 2.8 percent of the total agency force of 1,575.

Range of Job Access

In addition to numerical or proportional representation in the work force, a further and important index to employment opportunity is the degree of Negro or minority worker use over the total range of jobs available. It is possible to have relatively large numbers of Negro workers concentrated in only a few job types or categories, in which case the sheer size of the Negro worker force would not at all be an adequate index of good employment opportunity. Thus, as a partial measure of constriction of opportunity or its opposite , the quantitative range of job types and classes in which Negroes are found becomes significant. Table II summarizes the data in this regard. It shows the number of job types or classes which were available in the agencies, on the one hand, and the number in which Negro workers were found, on the other.

The most conspicuous general finding in this regard is the very limited extent of Negro worker use over the total range of jobs available in the state government agencies. A total number of 1,216 job types or classes were found in these agencies and Negroes were found in only 115 or 9.5 percent of the cases.

Another way of putting it is that Negroes have failed to find access to more than 90 percent of the types of jobs available in state government.

Table II Tennessee: Number of Job Classes[1] in 14 State Administrative Agencies and Number and Percent in which Negroes are Employed

Department	Total Job Classes	No. of Job Classes with Negroes	Percent of Job Classes with Negroes
All Departments	1,216	115	9.5
Agriculture	50	4	8.0
Conservation & Commerce	125	13	10.4
Corrections	15	13	86.7
Education	294	10	3.4
Employment	63	9	14.3
Highways	236	8	3.4
Insurance & Banking	91	3	3.3
Labor	23	2	8.7
Mental Health	22	16	72.7
Personnel			
Public Health	150	19	12.7
Public Welfare	90	16	17.8
Safety	57	2	3.5
Standards			

1. Job classes or types not equivalent to number of employees or jobs filled, since more than one worker may hold a job in a certain class or type.

In the case of specific agencies, the following findings are of additional significance.

1. Even though Education was among the highest ranking agencies in proportion of Negro employees, it ~~fool~~ FELL within the lower ranking establishments in terms of range of job types held by Negroes -- 3.4 percent. Others in this category were Agriculture (8.0), Highways (3.4), Insurance and Banking (3.3), Labor (8.7), and Standards.

2. Mental Health comes out best among all the agencies, having a high level of Negro employees (12.6%) and a high degree of Negro access to the types of jobs available in the agency (72.7%).

3. Public Health, with the SECOND highest numerical and THE HIGHEST proportional Negro employee force, nevertheless had Negro workers in only 12.7 percent of the job type range.

Occupational Level of Negro Employee Force

The pertinent data here are contained in Tables III and IV. In general, state administrative functions require a high degree of employee concentration in clerical and professional performances -- commonly referred to as "white collar jobs." It may thus be assumed, in the absence of a breakdown of the total state employee force by occupational level, that the vast majority of jobs cluster in these categories. A Significant point of evaluation, then, is posed by the question as to how much the occupational distribution of Negro state employees conforms to this general pattern.

1. Occupationally, it is apparent from the findings that the pattern of Negro use is exactly the opposite from that which obtains generally in state employment. More than half the Negro employees (50.6 percent) are in unskilled jobs.

   If the professional and clerical jobs are combined to comprise a general "white collar" category, 80.3 percent of the Negro workers fall below this level of occupation. These include technical, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

Table III Tennessee: Distribution of Negro Employees in State Administrative Agencies by Occupational Level*

Occupational Level	Number of Negro Employees	Percent*
All Levels	1,223	100.0
Professional I	31	2.6
Professional II	101	8.6
Semi-Professional & Pre-Professional	82	7.0
Technical, Skilled Workers & Craftsmen	159	13.6
Clerical	17	1.5
Semi-Skilled	186	15.9
Unskilled	597	50.9
Unclassified**	6	
Not Given by Level	44	

* Percentages exclude "not given" (all from one agency)

** Members of Regulatory Boards.

Table IV Tennessee: Negro Employees in 14 State Administrative Departments by Number and Percent in Professional Jobs, Above Unskilled Level, and in Unskilled Jobs

Department	Total Negro Employees	Professional Jobs		Above Unskilled		Unskilled	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All Departments	1,223	132	11.3	580	49.4	593	50.6
Agriculture	9	1	1.1	5	5.6	4	4.4
Conservation	44						
Corrections	82	27	32.9	79	96.3	3	3.7
Education	83	23	27.7	53	63.9	30	36.1
Employment	35	3	8.6	25	71.4	10	28.6
Highways	55			12	21.8	43	78.2
Insurance	9			3	33.3	6	1.1
Labor	2			1	50.0	1	50.0
Mental Health	305	9	2.9	157	51.5	148	48.5
Personnel	2					2	100.0
Public Health	492	23	4.7	157	31.9	335	68.1
Welfare	93	46	49.5	88	94.6	5	5.4
Safety	11					11	100.0
Standards	1					1	100.0

* Percentage excludes 44 employees unclassified by occupational level.

2. The most extreme under-representation of Negro workers was found in clerical jobs. Only 17 Negro employees were so classified, and they accounted for a bare 1.5 percent of the Negro worker total.

3. There were just 132 Negro professional workers of all types embracing the Negro employee force. This number amounted to 11.3 percent of the Negro worker segment.

4. On the more favorable side, Corrections, Education and Public Welfare had the largest segments of Negro workers in professional jobs, with 32.9, 27.7 and 49.5 percent of their workers, respectively, so classified.

5. At the same time, six agencies -- Highways, Insurance and Banking, Labor, Personnel, Safety and Standards, did not have a single Negro worker to fall into either of the two professional classifications.

Training Opportunities

In addition to direct employment, the state government provides opportunity for training in programs for which the state programs have special needs. These positions are available at both pre-employment and post-employment levels, providing opportunity for entrance into a wide variety of professional jobs and for improvement of job status of those under employment. The following is a listing of these available training opportunities, as seen in the job titles reported by the Personnel Department for all of the state agencies.

IN-SERVICE POSITIONS

Juvenile Probation Division

1 Field Probation Trainee

Department of Conservation and Commerce

1. Geologist Trainee
2. Student Geologist Part-Time
3. Industrial Economist Trainee

Public

Department of Welfare

1. Child Welfare Trainee
2. Tuition and Maintenance Grant

Department of Public Health

1. Industrial Hygiene Aide
2. Sanitary Engineering Aide
3. Engineering Aide coop.
4. Clinic Assistant
5. Clinic Aide
6. Medical Assistant
7. Dental Extern

Administration Division (Agricultural)

1. Serologist Trainee
2. Jr. Seed Analyst Trainee

Department of Highways

1. Engineering Aide High School -- Seasonal
2. Engineering Student coop.
3. Engineering Student coop. TPI
4. Engineering Aide College -- Seasonal
5. Instrumentation Trainee

Department of Mental Health
1. Student Nurses (R.N. Course)

~~Department of Public Welfare~~
~~1. Child Welfare Trainee~~

Department of Public Health

1. Nurses (undergraduate)

No information was at hand which indicated the actual number of persons found in the trainee positions. But it was of interest to this study to determine to what extent Negroes had found access to these opportunities for training. On the basis of the listing of specific jobs held by Negroes in state government, it was found that Negro trainees existed in only two cases: one Negro in a nurses program, and one whild welfare trainee. The pattern which obtains generally in occupational use seems likewise to apply in the accessibility of training opportunities in the state programs.

Basic Policy Changes

In the context of these findings as to the extent and pattern of Negro use, two important changes in policy which were effected during 1962 should be observed. One of these, as reported to the committee by Governor Ellington, is the initiation of procedures to eliminate the racially separate arrangements and procedure for handling Negro worker applicants in the State Employment Service. The extent to which this was achieved, and whether the same job orders which the central or white agencies receive and process also now go to former Negro offices, was not determined. While this is a step toward breaking the pattern of job restriction facing Negroes in the general job market of the state, it may not effect substantially the status of Negro employment in the state agencies themselves.

For many years, it has been the practice of the state to maintain recially separate listings of eligible Negro and white applicants from which selections are made by the department heads for job openings. As of the current year, these separate listings were abolished, and no racial designations are included in the single list of eligibles maintained for job selection. Undoubtedly, this is a significant policy departure, inasmuch as in theory it removes the shadow of racial designation from the official job selection procedure of the state.

A Final Word

The findings of this inquiry confirm in general a low degree of Negro participation in job opportunities available in state government employment. Negro workers comprised only 7.1 percent of

the employee force of 14 state administrative agencies, which, by rough comparison, is less than half the proportion that Negroes comprise of the population of Tennessee.

The substantial majority of Negro workers was found in just two of the agencies -- Mental Health and Public Health. Together these agencies had a total of 797 Negro workers who accounted for 65 percent of all Negro employees in state government. Even thouth at least one Negro worker was found in all of the agencies, in six instances Negro employment was hardly more than nominal or token.

To the pattern of limited use must also be added the factor of limited access to the types of jobs available in state government. Out of the 1,216 types or classes of jobs which existed in the agencies, Negro workers had managed to find access to only 115. Thus, Negro access was excluded, in terms of current practice, in more than 90 percent of the range of job types.

In qualitative and occupational terms, the findings indicated that, in contrast to the general high concentration of state job functions in the professional and clerical levels, the pattern of Negro job occupations was the exact opposite. More than half the Negro workers were in unskilled jobs, and some 80 percent fell outside the general "white collar" occupations.

Limited use of the training opportunities for entrance to higher level state jobs also obtained in the case of Negro workers. Only two Negro trainees were found in the variety of trainee programs currently under operation.

There were conspicuous differences between the several state agencies in the extent and range of Negro use. In all of the factors covered by the data, the Highway Department represented the most gross pattern of Negro employee under-utilization, although five others with only token numbers were just slightly better. On the other end of the spectrum of use, characterized by larger numbers of Negro employees and use over a relatively wider range of job types, the departments of Mental Health, Public Health, Public Welfare and Education were found. But even in these cases, a high degree of Negro use was not consistently found to be associated with access to a wide range of job types. Public Welfare had the highest proportion of Negro workers in professional jobs -- 49.5 percent -- but a lower percentage of its employee force was Negro (6.6) than obtained for all of the agencies together (7.1). And in another instance of relatively better practice, Mental Health, with 12.6 percent of its employees Negro, only 2.9 percent of the Negro workers were in professional jobs. Still further, Public Health had the largest number and percentage of Negro employees among all of the agencies, and yet 68.1 percent of these were in unskilled job performances.

The single statistic which best symbolizes the extremely marginal position of the Negro worker in Tennessee state government is the fact that among the agencies employing large numbers of clerical workers only 17 Negroes were reported in clerical jobs.

Dr. Herman H. Long
Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
Analysts for the NCCEO Committee

December 14, 1962

Table A: Tennessee Negro Employees in State Administrative Agencies by Occupational Level

Professional I

1.	Superintendent	1	
2.	Physician	1	
3.	Dentist	2	
4.	Educational Consultant	3	
5.	Principal	1	
6.	E. S. Manager II	1	
7.	E. S. Manager III	1	
8.	Psychiatrist	1	
9.	Child Welfare Consultant	1	
10.	Sr. Child Welfare Worker	5	
11.	Case Supervision	3	
12.	Sr. Welfare Worker	11	31

Professional II

1.	Probation & Parole Officer	3	
2.	Teachers & Sub-Teachers	36	
3.	Jr. Chemist	1	
4.	Veterans Employment Representative	1	
5.	Psychologist	1	
6.	Registered Nurse	14	
7.	Dental Hygienist	1	
8.	Social Workers - incl. Welfare Workers	27	
9.	Nurses	13	
10.	Counselors	4	101

Semi-Professional & Pre-Professional

1.	Guard	12	
2.	Dorm Supervisor	33	
3.	House Mother	3	
4.	Interviewers	18	
5.	Interviewer Clerk	3	
6.	Occupational Therapist & Assistant	6	
7.	Student Nurse	1	
9.	Homemaker	5	
10.	Child Welfare Trainee	1	82

Technical, Skilled Workers & Craftsmen

1.	Offset Press Operators & Assistants	7
2.	Asst. Warehouse Supt.	1
3.	Warehouseman	2
4.	Construction Carpenter	1
5.	Skilled Construction Laborer	3
6.	Laboratory Technician	1
7.	Laboratory Asst.	1

Technical, Skilled Workers & Craftsmen (Continued)

8.	Attendents & Supervisors	140	
9.	Chef	1	
10.	Meat Cutter	1	
11.	Shop Mechanic	1	159

Clerical

1.	Stenographer, Typist & Clerical	10	
2.	Stockroom Clerk & Attendant	7	17

Semi-Skilled

1.	Truck Driver	3	
2.	Cook	49	
3.	Janitor-Machine Operator	8	
4.	Janitor-Clerk	4	
5.	Housekeeper	1	
6.	Div. & District Helper	6	
7.	Div. Car & Truck Greaser	2	
8.	Laboratory Aides	3	
9.	Nurses Aides	51	
10.	Practical Nurse	31	
11.	Shop Workers Hazardous I, II & III	28	186

Unskilled

1.	Maintenance (Service & Custodial & Porters)	94	
2.	Janitory-Messenger	33	
3.	Janitor	49	
4.	Utility men (Gldg. & Furnace)	14	
5.	Maids & Dieners	110	
6.	Food Service (except dietary)	179	
7.	Laundry Personnel	48	
8.	Kitchen Attendants	1	
9.	Night Watchmen	1	
10.	Parts Cleaner	1	
11.	Tire Changer	1	
12.	Park Attendant		
13.	Park Ranger		
14.	Waiter Captains		
15.	Waiters		
16.	Pantry Girls		
17.	Laborers		
18.	Orderlies	10	
	Other Unskilled		
	Farm Personnel	11	
	Other Full-Time	40	
	Part-Time	4	597

Table A: (Concluded)

Unclassified (Board Personnel)		
Funeral Director Board	3	
Full-Time Examiner-Insp.	1	
Cemetary Board	1	6

~~Integr~~ Employment

Employment Status of Negroes in State Government

Integration Increases Reported; 70 Percent in Un-Skilled Jobs

The 1960 General Assembly, in the enactment of KRS 18.310 (1), expressed the public policy of the Commonwealth as it relates to employment opportunities for Kentucky citizens in State Government. Under the statute, "No person shall be appointed or promoted to, or demoted or dismissed from, any position in the classified service, or in any way favored or discriminated against with respect to employment in the classified services because of political or religious opinions or affiliations or ethnic origin." (Effective date July 1, 1961) Race is therefore not a proper nor relevant factor in the hiring of State Personnel.

With a total of 18,005 full-time established positions, State Government is Kentucky's largest employer. Because of its size and its statutory obligation to hire and upgrade on the basis of merit, Kentucky's citizens justifiably expect it to provide leadership in demonstrating the soundness and economy of merit employment.

958 Negro Employees in April

In April of 1962, the Department of Personnel conducted a survey to determine the extent to which the expressed policy of the State is being implemented by the various departments and commissions subject to the legislative mandate. The facts and interpretations contained in this report are based on the results of that survey.

The State's employees are scattered through 72 agencies, sixty-five of which responded to the survey.

Charles Anderson, Louisville Attorney, employed by the Department of Labor as a REFEREE in Workmen's Compensation cases, dictates an opinion to Miss Lillian Wells, Secretary, Industrial Relations Department, Louisville Office.

Thirty-nine agencies reported a total of 958 Negro employees or 5.3% of all State employees, while 26 agencies reported no Negro employees.

With a few notable exceptions, those agencies reporting no Negro employees tend to have small and highly specialized staffs. For this reason, such agencies are not included in Table-B. (See footnote to Table-B)

Agencies reporting the largest number of Negro employees are Mental Health, 427, of which 357 perform unskilled jobs, Tuberculosis Commission, 100, of which 87 are classified as unskilled, and Finance, 80, of which 72 are unskilled. These three agencies employ 57.6% of all Negroes in State Government. The Department of Highways, the State's largest with 6,828 employees reports 40 Negro employees, of whom 35 work in unskilled job categories. Approximately 3,000 jobs in this department are not within the purview of the Merit System. Among the larger departments, only Economic Development reports no Negro employees.

Miss Vivian Warren, a 1962 graduate of West Kentucky Vocational School, is a CLERK STENOGRAPHER in the Department of Child Welfare. Here she takes dictation from Miss Elizabeth M. Cosby, Director of Staff Training.

Recent Increases Significant

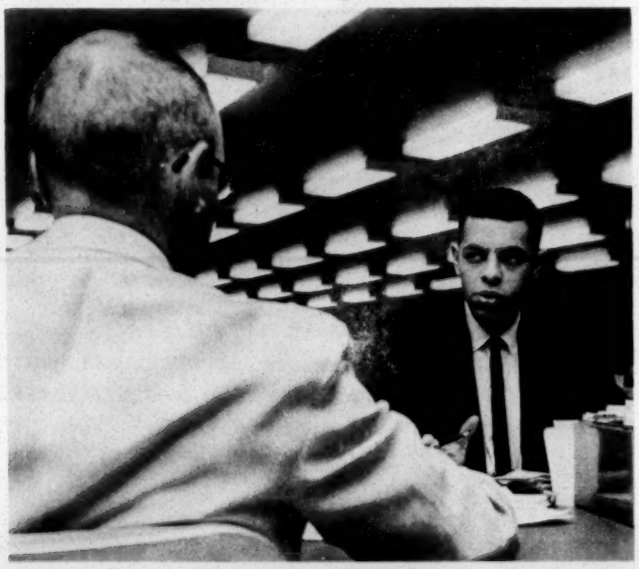
A significant increase in the number of Negro employees has occurred over the past six years. Prior to 1956, only 287 Negroes were employed in State Government. Three hundred forty-six Negroes were added to the payroll between 1956 and 1960 and in the sixteen month period between January 1960 and April 1962, 325 additional Negroes have been employed. Twenty-four of the one hundred one professional, twenty of the forty clerical, six of the eighteen supervisory, and four of the forty-three skilled employees were appointed in the same period. Since April, 1962, several additional Negroes have been appointed to positions traditionally unavailable to them.

Mrs. Lois Stovall, a JUNIOR DUPLICATING EQUIPMENT OPERATOR in the Department of Personnel duplicates all departmental forms on a ditto offset press. She attended Youngstown University and Kentucky State College.

Six hundred and ninety of the 958 jobs held by Negroes are in unskilled categories, 66 in semi-skilled, and 43 in skilled categories.

Negroes in 112 Job Categories

Negroes are employed in 112 different job categories. Six thousand five hundred sixty-three jobs, of which 958 are held by Negroes, are included under these categories. Negroes are thus employed in categories providing slightly more than one-third of all State jobs. Eleven thousand four hundred thirty-six jobs are included in job categories in which no Negroes were employed as of April, 1962.



Rufus S. Slaton, EMPLOYMENT INTERVIEWER for the Kentucky Employment Service, interviews a job applicant. Slaton's duties also include taking job orders and making referrals. He is a 1962 Business Administration graduate of Kentucky State College.

Most Negro Clerical Jobs Integrated

It will be observed from an examination of Table-C that of the 101 Negro employees classified as "professional" and the 18 classified as "supervisory" a majority is employed in "all-Negro" situations or in jobs which have been traditionally available to Negroes. On the other hand, most of the 40 classified as "clerical" are employed in integrated situations.

The salary range of Negroes employed in State Government begins at $156 per month and ends at $643 per month. Fifty percent of these salaries fall between $156 and $199 while 4.3% are above $400 and less than one percent (0.7%) are above $500. Figures providing a comparison between the average monthly salaries of white employees and Negro employees are not available.

Mrs. Ann Smith, COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND LICENSING REPRESENTATIVE confers with Haynes E. Bruce, Supervisor, Community Relations and Licensing Section. A fourteen-year employee of the Department of Economic Security, Mrs. Smith, in addition to numerous administrative duties pertaining to the licensing of homes for the aged, is responsible for the supervision of professional employees engaged in community relations activities and the coordination of the work of county Social Service Advisory Committees.

TABLE-A
SALARY DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO EMPLOYEES*

Monthly Salary Rate	Number of Employees	%
$156 - $199	446	50.1
$209 - $253	304	34.0
$266 - $308	47	5.3
$324 - $395	56	6.3
$400 - $500	32	3.6
$500 - $643	5	.7
$643 - $998	0	
TOTALS	890	100.0

* Negro employees working on an hourly, daily, or contractual basis are not included in this table.

TABLE-B

AGENCY DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO EMPLOYEES - April, 1962

Agency	Negro Employees: Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled	Supervisory	Clerical	Professional	Negro Employees	Total of all Positions
Aeronautics								12
Agriculture	1						1	181
Alcoholic Beverage Control	1						1	40
Auditor of Public Accounts			1				1	27
Banking	1	1					2	28
Board of Barbers, Hairdressers & Cosmetologists						1	1	22
Board of Athletic Control						1	1	3
Board of State Fair	2						2	37
Child Welfare	5	3		10	4	12	34	435
Circuit Judges								63
Clerk, Court of Appeals	Not Reporting							7
Court of Appeals	Not Reporting							32
Commission for Handicapped Children	2						2	98
Commission on Human Rights					1	1	2	3
Conservation			1 (Part time 2,194)				1	241
Economic Development (Commerce)								113
Economic Security	27			1	5	29	62	1,526
Education	23	12		2	5	21	63	655
Finance	72	6			2		80	404
Fish & Wildlife		2					2	268
Governor's Office		1					1	17
Lt. Governor's Office							*	3
Health	9	5	1		5	10	30	495
Highways	35	4		1			40	6,828
Industrial Relations (Labor)	1				3	1	5	113
Insurance			2				2	48
Kentucky Historical Society	1				1		2	17
Law Library			1				1	4
Legislative Research			1		1		2	46
Library Extension (Libraries)	1		1		1		3	58
Mental Health	357	25	20	3	5	17	427	2,269
Military	4	(Part time 470)					5	42
Mines & Minerals	1						1	63
Motor Transportation			1				1	76
Office of Attorney General, Law & Commonwealth Attorneys			1				1	67
Parks (Part time 1,040)	23	2	3	1			29	266
Personnel		1	1				2	62
Public Information	1						1	77
Public Safety	13				1		14	844
Public Service Commission	1						1	36
Revenue		2			2		4	683
Secretary of State								13
TB Commission	87	2	9		1	1	100	673
Treasury					2		2	36
Teacher Retirement								23
Veterans Bonus								83
Welfare (Corrections)	22				1	6	29	772
TOTALS	690	66	43	18	40	101	958	17,909**

* One Negro secretary is employed in the office of the Lieutenant Governor but is on the payroll of the Legislative Research Commission.

** Ninety-six employees of 21 Boards and Commissions having no Negro employees are not included in the total of 17,909. See text for further explanation.

TABLE-C

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO EMPLOYEES BY JOB CATEGORY AND STATUS - April, 1962

Job Category	Positions held by Negroes: Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled	Supervisory	Clerical	Professional	Total No. Positions
Accounting Clerk					2		124
Athletic Board Assistant Commissioner						1	*
Auto Mechanic Helper		1					1
Baker			2				5
Barber			1				7
Barber & Beauty Shop Inspector						1	*
Beautician			1				7
Broom Bag Maker		1					4
Broom Maker		1					11
Bus Boy	13						*
Carpenter			1				33
Child Welfare Social Worker						8	76
Children's Service Social Worker						3	51
Claims Examiner						1	2
Clerk					18		239
Clerk Stenographer					9		705
Clerk Typist					10		422
Clerical Assistant					1		11
Community Relations Licensing Repres.						1	3
Cook		35					82
Coordinator						1	*
Deliquent Supervisor				9			71
Dentist						3	13
Dishwasher	1						*
Duplicating Equipment Operator			10				35
Education Counselor/ Examiner						1	20
Employment Interviewer						5	212
Elevator Operator	8						8
Garage Attendant	3						14
Graduate Nurse						4	*
Housekeeper	2						21
Houseparent				2			79
Houseparent Assistant	5						20
Highway Foreman				1			95
Human Rights Repres.						1	1
Instructor						1	9
Janitor	180						263
Janitor Foreman				3			*
Janitress	4						*
Jr. Laboratory Technician			2				11
Kitchen Worker	63						225
Laboratory Aide		4					12
Laborer	66						*
Laundry Worker	26						63
Library Aide	1						6
Light Equipment Operator		2					1,335
Lifeguard			2				*
Maid	21						41
Maintenance Foreman				1			*
Maintenance Man	4						19
Meat Cutter		1					6
Messenger Clerk		10					13
Milk Pasteurizer		2					3
Mop Maker		1					3
Nurse Aide	86						321
Nutritionist Chief						1	3
Occupational Therapy Aide	5						51
Park Manager				1			5
Physician Instructor						1	*
Physiotherapist						1	4
Pick-Up Driver		2					23
Practical Nurse			24				149
Psychiatric Aide	180						855
Psychiatric Nurse						2	3
Psychiatric Social Worker						5	15
Public Assistance Social Worker						19	42
Public Health Physician						1	*
Public Health Nurse						3	*
Referee						1	3
Registered Nurse						4	69
Recreational Worker Aide	7						42
Scholarship Highway Laboratory Aide		2					*
Social Worker						3	31
Stationary Fireman		2					41
Stockhandler		2					42
Student Assistant						2	5
Teacher						24	177
Unregistered Nurse						1	*
Vocational School Principal						1	3
Vocational School Superintendent						1	3
Ward Activity Aide	10						15
Ward Activity Supervisor				1			3
Watchman	5						171
TOTALS	690	66	43	18	40	101	

* Total number of positions unreported

TABLE-D

NEGROES EMPLOYED IN HIGH-PAY AND/OR NONTRADITIONAL JOBS

Since January, 1960

Agency	Professional	Clerical	Supervisory and Skilled	Total
Auditor of Public Accounts			1 Jr. Dup. Eq. Op.	1
Board of Athletic Control	1 Asst. Commissioner			1
Child Welfare	2 Social Workers 3 Teachers	3 Clerk Typists 1 Jr. Clerk Typist	4 Delinquent Supervisors	13
Commission on Human Rights	1 Representative	1 Sr. Clerk Steno.		2
Economic Security	6 Social Workers	1 Clerk Stenographer 1 Principal Steno.		8
Education		1 Clerk Stenographer		1
Finance		1 Sr. Accounts Clerk		1
Health	1 Public Health Physician	1 Clerk Typist 1 Prin. Clerk		3
Labor	1 Referee	1 Jr. Clerk 1 Sr. Clerk Typist		3
Legislative Research		1 Jr. Clerk	1 Dup. Eq. Op.	2
Library Extension		1 Clerk Typist		1
Mental Health	1 Psychiatric Social Worker 1 Sr. Psychiatric Social Worker 2 Social Workers 1 Psychiatric Nurse	1 Clerk Stenographer 1 Clerk Typist	1 Ward Activity Supervisor 1 Jr. Lab. Tech.	9
Military Affairs	1 Claims Examiner			1
Parks			1 Manager	1
Personnel			1 Jr. Dup. Eq. Op.	1
Public Safety		1 Sr. Clerk Steno.		1
T B Commission		1 Clerk Typist		1
Welfare	1 Physiotherapist 1 Coordinator 1 Vocational Teacher	1 Jr. Clerk		4
TOTALS	24	20	6 4	54

Commonwealth of Kentucky

Bert Combs, Governor

Commission on Human Rights

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Galen Martin, Executive Director
L. Clayton Jones, Assistant Director
Miss Norma J. Jones, Office Secretary

It is the policy of the COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY and the function of the Commission on Human Rights ". . . to encourage fair treatment for, to foster mutual understanding and respect among and to discourage discrimination against any racial or ethnic group or its members."

The Commission was created by the 1960 General Assembly and given powers and duties including, "To conduct research projects or make studies into and public reports on discrimination in Kentucky." (Kentucky Revised Statutes 19.040)

This report was prepared by L. Clayton Jones, Assistant Director. The Commission is grateful for the cooperation of Mr. Walter Gattis, Commissioner, Department of Personnel whose survey of state agencies made this report possible.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
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ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

Over Thirty-Five Years of Preventive Social Service

JACKSON 1-2355 • 239 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 5, 1961

Dear Les:

At the E. O. D. Banquet, I mentioned briefly an idea relative to a study-project proposal of the Atlanta Urban League. The idea concerned taking a look - see at the posture of the Negro farmer of the North Georgia Planning Area which included the five-county area of Metropolitan Atlanta. I have attempted to describe briefly my proposal in letter-form.

In view of the fact that the Negro farmer in Metropolitan Atlanta and the North Georgia Planning Area (a total of 18 counties) owned about 66,000 acres of land in 1950 and that the land enhances in value daily, I have a growing concern about the approximate 918 Negro farmers and this great potential wealth. I am anxious to know more about the posture of the Negro farmer in relation to his ability to survive on small farms in the face of rapid urbanization, to feed himself and estimated two million Atlantans in 1980, and his ability to relate to the economic, political and educational power of the Atlanta Negro.

I have also observed that between 1940 and 1950, the number of farms operated by Negroes increased from 739 to 918, but that the number of farms operated by tenant farmers decreased from 4,500 to 3,511 or by 989 for the eighteen North Georgia Planning Area. During the same period, the number of acres of land farmed by tenant farmers decreased from 286,878 to 179,406 or by 89,472 acres.

While the number of acres of land owned by Negro farmers in the Planning Area increased from 50,938 to 66,586 or by 15,648 acres, it should not be assumed that these tenant farmers bought farms to any great extent but rather that the majority shifted into urban communities. The 1960 census, when available, should give us a better preliminary picture of what is happening to our neighbors.

Safe assumption

These exciting preliminary figures indicate that the Atlanta Urban League needs to know as soon as possible:

A. General Characteristics of the Negro Farmer in the 18 County North Georgia Planning Area.

1960 census

1. Size of farm
2. Value of land and buildings
3. Land in farms
4. Income
5. Crops raised
6. Income from crops, etc.

Dept of Agr.

B. Specific Information Needed
   1. Name and addresses of the Negro farmer
   2. Location of farm by county, district and land lot so that his exact location can be pin pointed on the up-to-date maps which we have already secured.

C. Information about recent and proposed economic developments scheduled for each county which may or may not affect the Negro farmer's welfare.

(Cobb County had 272 farms operated by Negroes in 1940 and only 21 in 1959. I can't help but wonder about the effect the building of the Allatoona Dam and Lockheed on Negro land owners.)

If there were greater communication between the Negro farmer and citizens of Atlanta, I believe that the entire planning area would be benefitted. I am convinced that the Atlanta Urban League, local colleges, and local land owners and other organizations can together play a significant role in enhancing the dev development not only Atlanta and its citizens who must be fed but also aid in the growth of the entire planning area. I must add that most planning in the area is done without regard to the Negro and ofttimes he is the last to learn of present or proposed developments; hence, it is important that this particular "brother" become more known to the urban community for the sake of us all.

We, in southern urban centers, are in a fortunate position in that there is so much Negro owned land which can be made more efficient perhaps for production and urban living. Our situation is the direct opposite of the position of Negroes in the northern urban communities because the latter cities are still afflicted with "Philadelphia's White Noose." This means simply that Negroes find it difficult to move to suburbia because they do not own land and/or must resort to devious methods or extra-legal procedures to obtain shelter outside of the downtown areas in northern cities.

The Atlanta Urban League needs about $20,000.00 per year for five (5) years to collect the basic information and work with the large Negro land owners. I propose to employ an economist at about $8,000.00 per year, a secretary at $4,500, spend about $1,200 for travel, give about $300 for car allowance, invest about $600 for basic information, and $600 per year for office supplies and supervision. In short, I need about a minimum of $100,000.00 because this figure does not include expenses for conferences to be convened in Atlanta periodically at one of the local colleges.

Having revealed my needs to you and the Southern Regional Council, I am wondering if you would be kind enough to assist the Atlanta Urban League in obtaining the necessary funds to do the study-project.

I would appreciate an opportunity to discuss the idea, based on preliminary and incomplete data, further at your convenience.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Tommy

R. A. Thompson,
Executive Director

Mr. Lester Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

RAT:vbm

EAGLE-A
TYPE-ERASE

THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS IN 1961

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
by Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary

"Here in the heart of the nation's richest farm country [California's Central Valley], 400 members of farm labor families are sweating out the harvest in 18th century conditions. Most of the one room shacks have 8 to 10 occupants. One spigot supplies water for the entire camp." (The New York Times, July 30, 1961.)

"I came away angry and sick from the tomato fields just 30 miles south of the glitter and wealth of Miami Beach. I found the same crude exploitation, the same dreadful living conditions, just 30 miles south of New York City." (Dale Wright, "The Forgotten People" series in the New York World-Telegram and Sun, October 23, 1961.)

"John Morrison, 38-year-old migrant laborer from southeastern Missouri, dropped his hoe after 10 hours of chopping cotton on the J.E. Pollard farm here [in eastern Arkansas] yesterday and collected $3 for another day's work....His wife and their flushed 11-year-old daughter, who had weeded cotton under the hot sun all day alongside them, piled into their 1946 Buick along with the Morrisons' 8-month-old baby and 9-year-old daughter [and headed for Michigan]...'to see if we can find work in the cherry orchards.'" (The New York Times, July 16, 1961.)

The Year in Brief

The year 1961 was one of only slight progress for the American farm worker, but there were many indications of growing public concern for his condition. He continued to receive the lowest wage rate and suffer the highest unemployment rate in the entire economy. He continued to face crippling competition from hundreds of thousands of foreign farm workers from underdeveloped countries. Despite his urgent need for such coverage, the American farm worker continued to be excluded from most laws providing a minimum wage, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, legal safeguards of the right to bargain collectively, and other legislation long accepted as necessary protection for the great majority of workers. Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, Chairman of the President's Committee on Migratory Labor, reported at the end of 1961 that

> "It has become increasingly apparent that our Nation can no longer be satisfied with a farm labor system based on the availability of a vast army of underemployed and economically displaced people. The time has come when we must strive to accomplish in agriculture what we have already accomplished in most other sectors of our economy -- the restoration of respect and dignity, based on good wages, good working conditions and steady employment to the men, women and children who labor for hire on American farms."

Revolution on the Farm

The traditional family farm, worked by members of the family and perhaps a hired hand who shared the farmer's table, may join the horse-drawn plow in the museum unless the availability of low-cost labor and other special subsidies for big-business farming are withdrawn. In fruit, vegetables, and cotton, the family farm faces its greatest threat from the giant corporation -- the "agri-business" -- controlling thousands of acres of land, industrialized through heavy capital investment in machinery, and hiring up to thousands of farm workers for relatively short periods of time. The latest Census of Agriculture shows only 3.7 million farms in America in 1959, a drop of almost one-third from the 5.4 million farms in 1950. Forced off the land were over a million family farmers (at least 4 million persons), whose land was consolidated into larger units as total farm acreage declined by only 3.3%. Thus, hundreds of thousands of former independent and tenant farmers have been forced into the hired farm

labor force, while others have migrated to the cities to compete for a diminishing number of unskilled jobs. A U.S. Department of Agriculture economist reported that only a quarter of the remaining family farms have sufficient resources and productivity to return annual profits of $2,500: "There is a great deal of heartache here -- more than 2.5 million families are in the process of being uprooted." These are the fruits of the American agricultural revolution.

While federal farm programs are admittedly directed toward helping the "more fortunate of the disadvantaged," many family farms have found stability on a new level, especially in livestock and grains production. For the "marginal" family farmer, however, the USDA says, "The hard fact is that the plight of the uprooted, or those on the verge of being uprooted, by present day machine advance within the historic institution of the family farm, runs deeper than can be reached by farm programs."

Sharecroppers in the 60's

Thirty years ago, there were almost 3,000,000 sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the 16 Southern states. Today, there are less than 380,000, of whom 120,000 are sharecroppers. A majority of those displaced are Negroes, who are being forced off the land at a rate double that of white farmers. Many have exchanged their "cabin in the cotton" for the broken-down truck or shack of the migrant worker, or unemployment in a city slum. The Census Bureau reported at the end of 1961 that during the past decade, almost 1.5 million Negroes migrated from the South -- a record for any decade in history.

Living conditions among sharecroppers continued to be among the lowest in the country. In Fayette County, Tennessee, where 68 per cent of the farmers are sharecroppers or tenants, median farm family income averages $1140 a year, less than a quarter of the national average. Housing remains substandard, and medical care and educational standards are equally low. The outlook for their future opportunities is dim. A U.S. Department of Labor spokesman predicts that not more than 10 per cent, maybe only 5 per cent, of the youth growing up on American farms today will be able to earn a living from farm work. A recent study showed that 67 per cent of migrants from low-income rural areas lacked an elementary school education, and only 10 per cent were high school graduates.

Federal Programs: Farmers Home Administration

During 1961, the U.S. Department of Agriculture's FHA made 6,373 direct or insured farm ownership loans totaling almost $95 million. In addition, 83,000 farm operating loans in the amount of $270.7 million, and 11,000 rural housing loans for $89 million, were made to family-size farmers. The total amount for all types of loans, including emergency, livestock, soil and water conservation, and watershed and flood protection, was over $500 million, a 46 per cent rise over 1960.

But in many Southern states, racial discrimination continued to appear in the withholding of FHA loans from those who need them most -- the Negro farmers and sharecroppers who otherwise would be forced off the land. A recent study showed that FHA committees, "as far as can be determined, have no Negro members anywhere in the United States." Local committee approval of all loan applications is a power that has sometimes been turned into a weapon of intimidation against Negroes exercising their civil rights.

Area Redevelopment Administration: Progress vs. "Local Initiative"

The passage of the Area Redevelopment Act by Congress in June, 1961, brought an appropriation of $100 million for loans for the economic development of depressed rural areas, and additional funds for public

loans, direct grants, and a retraining program to be divided between rural and urban areas. By the end of 1961, $309,300 was committed to rural development projects; 641 counties, many of them in the South, were designated eligible for special assistance; and 200 of these were included in development programs approved by the USDA and USDC.

As with FHA programs, however, the requirement of "local initiative" hampered the full utilization of ARA potential in the rural South. Local ARA committees generally excluded Negroes from their membership, and were composed primarily of local government and business leaders.

In Mississippi, local opposition resulted in the withdrawal of an ARA training project for 1200 unemployed farm workers, most of them Negroes, who were to have been trained to operate farm machinery.

Hired Farm Workers: Employment and Earnings

Excluding family labor, students working during school vacation, and other casual workers, the hired farm labor force numbered 2,162,000 in 1960 (latest published figures), reflecting no change from the previous year. Increased labor demands by agri-business offset mechanization and reflected the proportionate shift from family to hired labor in American agriculture. Seventy per cent of the wage bill for this labor was paid by only 5 per cent of the farms, while the majority of family farmers hired no labor at all.

The average farm worker earned only $879 from farm labor during 1960, a small increase over the previous year. His total yearly income, including non-farm earnings, was $1,125. He was able to find farm work for only 139 days of the year, and non-farm work for 28 days. Migratory workers, who are forced to seek work away from their homes, found farm work available only 123 days and earned $819 on the average. Thirty-five days of non-farm labor gave migrants a total average income of $1,016. Composite hourly wages (an average weighted to include free room and board when given) rose slightly to 83.4 cents for 1961. Despite these increases, however, the disparity between farm and non-farm wages continued to grow: since 1947-49, the purchasing power of farm wages has increased 22 per cent, but the purchasing power of industrial wages has risen by about 40 per cent. The American farm worker continues to earn less than one-third the wage of the unskilled non-farm worker.

Imported Farm Workers in 1961

Employment of foreign nationals, on the 2 per cent of American farms that hire them, showed a small decline between 1960 and 1961. A total of 308,935 farm workers were admitted for temporary employment during the year, compared with 334,729 in 1960. Mexican braceros accounted for almost all of this total, numbering 291,420 -- a drop from 315,846 in 1960. About 8,900 British West Indians, 8,600 Canadians, and 40 Japanese farm workers were also employed. Texas and California employed over half of these foreign workers, and with four other states, accounted for more than three-quarters of the total.

The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization reported that in fiscal 1961, another 230,000 Mexicans were admitted to the United States under temporary work visas or as permanent residents. In addition, a total of almost 62,000,000 border crossings (in both directions) were made by Mexican nationals, the majority of whom had day-time jobs in border areas. The Service reported a total of 30,000 deportations or departures of illegally admitted Mexicans during the year.

Puerto Rican Workers

The Puerto Rican Farm Labor Program continued to expand in 1961, with

13,765 farm workers contracted for in 14 states, a 6 per cent increase over 1960. The terms of the contracts, however, remained unchanged from the previous year, except for the addition of English-language lessons after working hours on some farms. Wages remained between the 80 cents an hour minimum and $1 an hour in specialized crops, with a guarantee of 160 hours of employment in each 4-week period. Group medical insurance was also provided.

Organization of Farm Workers

Last year was a dramatic one in the history of efforts of farm workers to organize. The Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), chartered by the AFL-CIO to work in California, reported that over 12,000 farm workers had joined their union, despite well-financed opposition from agri-business. AWOC also estimated that its efforts have resulted in a wage rise of $20 million. Despite this progress, the AFL-CIO Executive Council announced in July that financial aid to AWOC was being withdrawn. Nevertheless, the farm workers' union continued to organize, relying upon support from local unions, area councils, and the determination of its staff and membership. After the urging of many groups, including NSF, the AFL-CIO's Annual Convention in December reversed the earlier decision and pledged the "loyalty and support of the...AFL-CIO" for continued farm labor organizing efforts in California.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters signed two important contracts with Bud Antle, Inc., and Jim Mapes in California.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union (AFL-CIO), whose Agricultural Workers division was formerly the National Agricultural Workers Union, began an organizing drive among rice mill workers in Louisiana, led by former NAWU President, H. L. Mitchell.

Farm Labor in Congress

While farm labor gained support in Congress, especially in the Senate, no major victories were won this year. Against determined opposition from labor, church, and civic groups, the Mexican Farm Labor Program (Public Law 78) was extended for two years with only minor reforms. In signing the extension, however, President Kennedy noted that the Administration has "broad authority to regulate the conditions under which Mexican workers are to be employed" and pledged to use it to prevent future adverse effect upon domestic farm workers.

After two years of study, the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, chaired by Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., recommended a ten-point program designed to end the exclusion of farm workers from existing labor and social legislation. Five bills were passed by the Senate and sent to the House, where they awaited action at the end of 1961. The Senate-passed bills include support of migrant education and health services, limits on child labor, crew leader registration, and the establishment of a public advisory committee. The remaining five bills, which await action in the Senate, provide for a minimum wage for farm workers, the right of collective bargaining, housing, stabilization of employment, and child care centers.

In other federal action, the Omnibus Housing Bill, passed by Congress in 1961, provides for direct low-interest government loans to both farm workers and employers for workers' housing.

State Legislation

A round-up of state actions on farm labor during 1961 shows a total of 105 proposals introduced in 23 state legislatures. Of these, 23 bills and resolutions were passed by 10 states, 69 were defeated, 1 was

vetoed, and 12 received no action or were pending at the end of the year. Some of the new legislation was restricting, however.

In California, the legislature extended the state's disability insurance coverage to farm workers for the first time, and a $1 an hour minimum wage for women and minors working in agriculture was set by the State Industrial Welfare Commission. Wisconsin extended workmen's compensation to farm workers. Among other new measures were: funds and facilities for migrant children's education in Colorado, Oregon, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania; crew leader registration in New York and New Jersey, and cancelation of this requirement in Oregon; legislative or advisory committees on migrant labor established or continued in California, Connecticut, Colorado, and Oklahoma; labor camp licensing in Illinois; and sanitary inspections in California. North Carolina became the eighth state to regulate transportation of farm workers.

National Sharecroppers Fund Expands Activities

As a result of growing interest in the condition of farm workers, increased financial support from the public has enabled the National Sharecroppers Fund to expand its programs in 1961.

These include developing wide support for remedial legislation in Congress and in several states. NSF presented testimony to Senate, House, and administrative hearings on the extension of the Mexican Farm Labor Program, the 10-point program of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, and on the amendments to P.L. 78.

NSF alerted and cooperated with labor, church, and civic groups on farm labor issues that demanded public action. Thousands of copies of literature were mailed in response to public inquiries, and detailed information was prepared for persons engaged in research and teaching. Ten thousand copies each of the annual NSF report, "The Condition of Farm Workers in 1960," and the special report, "Sharecroppers in the 60's," were distributed to individuals, groups, and public libraries. NSF also provided speakers for school and radio programs.

The Executive Secretary of NSF was appointed to the Public Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development by Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, and participated in a number of national conferences, including that of the National Education Association's Department of Rural Education, where she chaired the panel on education of migrant children.

Grants were provided by NSF for a survey of the conditions of sugar cane workers in Louisiana, and for the pension and insurance funds of retired members of the former Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Contributions were also made to the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, and support was given to the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor and the Migrant Children's Fund.

A major project of the National Sharecroppers Fund during 1961 was a pilot effort in Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee, scene of the eviction last winter of 700 sharecroppers and their families. A Tennessee representative of NSF has been working in the area since June, 1961, to acquaint residents with available federal aid programs. After some white leaders refused to cooperate, NSF's representative formed a bi-racial committee to submit concrete proposals for economic development through the Area Redevelopment Program. Federal technical assistance has been promised to aid the committee in developing industry to employ displaced farmers in Fayette County.

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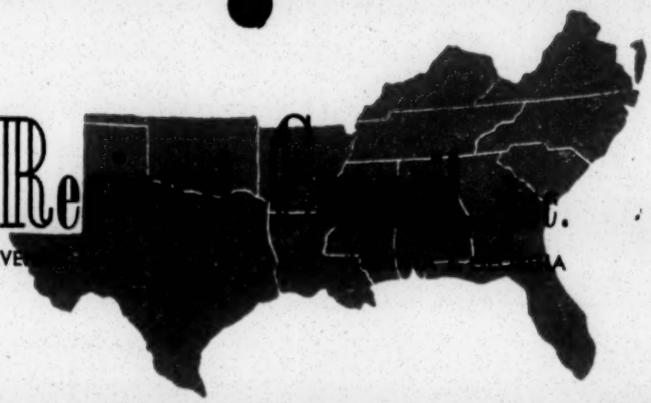

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 17, 1962

To: JM From: PR

Subject:

The enclosed correspondence relates to a suggestion from the South Carolina Council that we cooperate with them in a study of the administration of federal agricultural programs in South Carolina. This would include the Rural Development Program, the Farmers Home Administration loans, the Area Redevelopment Program of the Department of Commerce, etc. Indications are that agricultural loan programs are handled by local communities in such a way as to be discriminatory. I hope that we can cooperate with this effort for the following reasons:

1. The problem of federal assistance in this area is vital to the agricultural regions of the South and little attention has been given to possible discrimination in this area.

2. We have been saying lately that SRC needs to give more attention to rural areas in the South. This would be a good opportunity to make a significant contribution in this direction.

I would suggest that such a project might be handled after the pattern of the recent Houston employment study. In other words, someone in South Carolina would be commissioned to handle the research, but under close supervision by SRC. I think this would be more realistic than suggestion number 1 in Alice Spearman's letter of December 29.

Ira Kaye might be the proper person to handle this research, but I suspect he would not accept the assignment at our normal rates. I suspect that others equally qualified would.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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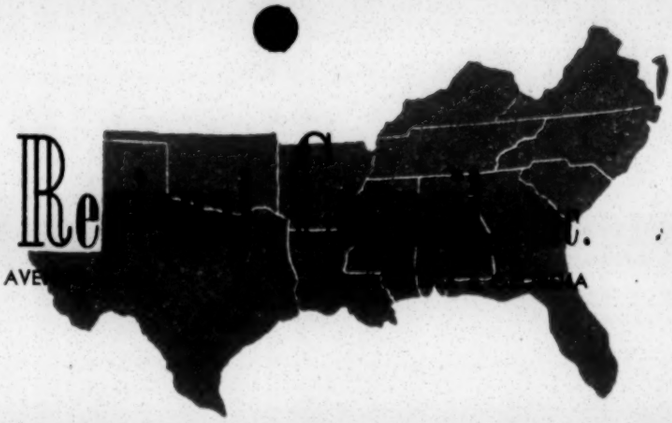


A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: _____

Page 2

I am not sure that Alice's suggestion number 6, that the research include other federal agencies, would be wise.

The South Carolina Council wants a reaction from us quick. I hope that we can respond within a few days and initiate correspondence or an interview with Mr. Kaye shortly.

SRC-SCC Correspondence attached.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

December 29, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

The SCCHR Executive Committee met on December 18 and pursued in some detail the effort which you made that SRC consider a research project, to be undertaken cooperatively with SCCHR. I reported to the committee our conversation after the board meeting, in which you explained that SRC might bear salary costs, if SCCHR could take care of publication expense. The committee has authorized me to explore this matter more fully with SRC, through you.

The Executive Committee arrived at a few fairly definite decisions, as follows:

I. To set up an advisory committee of key persons, strategically placed. This committee would advise as to goals, scope of the project, and use of the findings.

II. To recommend to SRC that Mr. Ira Kaye be employed to do the needed research.

III. That SCCHR earmark Schwartzhaupt Grant funds for publication of research findings. In order to do this, it would help to learn from SRC the range of possible expense, etc.

IV. To request SRC to help firm up plans for the project, methods and materials to be used, etc.

V. To focus immediately upon composition and practices of state and county area re-development committees and committes in charge of the crash technical educational programs. Data compiled would be used immediately in an effort to establish a new pattern of democratic inclusiveness in the membership of committees and of non-discriminatory practices in the development of these new programs.

VI. To expand the fact-finding to encompass as many of the Federal agencies as time and funds may make possible, and to give priority primarily to those Federal government agencies which serve predominantly the rural and small town areas.

T he Executive Committee feels that Mr. Kaye has a legal training and first-hand exp erience which will enable him to do a thorough and reliable job of gact finding. How ever, it recognizes the hurdle which his place of former residence (New York City) and religious affiliation (Jewish) may place in the best use of the data collected. However, a strong advisory committee working with him in the background sh ould be able to overcome these obstacles.

Mr. Kaye has asked that we inform you that he is not in position to give such a project as we envision full time, but believes that he can nevertheless give it a good bit of his time right away.

Won't you discuss this matter with Dr. Dunbar and Dr. Morse (?) at your earliest convenience and advise us of next steps? We feel that time is of the essence and are eager to undertake this project before developing programs jell into old patterns.

Faithfully yours,

Alice N. Spearman pacah

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

AN S/cah

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date December 21, 1961

To: JM, LWD

From: PR

Subject: Attached letter

When I was last in South Carolina, there was considerable discussion at the board meeting of the SCCHR concerning the need for some research into the problems of discrimination touching farmers and rural areas, specifically the matters of federal farm and home assistance programs. I believe this need to be valid and have discussed it with Jim. The attached letter relates to an effort by Ira Kaye, board member of SCCHR, to secure some sort of financing or authorization for a project in this area that he would handle. This situation requires no action by us, and the letter is attached for your information.

Please return letter. MM

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

December 12, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am glad that I was able to talk with you at some length relative to the possibility of using Mr. Ira Kaye in making a study of certain aspects of county organization in agricultural programs, especially in the case of the area redevelopment program. I sincerely think that Mr. Kaye could do a good job at fact-finding and see no reason why he should not be eligible to receive a salary in line with practices of SRC in financing the services of persons whose survey plans have been approved by you.

Our executive committee will meet on December 16. I shall attempt to secure from the committee approval for an allocation to cover printing costs of the data which hopefully Mr. Kaye will secure.

On last Friday afternoon I held a meeting with the 1961 statewide program committee, on which Mr. Kaye has served. I attempted to handle the matter of the proposal of which he had made, and about which you will remember. He had suggested setting up a project with office costs for bookkeeping, secretarial services, telephone, etc. Also he had suggested a part-time salary of $300.00 per month, as you doubtless recall. It was necessary for me to be quite forthright.

Because of the fact that I cannot conceive the type of fact-finding in which I would like to see Mr. Kaye use as being effective unless it carried over into action, I sincerely feel that we can and should develop an advisory committee to work with him. When I suggested this to him in correspondence he reacted negatively, suggesting such a committee would slow his work. I explained to him that any project would have to have lay people helping to set policies, etc. I explained that none of us is infallible and that persons employed are expected to bring ideas into an executive group for action and are likewise ~~are~~ responsible for carrying out that action. I hope that I got this over to him. Mr. Kaye tells me that he expects to pick up his two children in Atlanta this week. It may be that he will stop by the SRC office to talk with you and/or Dr. Dunbar. I felt that it was important to

give you this behind scene information in order that you and we would be together in the positions we take. If you think that our position needs to be modified, won't you let me know?

Thank you so much for attending our last Board Meeting. I am glad that you saw us as you did. You made a good presentation as always.

Sincerely,

Alice N. Spearman (mb)

Alice N. Spearman,
Executive Director

January 29, 1962

Les Dunbar

Jim Moss

This has to do with two requests for assistance with research on the Negro farmer in the South. While I would like to deal with them individually, somehow I can't seem to get their inter-connections out of my mind.

Lunch with Bob Thompson of the Atlanta Urban League brought out the possibility of, and the need for, pulling together information on the changing status of the Negro farmer in North Georgia. As I sensed his concern, it focused on this: with the gradual expansion of metropolitan Atlanta and the adjoining counties, does the Negro farmer stand to gain or lose in the transition? Is his present economic situation such that he may be pressured to sell his farm even at some considerable loss to himself? A next question appears to be -- given the knowledge of and access to Federal aid programs in agriculture, would he be encouraged to develop his farm on a more sound economic basis and thereby be encouraged to remain where he is? A third consideration may well involve informing the Negro farmers of ways in which a transfer of their land to other uses may be effected with a reasonable profit or gain to themselves. As you can well see, this is not a problem unique to North Georgia, but a problem confronting the absorption of rural populational elements into the burgeoning requirements of growing metropolitan centers -- particularly acute now in the more rural areas of the South.

We have committed ourselves to an enlarged research program in the Deep South and, I believe, in the rural South. This then is my proposal, and as I can most briefly state it the suggestion that I made to Bob Thompson. I suggest that we consider either making a grant ourselves or seek financing

from Federal or private sources to undertake a pilot study of the social and economic posture of the Negro farmer in a selected number of counties in North Georgia. This is where the memo becomes confusing. I would like simultaneously to support the request for research assistance to undertake a study of Federal agriculture programs in South Carolina made by the South Carolina Council. It may well be that we ought to include a small study carried out along these lines in either Mississippi or Alabama, or both. I see these studies being carried out programatically within a format similar to our employment studies but much more tightly supervised and carried out with the assistance of more knowledgeable persons in the field.

If you want to go into a few more specifics I would suggest that a small grant be given to an economist or sociologist in the area to draw up a working paper on the North Georgia counties that could then be used as the basis for discussion with people who might become involved in the project in South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama. What do you think about this? Shall we proceed along these lines?

SIXTH · FEDERAL RESERVE · DISTRICT ·

Monthly Review

Atlanta, Georgia
January • 1962

Also in this issue:

MIGRATORY FARM LABOR IN THE SOUTH'S ECONOMY

PARTIAL RECOVERY IN MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT

DISTRICT BUSINESS CONDITIONS

SIXTH DISTRICT STATISTICS

SIXTH DISTRICT INDEXES

Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta

Workers Leave Southern Farms

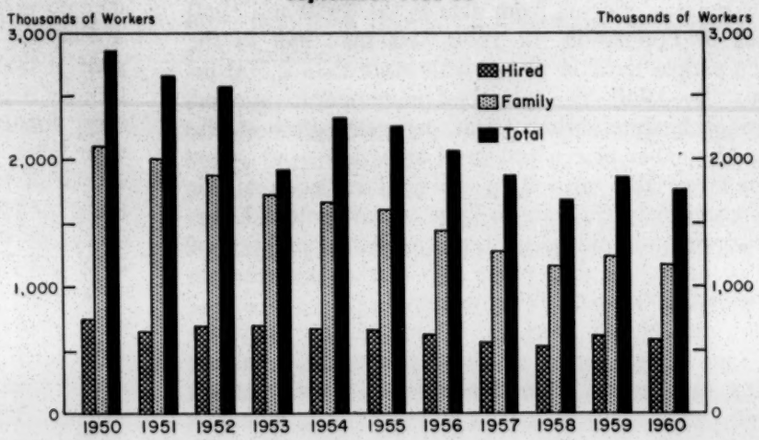
"Mechanical cotton pickers have become a boon to growers, but they are throwing hundreds of field hands out of work," reported a local newspaper recently. No clearer observation can be made about the South's present farm labor scene. Following World War II, increased farm mechanization hastened changes in agriculture, and the foremost of these was a cutback in the labor force. Between 1950 and 1960, total farm employment in District states shrank from an average of 1,738,000 workers to 1,083,000, or 38 percent. This decline suggests that farm workers must have changed both jobs and residences. Because future adjustments in the farm labor force will influence Southern economic growth, this pattern of change is of great significance.

Exodus Is Widespread

Total farm employment declined during the Fifties in all District states because there was a great loss of family workers. From 1950 to 1960 the number of these workers employed in September, when the farm work force reaches a peak, fell 43 percent. The contraction was greatest in areas where family labor figures prominently on small farms. As small units were abandoned or consolidated and the harvest operations for cotton and other crops were more completely mechanized, these workers were forced to seek other jobs. They also found it necessary to leave farms as cash cropping, heavily dependent upon labor, declined and livestock production increased.

Although many workers left because individually owned and operated small farms closed down, a number of them did so because farm tenancy was waning. This downtrend in tenancy—especially pro-

Workers on Farms in Sixth District States
September 1950-60



SOURCE: United States Department of Agriculture.

JM

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR

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New York 3, N. Y.
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1751 N Street N.W.
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NOrth 7-3979

Information Letter #18 February, 1962

Department of Labor's "Adverse Effect" Proposals Under Grower Attack

Under pressure from California growers, the U.S. Department of Labor seems to have weakened in its resolve to reduce the adverse effects of the massive importation of Mexican farm workers on the wages and job opportunities of domestic farm workers. During last year's Congressional debate on the program, all sides to the controversy agreed that Public Law 78 instructed the Secretary of Labor to prevent this adverse effect in administering the program. It was fully understood that his authority included the power to determine what wage rates must be offered by farm employers seeking Mexican braceros. President Kennedy reiterated this understanding in signing the bill extending Public Law 78 for two more years.

In line with this, the Department of Labor recently set 24¢ per carton as the rate which must be paid by winter lettuce growers seeking braceros. This order applied only to growers who asked the Department to supply them with imported contract workers.

At the rate of 24¢ per carton, lettuce workers could realize earnings ranging from about $1.25 to $2.00 an hour. This roughly approximates the wages that domestic workers used to get in the lettuce harvest before growers eliminated the piece rate a year ago in one of the series of moves which precipitated the 1961 Imperial Valley lettuce strike. An alternative was offered: growers wishing braceros could meet the terms of the union contract which had been signed by two of the lettuce growers.

In anticipation of the Labor Department's requiring higher wage offers, Imperial Valley growers recently raised their wage offers to $1.00 an hour. Last year, under pressure from the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee and the United Packinghouse Workers, growers had raised wages to about 95¢ per hour but rates had slipped back this past fall to about 85¢ an hour. Prior to last year, wages in the Imperial Valley had been frozen at 70¢ per hour for several years.

As soon as the rate of 24¢ per carton was announced, growers launched an all-out attack. A massive delegation of some 200 California growers flew to Washington in an attempt to pressure the Labor Department into backing down. The attempt appears to have been so far successful for the Department has since proposed an "alternative" for Imperial Valley lettuce growers. Growers seeking braceros may pay the 24¢ per carton or a flat rate of $1.00 an hour, with the final choice supposedly to be made by the workers. Since the overwhelmingly majority of lettuce workers are braceros, under constant threat of deportation, the chance of their actually exercising this choice seems extremely unlikely.

Thomas L. Pitts, Secretary-Treasurer of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, wired Labor Secretary Goldberg that the $1.00 an hour alternative "would make a mockery of the Kennedy Administration's expressed determination to enforce prior rights of employment for domestics."

Field Hearings on Public Law 78 Scheduled

For the first time, however, hearings have been scheduled by the Department in major bracero-employing areas to review wage rates and to determine what wages and conditions must be offered to prevent adverse effect. The first was the New Mexico hearing held in Albuquerque on February 9th. The purpose of the hearing was specifically to consider raising to 75¢ an hour the wage which must be offered by employers of braceros.

New Mexico employs a higher proportion of braceros than any other state. The Labor Department reported that in 1960, almost 75% of all seasonal agricultural employment in the state was held by braceros. 1960 wages in bracero-employing areas of New Mexico ranged from 50¢ an hour in Carlsbad and Hobbs-Lovington to between 60¢ and 75¢ an hour in Las Cruces. The state average hourly farm wage (without room or board) was 85¢ in 1960 and 87¢ in 1961. Comparable national averages were 97¢ in 1960 and 99¢ in 1961.

Many observers have stated that one essential objective test of whether growers were making genuine efforts to attract domestic workers would be the offering of wages at least equal to the state or national average farm wage, whichever is higher. They argue that unless growers offer competitive wages, the Secretary of Labor should refuse their requests for imported workers. The Department's proposal of 75¢ an hour falls far below average farm wages both in New Mexico and in the nation.

Hearings will be held on February 19th in Los Angeles and on February 21st in Sacramento on the Department's proposal that growers seeking braceros in California, Nevada, Oregon and Washington must pay at least $1.00 per hour. Again, the proposed rate is substantially lower than state average hourly farm wages. 1961 averages were: Nevada - $1.19; California - $1.27; Oregon - $1.23; and Washington $1.30. Of these states, only California relies heavily on bracero labor. At peak in 1960 nearly 75,000 Mexican Nationals worked in that state. The combined peak employment of braceros for the other three states in 1960 was 530.

Ten years ago the employment of Mexican workers under Public Law 78 in the Pacific Northwest was widespread. Wages were very low and living conditions in many places were intolerable. This changed as state and federal employment officers began making concerted efforts to ensure that farm employers were actually trying to attract domestic workers. When they found a spread in wages in the same crop area of from 65¢ to $1.00 an hour, they ruled that the former was not a wage conducive to successful recruitment and ordered growers to raise their wage offers. As wages rose, the "shortage" of domestic labor disappeared and bracero labor in the Northwest became rare.

The wage proposed by the Department to prevent adverse effect in Arizona is 95¢ per hour, four cents below the state and national 1961 averages of 99¢ per hour. Peak employment of Mexican Nationals in Arizona in 1960 amounted to nearly 14,500, over one-third of the total seasonal labor force there. The hearing in Arizona will be conducted in Phoenix on February 23rd.

Hearings for Texas are scheduled for February 26th at McAllen and February 28th at Midland. The proposed wage rate is 70¢ per hour, substantially lower than the 1961 statewide average hourly farm wage of 80¢. 1960 peak employment of workers

contracted under Public Law 78 in Texas exceeded the 100,000 mark.

Department of Labor hearings on Public Law 78 are expected later in Arkansas and Michigan.

Amendments to Public Law 78: Comparable Working Conditions

Other changes in the administration of Public Law 78 stem from the three minor amendments enacted last year. The first requires employers seeking braceros to provide domestic workers with the same field working conditions provided braceros. This relates to such things as safety, sanitation and free tools. It is not interpreted to cover such other conditions as the minimum work guarantee that braceros have, or their free transportation, housing, and subsistence payments.

"Temporary" Employment

The second amendment specifically limits braceros to temporary employment. This is being interpreted by the Department to mean braceros may not be employed for more than 180 days, or about half the year. Since the days worked need not be consecutive, the "temporary" period may exceed six months. This definition of "temporary" is particularly striking in view of the fact that the average domestic farm worker does not receive anything near 180 days of work per year. In 1960, the average farm worker found 139 days of farm employment.

Operation of Farm Machinery

The third amendment limits braceros to jobs not involving the operation or maintenance of self-propelled farm machinery. The Labor Department has interpreted "operation" of a machine to include any activity "essential to the full functioning of the machine," any activity, that is, except the manual loading and unloading of the machine, an activity somewhat essential to "full functioning" of the machine. Significantly, one of the two specific illustrations provided by the Department is the mechanical lettuce harvester, where the loading and unloading is done almost exclusively by braceros.

Union Drive Intensified

Delegates to the Convention of the AFL-CIO voted to expand and intensify the organizing drive in California's large-scale agriculture. The resolution not only pledges Federation support but "calls upon the affiliated unions of the AFL-CIO to support the organizational undertaking financially, by publicity in their newspapers and magazines, by cooperation in the legislative effort on behalf of the hired farm workers, and by direct coordination with the actual organization effort...."

Praising the decision editorially, The New York Times declared on December 16, 1961, "Organized labor has demonstrated a sense of social responsibility with its promise of expanded help for the country's two million migratory and seasonal farm workers, the most exploited members of the labor force." The Times concluded, "We hope Congress will show equal readiness next year to provide legislative safeguards for the wages, health, education and other needs of these neglected Americans."

Shortly before the AFL-CIO Convention, the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, held its first annual organizing conference, reportedly the first such meeting since 1936. Most of the hundreds attending were agricultural workers and the proceedings were conducted in both English and Spanish. Also

participating in the meeting were representatives of the Community Service Organization, the American Friends Service Committee, the Migrant Ministry and the Young Christian Workers.

Norman Thomas, a member of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor and an invited speaker, praised the delegates and pointed to the significance of their efforts for all Americans. He said: "You're fighting for yourselves and for your children and for your rights...but I think that [as] you go on to build a union, it's not just yourselves you're serving -- you're serving democracy, you're serving America at its best."

Bills Before Congress

Five Senate-passed bills, which would begin to end the exclusion of farm labor from most of the nation's social legislation, are now before the House. The bills must be passed by the House this year or fail. The five bills are:

CHILD LABOR - H.R. 5291: This bill would extend the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act with certain exceptions, to children under 14 years of age employed in agriculture outside of school hours. Under existing federal law, children of any age may be hired on farms except during school hours. The provisions would not apply to children working on their parents' farms or employed on farms within a 25-mile radius of their permanent residence with the written consent of parents.

MIGRANT EDUCATION - H.R. 5287: This bill would establish a four-part, five year program of federal assistance to states and local communities seriously affected by the seasonal influx of migratory families. Funds would help pay costs of (1) enrolling migrant children in regular school sessions; (2) providing special summer schools for migrant children; (3) state and interstate planning and coordination in this field; and (4) operating pilot projects of fundamental and practical education for adult migrants.

MIGRANT HEALTH - H.R. 5285: This would authorize federal grants up to $3 million annually to stimulate and support local health programs in areas employing large numbers of migrant farm workers. Grants would be to public or non-profit agencies to help pay the cost of (1) setting up and operating family clinics, and (2) special projects to improve health services for and health conditions of migratory farm families.

REGISTRATION OF FARM LABOR CONTRACTORS - H.R. 7812: This bill would require the registration with the Secretary of Labor of any person who, for a fee, recruits 10 or more migrant workers at any one time during the calendar year for interstate employment. Their license may be revoked for, among other things, (1) knowingly misrepresenting to workers wage and conditions of employment; (2) failing without justification to perform agreements entered into with farm employers; (3) failing to comply with the safe transportation requirements of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The bill requires contractors to give workers at the time of recruiting information as to the area of employment; crops and work operations; transportation, housing and insurance provided; and wage rates to be paid. If the contractor himself pays the workers, he must keep detailed payroll records for each worker.

PUBLIC ADVISORY COUNCIL - H.R. 5288: This bill would establish a National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor, composed of 15 members appointed by the President for a period of five years. Four of the members would represent the

workers, four the farmers. The remainder would be public officials and private citizens with experience and knowledge of the problems of migrants.

Other Bills Await Action in Both Houses

The remainder of the bills introduced last year by Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., and Representative Herbert Zelenko have not been acted on by either House. Here is a brief description of these bills:

S.1122 - H.R. 5292 would set a minimum wage for large-scale farms relying heavily on hired labor.
S.1128 would protect the right of farm workers to organize.
S.1129 - H.R. 5290 would provide domestic migrants with improved hiring procedures and employment guarantees similar to those extended to Mexican farm workers.
S.1127 - H.R. 5284 would provide direct loans to growers' associations, local governments and other non-profit organizations for migrant housing.
S.1131 - H.R. 5293 would extend funds to help maintain child day-care centers for migrants.

Redevelopment Program

Rural development suffered a major setback in January. A program to retrain 1,200 unemployed farm workers in Mississippi as tractor drivers was dropped at the last minute, mainly because of opposition from the state Farm Bureau. The program would have been under the Area Redevelopment Administration, with funds coming from the U.S. Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. When initially announced, the project was described as "the most comprehensive training program approved to date under the ARA." The Mississippi Employment Service had estimated that over half of the 50,000 rural males in the 16-county Yazoo Delta area between the ages of 20 and 49 were unemployed or underemployed, many because of increased mechanization of farm operations.

A much smaller ARA project has been inaugurated in New Jersey. There, 25 farm workers are taking a 16-week course in the operation, maintenance and repair of farm equipment. The New Jersey average hourly farm wage in 1961 was $1.16. With their new skills, trainees hope to find jobs in South Jersey paying about $2.50 per hour. Trainees spend about four hours a day in class and are paid weekly subsistence payments, based on state unemployment payments.

New Reprint

The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, with the Consumers League of New Jersey, has reprinted the articles on migrant life by Dale Wright which appeared in the New York World-Telegram and Sun last August. Mr. Wright wrote the series after working his way up the eastern seaboard as a migrant. Copies may be ordered singly or in bulk. There is no charge but contributions to help cover costs are welcomed.

SIXTH · FEDERAL RESERVE · DISTRICT ·

Monthly Review

Atlanta, Georgia
February • 1962

Also in this issue:

FINANCING BANK LOAN EXPANSION

DISTRICT BUSINESS CONDITIONS

SIXTH DISTRICT STATISTICS

SIXTH DISTRICT INDEXES

Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta

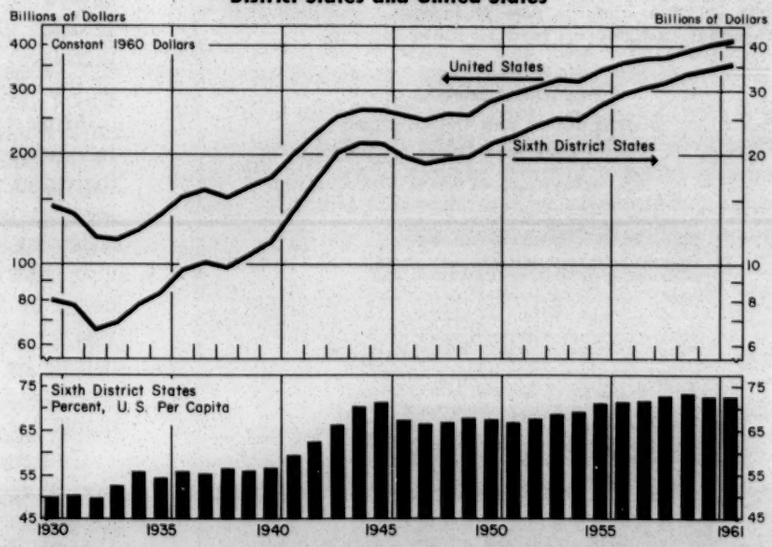
Southern Income Growth and a Changed Economic Environment

A review of income developments during 1961 in this part of the South demonstrates once again how closely they are tied to those throughout the United States. When early last year personal income in the nation began to recover from the effects of the 1960-61 recession, so did income in this area. By the end of 1961, according to preliminary estimates, income in both the nation as a whole and in the six states served by the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta had increased enough to bring the year's total to an amount greater than 1960's. In the United States, personal income rose 3.6 percent; in District states, 3.9 percent.

The resemblance between the pattern of income change in the nation and in the South is probably more significant than minor statistical differences. Minor differences could be accounted for solely by the nature of the data. The figures are estimates and, like all estimates, are subject to some statistical variance. Moreover, both the state estimates for 1961 made by this Bank and the national ones made by the United States Department of Commerce are based on partial and preliminary data and are subject to change when more comprehensive data become available.

The similarity between the rate of income growth during 1961 in this part of the South and in the nation means, of course, that at best this area made no immediate progress in solving the long-range problem of raising its income to the national level. The preliminary estimates

Personal Income, 1930-61
District States and United States



With economic recovery, personal income expanded during 1961 in District states. Per capita income as a percent of the nation's was the same as in 1960, according to preliminary estimates.

BU
3/22

Invite Thompson?

March 21, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Kaye:

We will be very happy to schedule our meeting with you on April 2, here in our offices. Let's plan on a morning meeting and you can let us know the hour of your arrival at your convenience.

I am looking forward to seeing you, then, on April 2.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

OK for 2nd

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

?

write Thompson

20 March 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Moss:

I have delayed answering your letter of 6 March since this is a very crowded time of the year for me and it is almost impossible to fix a day on which I can travel to Atlanta. However, I find now that it is possible for me to see you during the morning or early afternoon of April 2nd. Please let me know whether or not this is suitable. Any alternate date would have to be toward the end of April.

Hoping to hear from you soon I remain,

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:sgl

March 6, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
102½ Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Kaye:

I have both read and discussed with Les Dunbar and Paul Rilling your proposal that we do some fact finding on Federal Agency expenditures to predominantly rural areas; to both white and Negro residents, and the extent to which Negroes have availed themselves of the services of these agencies.

I am favorably disposed to carrying out such a project within a framework recently used in employment studies conducted by us in four southern cities. Here we used volunteer services of local Councils on Human Relations to do the necessary spade work for these surveys and provided a small honorarium (approximately $250.00 to the individual coordinators of these projects. Two of these surveys are included with this letter.

We are interested in the posture of the Negro farmer in the rural areas of the South and would welcome an opportunity to conduct with you a pilot study yielding both a method and some preliminary findings in this important area of economic activity among Negroes. Should such an approach seem suitable to you, I wonder if you would propose a date, and perhaps an alternate one, on which you could come to Atlanta and we could sit down to work out some of the essentials.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
enc. Chattanooga & Houston Studies.
cc: Mrs. Alice Spearman

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Memo file
Ira Kaye

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

April 10, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Ira:

We have given considerable thought to your visit here and to the investigation of Negro participation in the benefits of federal agricultural programs that we discussed. As we said to you, our special interest at this time will be in relation to the voting project which we are launching. We have decided that we would like to undertake, with your help, research in South Carolina if it could be satisfactorily designed and if effective means of accomplishing it could be assured. As we see it, the proposed study would embrace the following:

(1) You would identify all federal agricultural programs being administered in the state of South Carolina (including federal assistance to agricultural research). You would attempt to ascertain the dollar investment of the Federal Government in each of these programs, at least for the current year.

(2) You would describe, succinctly and adequately, how each program is administered.

(3) As revealed by public records, or as generally a matter of public knowledge, or as otherwise documented, you would ascertain (a) the degree of Negro employment in these federal programs; (b) the existence of segregation in programs financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government; (c) the exclusion, if any, of Negroes from programs financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government; (d) the degree of participation of Negro farmers in decision-making and advisory committees which help

administer federal benefits.

(4) You would describe and analyze such other problems, as may feasibly be researched, that illustrate the importance of federal benefits to Negro farmers or which illustrate the discriminatory administration of federal benefits, if such exist. For example, the question of whether soil bank payments and crop allotments are fairly distributed between white and Negro farmers or whether Negro farmers receive such payments and allotments in proper ratio to their eligibility. When we say "feasible" we mean research that can be carried on within the budget of this project and expeditiously.

(5) As the most important part of the project, we would like for you to recruit, as discussed, the needed number of Negro lawyers to conduct interviews with Negro farmers in a sample of counties in South Carolina in which there is both high Negro population and low Negro voter participation. Specifically, this could be confined to the approximately nine counties of the state in which the majority of residents are Negro and less than 10% of the registered voters.

The project should be thoroughly discussed by you with the interviewers, with the help of a member of our staff. Generally, the interviewers would seek to find out from a representative sample of Negro farmers in each county (perhaps 20 heads of families) the following:

(a) the degree of their dependence on federal benefits;

(b) what, in actual practice, they must do to apply for and obtain these benefits; whom must they see, etc.;

(c) are they registered to vote, or have they at at any time attempted to register to vote? If registered, do they vote?;

(d) If not registered or voting, why not? Specifically, does the farmer himself see any relationship between his non-participation and his need for federal assistance?

We would further expect you to submit to us at the conclusion of the study all of the interviewers' reports,

together with a memorandum from you which covers the matter set forth above in paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 4. At your option, we would be pleased to receive a memorandum from you summarizing and presenting the conclusions of the interviewers.

We would be glad to have your comments regarding this approach and if it is generally satisfactory to you, we would hope that you might undertake it with our collaboration. We are prepared to invest a maximum of $2,000 in this project, assuming that it can be completed by mid-summer of 1962. If this is agreeable to you, we would like to have from you a budget to show how funds would be allocated to the various needs of the project.

It would be our hope that the South Carolina Council on Human Relations would join in sponsorship of this project, including any subsequent publication. It would be hoped also, that the South Carolina Council on Human Relations might contribute to it either financially, or by services, or by both.

The purpose of this project is to ascertain whether federal agricultural programs, as administered in a Deep South state, constitute a factor which reduces or frustrates the free exercise of the franchise of Negro citizens. We would hope to release the findings of the study promptly, as a special report, and also use them in connection with our later publication program under the Voter Education Project.

Thank you for the letter of April 4. I believe that most of the material is incorporated in this letter.

Best personal wishes,

Sincerely yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
cc: Wiley Branton
Paul Rilling

April 30, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
Attorney at Law
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Ira:

Thank you for your note bringing us up-to-date on the progress of the project. I just wanted you to know that we are looking forward as much as you are to the initiation of this study and we will be anxious to receive word from you some time this week.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

9 Jro

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

Telephone SP-3-3040

24 April 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention Mr. James A. Moss

Dear Mr. Moss:

I suppose my delay in answering your last letter has puzzled you. However, unfortunately, it arrived right in the smack of income tax season which had me quite busy and my other attorneys as well.

The limitation on the funds presented a sufficient problem for me to consult with them once more before we could give you a final answer. Two of them were up to see me yesterday and the third one will be contacted presently by one of them. I expect to get a firm answer later in the week. We may have to shuffle some of the counties around to make it possible to do the job with a minimum of travel. The counties, however, will still be of the type we discussed at your office. I feel reasonably certain that the project will get off the ground and to this end I have started to collect some primary research material.

With kindest personal regards to you, Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Rilling I remain,

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:sgl

April 10, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Ira:

We have given considerable thought to your visit here and to the investigation of Negro participation in the benefits of federal agricultural programs that we discussed. As we said to you, our special interest at this time will be in relation to the voting project which we are launching. We have decided that we would like to undertake, with your help, research in South Carolina if it could be satisfactorily designed and if effective means of accomplishing it could be assured. As we see it, the proposed study would embrace the following:

(1) You would identify all federal agricultural programs being administered in the state of South Carolina (including federal assistance to agricultural research). You would attempt to ascertain the dollar investment of the Federal Government in each of these programs, at least for the current year.

(2) You would describe, succinctly and adequately, how each program is administered.

(3) As revealed by public records, or as generally a matter of public knowledge, or as otherwise documented, you would ascertain (a) the degree of Negro employment in these federal programs; (b) the existence of segregation in programs financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government; (c) the exclusion, if any, of Negroes from programs financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government; (d) the degree of participation of Negro farmers in decision-making and advisory committees which help

administer federal benefits.

(4) You would describe and analyze such other problems, as may feasibly be researched, that illustrate the importance of federal benefits to Negro farmers or which illustrate the discriminatory administration of federal benefits, if such exist. For example, the question of whether soil bank payments and crop allotments are fairly distributed between white and Negro farmers or whether Negro farmers receive such payments and allotments in proper ratio to their eligibility. When we say "feasible" we mean research that can be carried on within the budget of this project and expeditiously.

(5) As the most important part of the project, we would like for you to recruit, as discussed, the needed number of Negro lawyers to conduct interviews with Negro farmers in a sample of counties in South Carolina in which there is both high Negro population and low Negro voter participation. Specifically, this could be confined to the approximately nine counties of the state in which the majority of residents are Negro and less than 10% of the registered voters.

The project should be thoroughly discussed by you with the interviewers, with the help of a member of our staff. Generally, the interviewers would seek to find out from a representative sample of Negro farmers in each county (perhaps 20 heads of families) the following:

(a) the degree of their dependence on federal benefits;

(b) what, in actual practice, they must do to apply for and obtain these benefits; whom must they see, etc.;

(c) are they registered to vote, or have they at at any time attempted to register to vote? If registered, do they vote?;

(d) If not registered or voting, why not? Specifically, does the farmer himself see any relationship between his non-participation and his need for federal assistance?

We would further expect you to submit to us at the conclusion of the study all of the interviewers' reports,

together with a memorandum from you which covers the matter set forth above in paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 4. At your option, we would be pleased to receive a memorandum from you summarizing and presenting the conclusions of the interviewers.

We would be glad to have your comments regarding this approach and if it is generally satisfactory to you, we would hope that you might undertake it with our collaboration. We are prepared to invest a maximum of $2,000 in this project, assuming that it can be completed by mid-summer of 1962. If this is agreeable to you, we would like to have from you a budget to show how funds would be allocated to the various needs of the project.

It would be our hope that the South Carolina Council on Human Relations would join in sponsorship of this project, including any subsequent publication. It would be hoped also, that the South Carolina Council on Human Relations might contribute to it either financially, or by services, or by both.

The purpose of this project is to ascertain whether federal agricultural programs, as administered in a Deep South state, constitute a factor which reduces or frustrates the free exercise of the franchise of Negro citizens. We would hope to release the findings of the study promptly, as a special report, and also use them in connection with our later publication program under the Voter Education Project.

Thank you for the letter of April 4. I believe that most of the material is incorporated in this letter.

Best personal wishes,

Sincerely yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
cc: Wiley Branton
Paul Rilling

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

4 April 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention Mr. James A. Moss

Dear Mr. Moss:

As I promised I am dropping you a short note concerning the project we discussed while I was in Atlanta. It is my understanding now that we are to limit our study to nine counties where the Negroes form a majority of the population and where there are less than 10% of eligible Negroes registered to vote. We are to endeavor to discover whether there is any correlation between this apparent lack of interest in the ballot and the failure of the locally administered federally impacted programs to provide a fair share of such programs for Negro aid and assistance. This will include such programs as those administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Rural Electrification Administration, VA, Selective Services System, military installations where applicable, etc.

I will be responsible for coordinating the research and the administration of the project and will, in cooperation with your office, draft the interim and final reports.

I will be assisted by three attorneys, each of whom will be responsible for three counties. Their technics will involve interview of about 20 people in each county; legal research of the number and type of loans to individual farmers in each of these counties; analysis into the background of members of local Farm Home Administration committees, etc.

I will conduct similar research in some of the nine counties myself where I feel that I am more familiar with the matters to be gleaned from the public records.

I believe that a flat sum to be awarded to each participant through this office is the best way to compensate professional men engaged in this endeavor. Considering matters of overhead, travel and honorary, I believe there should be budgeted $600.00 for each of the participating attorneys and $800.00 for myself.

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

Telephone SP-3-3040

It was a pleasure meeting you on this trip and I appreciate the time that you, Mr. Dunbar and Paul Rilling gave to me while I was in Atlanta.

With kindest personal regards I remain,

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:sgl

JM ✓
WB ✓

DRAFT

We have given considerable thought to your visit here this week and to the investigation of Negro participation in the benefits of Federal agricultural programs that we discussed. As we said to you, our special interest at this time will be in relation to the voting project which we are launching. We have decided that we would like to undertake, with your help, research in South Carolina if it could be satisfactorily designed and if effective means of accomplishing it could be assured. As we see it, the proposed study would embrace the following:

(1) You would identify all Federal agricultural programs being administered in the state of South Carolina (including Federal assistance to agricultural research.) You would attempt to ascertain the dollar investment of the Federal Government in each of these programs, at least for the current year.

(2) You would describe, ~~briefly~~ accurately and ~~but~~ adequately, how each program is administered.

(3) As revealed by public records, or as generally a matter of public knowledge, or as otherwise documented, you would ascertain (a) the degree of Negro employment in these Federal programs; (b) the existence of segregation in programs ~~&~~ financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government; (c) the exclusion, if any, of Negroes from programs financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government; (d) the ~~&~~ degree of participation of Negro farmers in decision-making ~~or~~ and advisory committees which help administer Federal benefits.

(4) You would describe and ~~&~~ analyze such other problems, as may be feasibly researched, that illustrate the importance of Federal benefits to Negro farmers or which illustrate the discriminatory administration of Federal benefits, if such exists. For example, the question of whether soil bank ~~&~~ payments and crop allotments are fairly distributed between white and Negro farmers or whether Negro farmers receive such payments and allotments in proper ratio to their eligibility. When we say "feasible," we mean research that can be carried on within

the budget of this project and expeditiously.

(5) As the most ~~so~~ important part of the project, we would like for you to, ~~as discussed,~~ recruit, as discussed, the needed number of Negro lawyers to conduct interviews with Negro farmers in a sample of counties in South Carolina in which there is both high Negro population and low Negro & voter participation. Specifically, this could be confined to the approximately nine counties of the State in which the majority of residents are Negro and less than 10% of the registered voters.

The project should be thoroughly discussed by you with the interviewers, ~~by you~~ with the help of a member of our staff. Generally, the interviewers would seek to find out ~~&&&&~~ from a representative ~~&&&&&&~~ sample of Negro farmers in each county (perhaps 20 heads of families) the following:
(a) the degree of their dependence on Federal benefits;
(b) what, in actual practice, they must do to apply for and obtain these benefits; whom must they see, etc.; (c) are they registered to vote~~&&&&~~, or have they at any time been registered to vote, or have they at any time attempted to register to vote? ~~&&&&&&&&~~ If registered, do they vote?; (d) If not, why not? Specifically does the farmer himself see any relationship between his non-participation and his need for Federal assistance?

We would further expect you to submit to us at the conclusion of the study all of the interviewers' reports, ~~to you,~~ together with a memorandum from you which ~~&&&&&&~~ covers the ~~materials~~ matter set forth above in paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 4. At your option, we would be pleased to receive a memorandum from you summarizing and presenting the conclusions of the interviewers.

We would be glad to have your comments regarding this approach and if it is generally satisfactory to you, we would hope that you might undertake it with our collaboration. We are prepared to ~~&&&&&&&&~~ invest a maximum of $2,000 in this project, assuming that it can be ~~&&&&~~ completed by mid-summer 1962. If this is agreeable to you, we would like to have from you a ~~brief~~ budget to show how ~~this~~ funds would be allocated

to the various needs of the project.

It would be our hope that the ~~southern~~ South Carolina Council on Human Relations would join in sponsorship of this project, including any subsequent publication. It would be hoped also, that the South Carolina Council on Human Relations might contribute to it either financially, or by services, or by both.

The purpose of this project is to ascertain whether Federal agricultural programs, as administered in a Deep South state, constitutes a factor which reduces or frustrates the free exercise of the franchise of ~~the~~ Negro citizens. We would hope to release the findings of the study promptly, as a special report, and also use them in connection with our later publication program under the Voter Education Project.

cc: Mrs. Alice Spearman
~~Miss Fay Bennett~~

LD
JM

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

8 May 1962

Mr. James A. Ross
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jim:

I finally have a firm agreement from all of my cooperating attorneys and we will get to work on the project as outlined in your letter of 10 April. I will send you interim reports and, as soon as we are sufficiently on the road to require a little tightening of our organization, I will contact you. It may be advisable at that time for you to make a trip to South Carolina and go over the material with us. As a matter of fact, if you are going to be in this vicinity in the near future, please let me know ahead of time so we can all get together.

Regards to the staff.

Sincerely,

Ira Kaye

IK:sel

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LD
JM

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

24 May 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jim:

Answering your letter of 22 May, this is the information which you probably want.

Ernest A. Finney, Jr., is responsible for Lee, Clarendon and Williamsburg Counties; estimated travel expenses, $250.00; miscellaneous and overhead type of expenses, $50.00; honorarium, $200.00.

Newton Pough is responsible for Calhoun, Bamberg and Barnwell counties; estimated travel expenses, $250.00; miscellaneous and overhead type of expenses, $50.00; honorarium, $200.00.

Charles E. Washington, Jr., is responsible for Jasper, Hampton and Allendale counties; estimated travel expenses, $250.00; miscellaneous and overhead type of expenses, $50.00; honorarium $200.00.

My estimated budget will be miscellaneous, $100.00; travel, $150.00 and honorarium, $250.00.

Hoping that this will supply you with the information you need I remain,

Sincerely,

Ira Kaye

Ira Kaye

IK:sgl

Lee
Bamberg
Barnwell
Jasper

Elgefield
The Connch
Pick up

pd 2

May 22, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
Attorney at Law
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Ira:

Charge this letter to my not handling the necessary financial details of this project with proper dispatch. If you would simply estimate what you feel would reasonably be included under fees and travel expenses under the names of the various men engaged in the project with you, and estimate the balance under a miscellaneous account it would be most helpful to us.

Also, I think we would need to know and approve the list of counties that will be used in the survey. I think that once we get this information all of the necessary preliminary work will be taken care of.

Cordially,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

17 May 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
3 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jim:

I am somewhat puzzled by your request for a budget to cover this project. The best way to handle this would be to make payments of $500.00 each, to myself, Newton Pough, Ernest A. Finney, Jr., and Charles E. Washington, Jr. Each of us will absorb all travel, transportation, per diem, and miscellaneous expenses from this stipend. If, as the project is about to be terminated, you want a breakdown of the actual amount of travel and days spent, etc., by each of us, I will be glad to have such data available for your records.

My recommendation is that you earmark the $2000.00 and rely on me to inform you when to issue checks. Our present plan is not to have any payment made until the finished job is submitted. In other words, as a man finishes his three counties and submits all the data and raw materials to me, I would write to you and ask that he be paid. It is conceivable that one of the men might run into an emergency situation where he might need an advance. At which time I would discuss the matter with you and you could use your own judgment as to whether to issue a check or not. The only thing that I would want to be sure of is that payment would be made fairly promptly after the completion of the job.

Hoping that this is satisfactory I remain,

Sincerely,

Ira Kaye

IK:sgl

May 14, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
Attorney at Law
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Ira:

Is it possible for you to provide us with a budget for the project estimating amounts for the various operations involved? We will need this before we proceed further from this end.

Thanks for your note and I'm glad to hear that things are going well.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

LD
WB
JM

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

Telephone SP-3-3040

Does this satisfy terms of our letter?

8 May 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jim:

I finally have a firm agreement from all of my cooperating attorneys and we will get to work on the project as outlined in your letter of 10 April. I will send you interim reports and, as soon as we are sufficiently on the road to require a little tightening of our organization, I will contact you. It may be advisable at that time for you to make a trip to South Carolina and go over the material with us. As a matter of fact, if you are going to be in this vicinity in the near future, please let me know ahead of time so we can all get together.

Regards to the staff.

Sincerely,

Ira Kaye

IK:sgl

This does not satisfy our requirements. We asked for a budget showing how the funds would be allocated to the various needs of the project.

WAB

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1962

JM
Please reply

30 May 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have gone over our list of counties particularly checking table 2 of volume 1 (Voting 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report). Each of our counties have a majority of Negroes so they qualify on that count. The 1958 figure on registration of the non-white show Barnwell with 11.1, Jasper with 14.9, and Lee with 11.9. These are the only three counties with over 10% of Negro Registration. However, my informants tell me that the 1960 figures would show a decrease in Negro registration in these counties rather than an increase. In 1958 re-registration was required as a more permanent type of registration was put into effect. Many Negroes in the rural areas could not or did not register for the permanent certificates. At any rate these counties are not so much over the 10% mark as to make them atypical. I am, therefore, going ahead on the nine counties that I wrote to you about and will promise to see if we can include McCormick in as another county if it is at all feasible as the project generates some enthusiasm.

With kindest personal regards I remain,

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

Ira Kaye

IK:sgl

Declared registration went into effect, I believe, in 1958

June 1, 1962

LD JM

Resume of conference call with Ira Kaye

In a telephone conversation with Ira Kaye on May 29, he reports that work has begun on the South Carolina project. The background information is being pulled together by Ira Kaye and his staff. (See Items 1 through 5 on letter dated April 10, 1962.)

Les and I discussed with Ira the fact that out of the nine counties presently selected by Ira Kaye for inclusion in the survey, only five of them, according to our statistics, meet the criteria of more than 50 per cent Negro population and less than 10 per cent registered voters. We agreed that all of these nine counties, however, were close enough to the criteria specified to constitute the sample counties with perhaps the inclusion of McCormick county because of its special significance in South Carolina.

According to Ira, all of the preliminary research should be completed by June 15, at which time he would like for me or some other member of the staff to sit down with him and the interviewers to review the materials collected so far and to agree on both the form and the content of the questions to be used in the interviewing stages of the project.

I suspect that at that time, too, we ought to agree on a final reporting date on this research.

JAM:jl

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

June 6, 1962

To: Jim Moss, Leslie Dunbar

From: Wiley Branton

Subject: South Carolina project (Ira Kaye)

I note from Jim's memo of June 1 that Ira Kaye expects the preliminary research for the South Carolina project to be completed by June 15. As soon as this information becomes available I would like an opportunity to go over it with Jim Moss prior to his meeting with the interviewers who will conduct the field work.

N.B.B.

WAB/mr

6-27-62

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

WB
JM

19 June 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jim:

Although the project is going on with more than deliberate speed, there has been a delay in getting the material in shape to be sent to you. Finney and I had to go to Washington last week on a school desegregation matter and Pough required some minor surgery which put him out of action for a week. However, we are having a conference in my office tomorrow afternoon and I believe we will soon be ready to have you in on the discussions.

While I was in Washington, I took an extra day interviewing various agencies within the Department of Agriculture and I came back with quite a bit of information and some new insights into the problem. As a matter of fact some of the technical aspects of the information concerning the election of the agriculture stabilization and commodity section committeemen require my men to go back to their counties for a recheck.

As an example of what we are finding, however, I am enclosing the loan breakdowns for Jasper and Hampton Counties. Since I also have the data on the entire State, we will be able to show that these counties fall far below even the statewide distribution of loans.

With kindest personal regards I remain,

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:sgl
Encl.

Memo from JAMES A. MOSS

① Refer to letter of April 10th

- Leaves you draft a series of questions that will be used uniformly by all interviewers

- After I have looked completed may we go over the data,

When will you begin

Approximate date of completion

By telephone conference May 28

Mid-June for background [redacted] Jewish ch

Hershey 29 - Rondstone next Saturday June 2nd

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia
Printers & Lithographers • TRinity 5-7081

Jim -

Pls discuss with Wiley.
I would like to see
Jack Minnis go over &
work with them, on 7/7 if
possible

Forney will be here for
NAACP Conference on Monday -

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

26 June 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jim:

Saturday afternoon all of the project workers and myself had a lengthy conference on the results so far. It was agreed that a certain tightening of some of the data should be made before sending it off to your office. However, you can take my word for it that it is in fine shape and we are ready to go ahead with the interviews. I am writing you now so that you can be thinking ahead as to whether or not you want to come in to South Carolina and work up the questions and techniques you want them to use in the questionnaire phase of the project or whether you want me or any of us to come down to Atlanta to work on it with you. We have reached a peak of enthusiasm where we would like to carry through and finish this in the next few weeks.

If you want to come to South Carolina, may I suggest that you make it on a Saturday. I will start my two weeks tour of active duty at Shaw Air Force Base on the 1st of July but I will be free Saturday during that interval so will each of my confreres. Similarly, if you want me to make a trip to Atlanta, I would like to make it on one of those weekends.

The statistical results will paint a much blacker picture than what I dreamed when I had this project in mind. For reasons yet to be explored, the Negro participation in the Federal lending programs in the Department of Agriculture in these areas, at least, approach the nominal.

Hoping to hear from you soon I remain,

Sincerely,

Ira Kaye

IK:sgl

July 9, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Wiley A. Branton

FROM: Jack Minnis

RE: South Carolina Project

I met with Ira Kaye and his associates on Saturday, July 7, in Sumpter, South Carolina. Present were Ernest A. Finney, Jr., who is responsible for Lee, Clarendon and Williamsburg Counties; Newton Pough, North Boulevard Street, Orangeburg, who is responsible for Calhoun, Bamberg and Barnwell Counties; and Charles E. Washington, Jr., and Alfonso Pendergrass from Beaufort (the latter is Washington's partner and is participating in the project), who are responsible for Jasper, Hampton and Allendale Counties.

We discussed the project at some length, and I get the impression that all of Kaye's associates understand that the purpose of the project is to determine any relationship which may exist between Negro political participation and the manner in which Federal farm programs are administered in the nine counties and in South Carolina as a whole. We worked up a series of questions which will be administered by the attorneys to twenty farmers in each of the nine counties. The farmers to be interviewed will be selected by each attorney, using as a criterion of selection the information he is able to derive about the farmers of each county. Selection of respondents will be designed to maximize information rather than to randomize a sample. The reason for this is that we could not possibly interview a sufficient number of farmers in each county to make a random selection at all meaningful statistically. Thus, it appears advisable to point the interview program toward getting interviews from those farmers who are more likely to be able to give us the information we want.

Kaye will be out of town for the next two weeks, but the lawyers feel that they should be able to complete the interview program during his absence and that all of the data should be in Kaye's office by August 1. We should be able to expect a final report on the project from Kaye, along with all of the project data, shortly after August 1.

One of the lawyers, Charles Washington, says that he will try using a tape recorder for his interviews. If he succeeds, we may want to think about this mode of interviewing for any further projects of this kind. All of the attorneys agree that the best mode of reporting on the interviews will be a narrative summation of the interview content derived by reconstruction of the interview from notes taken during it. At the completion of the project then, we should have 180 such narrative reports.

The lawyers have asked for a $100 advance each as soon as possible. If I understand correctly Moss's letter to Kaye of May 22, such an advance would be within the terms of the original agreement.

JM:gwc

July 9, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth H. Alexander

FROM: Jack Minnis

Leslie Dunbar asked me to ask you if you would issue these checks from SRC funds.

July 9, 1962

Mr. Ernest A. Finney, Jr.
Post Office Box 802
Sumpter, South Carolina

Dear Ernest:

We are enclosing checks in the amount of $100 each payable to yourself, Newton Pough, and Charles E. Washington, Jr.

As discussed in our July 7 conference with Ira Kaye, these checks represent an advance against the agreed upon stipend for the Voter Education Project research you are doing.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

Enclosures: 3 checks for $100 each

July 24, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Ira:

I am enclosing your check in the amount of $100 along with the papers that Finney left here two weeks or so ago.

If these are not the papers which you called about, let me know and I will look again.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

Enclosure: Check for $100

Farmer file

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

Telephone SP-3-3040

July 23, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

McManus?

Att: Mr. McManus

Dear Mr. McManus:

I have just returned from my tour of duty at the National War College and am drawing together all of the data concerning our Nine County Project. Mr. Finney informs me that the interveiws are going on very well and that they will soon be completed.

During my stay in Washington, I discovered that there is a growing feeling within the Department of Agriculture that the local committee concept has not worked out. Our project, therefore, may will be another blow to this committee concept. It takes on a timelessness not only in the civil rights field but in the administrative and economic field as well.

Mr. Finney also told me that you had mailed him three checks, not including mine. He understood that you were mailing mine direct to me. Since I did not receive it, I wondered if it had gone astray. I would appreciate it if you would look into this at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:rd

July 24, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth H. Alexander

FROM: Jack Minnis

Please issue a check in the amount of $100 payable to Ira Kaye as an advance against the grant which supports the South Carolina Farm Project.

As with the checks which were issued a week or so ago on this Project, this one, as I understand it, is to come from SRC funds.

JM:gwc

July 26, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Ira:

Now that you have refreshed my memory, I do recall the discussion about the list of loans and whether or not I should take it with me. I remember your caveat, but it seems to me that I heeded the warning and left the papers with you.

Please do not regard this as an attempt to avoid responsibility for losing the papers if indeed the papers are lost. I have searched our files diligently and cannot find them, and I do not recall ever having had them.

Please let us know with all deliberate speed anything that you learn about the fate of the papers.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:gwc

Farmer

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

July 25, 1962

Mr. Jack Minnis
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jack:

Thanks for your prompt response but these are not the papers that I have reference to. Washington had an entire list of all of the loans and a full background report on Jasper, Hampton and Allendale Counties. It is my present memory that you took it with you with my caveat, that it was my only copy and that you would have copies made and return it to me. The basic report was on white legal size paper, if that will help you in your search. I'm writing to Washington today as he might have additional copies. If he has, I will write you so you can call off your search.

Kindest personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:rd

Farmer file

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

July 27, 1962

Mr. Jack Minnis
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jack:

The panic party is over. I have located the missing papers in another file. I am writing to each of the attorneys today asking a definite date on which the interviews will be completed, transactable and in my hands. I hope that you get the project finished shortly thereafter.

Kindest personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

Ira Kaye

IK:rd

August 6, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
Attorney at Law
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Ira:

I am enclosing the land distribution breakdown which you asked for in your letter of August 1.

We have voter registration figures as of April 30, 1962. The number of Negroes registered in each of your counties is:

Allendale	220
Bamberg	587
Barnwell	714
Clarendon	525
Jasper	678
Lee	1160
Sumter	3[illegible]
Williamsburg	480
York	3500

The statistics which you have assembled, as you note, seem to bear out our original hypothesis about discriminatory administration of the Federal Farm Programs. I regret that I have not had the time to review them thoroughly.

By the way, you will note on the land distribution breakdown that McCormick and Edgefield counties are in place of Barnwell and Bamberg. This was due to a misunderstanding at this end. If you need the figures for Barnwell and Bamberg let me know and I will get them to you right away.

We hope to hear from you soon that the interviewing has been completed and that a firm date can be set when we can expect all of the data in this office.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl
Enc. 1

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

August 1, 1962

Mr. Jack Minnis
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jack:

After some effort, I was able to get the State Director's Office of Farmers Home Administration to work with me and get up the complete statistical analysis of our nine county project. I am sending you a complete list for your initial study and comments, if any, on how you want us to use these documents in our final report.

Studying the data, county by county, you will note that Allendale and Williamsburg counties have a substantial amount of operating loans. Williamsburg County has the only Negro Farmers Home Administration assistant supervisor in our nine county area. He has been very diligient in getting assistance for Negro farmers in Williamsburg County. He has not been able to do anything in the field of farm aquisition and farm home loans, as you will see. I am having Washington go over the Allendale situation to see if there is atypical. Except for these two counties, the official statistics bare out our own research and also bare out the deplorable record of the Department in the important fields of farm aquisition and farm home loans. In this connection, I would appreciate it if you would send me a copy of that land distribution breakdown for the counties that you had with you on your trip to South Carolina. I would like to incorporate it in my report. If you have available the most recent voter registration certificates, I would appreciate it also. Any other suggestions that you might have, please send them on.

With kindest personal regards I remain,

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:rd

Enclosure

BG
8-15-62
8-20-62

August 10, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
Attorney at Law
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Ira:

It is always regrettable to have to mention deadlines. Nevertheless, I am sure you will realize that the buck has to stop some place and that on this project it stops with you and me. You will recall that one of the stipulations made at the time your project was accepted called for completion of the project by mid-summer. To be sure this is not a very specific deadline; however, I think all reasonable men do agree that mid-summer has passed.

We would greatly appreciate a firm commitment now as to the date on which we can expect to receive the data from your project and your final report.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl
cc: Mr. Ernest A. Finney, Jr.
Mr. Newton Pough
Mr. Charles E. Washington, Jr.

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

Telephone SP-3-3040

August 9, 1962

Voter Education Project
Room 206, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jack:

Thanks for the material you sent me. I would need Barnwell and Bamberg counties since McCormick and Edgefield are involved. If it is not too much trouble, I would appreciate it if you would send the land breakdowns of these counties. On your list of registered Negro voters, Hampton and Calhoun counties were not included. I wonder if you have those figures as well.

I have yet to receive any of the interviews despite the fact that I received what I considered firm promise that they would be in my hands by 8 August. Frankly, I have begun to feel a little discouraged since I have made frequent telephone calls and have written several letters to get this data in on time.

I am leaving tomorrow for a week in the woods with my two boys so that no more can be done until the 20th. It may be wise if you would send me a letter with a copy to Ernest A. Finney, Jr., 16½ West Liberty Street, Sumter, S.C.; Newton Pough, 125 Boulevard, N.E., Orangeburg, S.C. and to Charles E. Washington, Jr., 905 North Street, Beaufort, S.C., reminding me that I had promised to have the project completed by midsummer and emphasizing that you expect it in without further reasonable delay.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:rd

AUG 24 1962

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

Telephone SP-3-3040

August 22, 1962

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Jack:

Thanks a lot for the data which all I need to complete my part of the project.

I had a nice wrestling time in the woods and had hoped that by our mutual urging we would have all of the field work completed by the time I returned. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

In the case of Finney, it is not his fault. As you recall, we

thought it would be a splendid idea to try and get these interviews on tape. He tried and unfortunately the mechanical difficulty discovered afterwards indicated that the greater section of it was not useable so he has had to do them over again.

I have the other six counties but I am not at all satisfied with the way they have been conducted. However, I doubt that, if at this date, we can do much about it. I may have a concrete suggestion by the time I write my final report.

My main worry is that the sampling was too highly selected. More than half of those interviewed are registered voters so that the context of the true sample are there. The reason for this deviation seems to be a reluctance of the unregistered voter to talk to anybody, even a Negro lawyer. This apparently is a correlation of courage to register and courage to discuss problems with an interviewer.

At any rate this study will show the need for a lot of grass root education among rural Negroes to convince them of the duties as well as the benefits gained from first-class citizenship. It will also indicate an important area for Negro jobs within the direct area of responsibility of the Federal Government. In that sense it can be fairly said, that to convince the Negro that he is a first-class citizen who should register to vote and participate in elections, it will be necessary at the same time to convince him that he is a total member of the community instead of just a partial one.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:rd

BU: 8-30-62

August 23, 1962

National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

We are considering a study of the discriminatory aspects of the administration of Federal Farm Programs in the state of South Carolina. Our study will be primarily based upon data taken from nine South Carolina counties selected because of their heavy proportion of Negro population. The counties are:

Allendale	Hampton
Bamberg	Jasper
Barnwell	Lee
Calhoun	Williamsburg
Clarendon	

We would appreciate any advice you can give as to studies that your organization may have done or that you may know about which have specific reference to tenant farming in South Carolina and, particularly, in the nine counties. Any bibliographic sources with which you can acquaint us will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl

NATIONAL SHARECROPPER FUND, Inc.
—for the advancement of agricultural labor—
112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

August 30, 1962

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Minnis:

I am replying to your letter of August 23rd saying that you are considering a study of the discriminatory aspects of the administration of federal farm programs in the state of South Carolina. While we have not made any detailed studies of this subject, the knowledge we have about the workings of federal programs in areas where discrimination exists and where Negroes are excluded in the administration of such programs makes it pretty clear that discrimination does exist in the administration of these programs.

To our knowledge, no Negroes serve on FHA county committees in South Carolina. The county offices which handle FHA applications sometimes have a Negro subordinate who works with Negro applicants. In only one county in the state, Sumter county, there are separate Negro and white FHA officers. The FHA application forms contain racial designations.

In fiscal 1960, only 12 farm ownership loans were granted to Negro applicants in South Carolina, and 15 farm housing loans.

Statewide, there are 30,656 Negro farmers (47,507 white). Whites control 8 million of the 9 million acres of land in farms. The average Negro farm is 39 acres while white farms average 167 acres. Negro farms are valued at an average of $5,900; whites average $20,100. Over half (53.7%) of the Negro farmers are tenants, of whom 40% are sharecroppers. Only 17% of the white farmers are tenants, of whom less than 6% are sharecroppers. (1959 Census of Agriculture for South Carolina).

For the specific counties you propose to study, the 1959 census gives the following information:

	Allendale	Bamberg	Barnwell
Number of Farms	411	909	822
Negro farmers	233	376	323
Percentage of Negro farmers who are tenants	52	50	48
	Calhoun	**Clarendon**	**Hampton**
Number of Farms	816	2555	826
Negro farmers	382	1672	323
Percentage of Negro farmers who are tenants	53	65	35

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490

	Jasper	Lee	Williamsburg
Number of Farms	538	1758	4263
Negro farmers	352	1077	2897
Percentage of Negro farmers who are tenants	17	78	60

You will find additional information which will be useful to you from the 1959 Census of Agriculture. Since you are in touch with Mrs. Alice Spearman, Ira Kaye and others in South Carolina, I am sure they will direct you to specific cases in the state. You may also be interested in writing for a copy of the publication "Federally Supported Discrimination" issued by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, 20 West 40 Street, New York 18, New York.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb;ja

Jean: Please order this for jpk

Borrowed from SRC 9/4/62

Preliminary Announcement
of a
Southern Conference to Aid Low-Income Rural Families

FARM PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBLEMS:

HOW LOW-INCOME RURAL FAMILIES CAN SECURE A BETTER LIFE

PROGRAM: Speakers, panels, and conference participants will discuss the various aid and development programs of the federal government, and the roles of local, private, and government agencies in promoting economic development and social progress.

DATES: November 14-16, 1962

PLACE: Franklinton Center, Bricks, North Carolina

COST: Approximately $12 for room and board for the duration of the conference. Car pools will be organized, and some funds may be available to assist those who could not otherwise attend.

The past decade has seen millions of people uprooted from their homes in the rural South. The continuing decline of opportunities in small-scale farming and the lack of alternative employment have forced low-income rural families, many without adequate education and vocational training, off the land without the means to better their lives elsewhere. This conference is called to discuss the problems and needs of these rural families and to learn what can be done to improve life in Southern rural communities. Various programs are going forward in the South to meet the needs of rural families. Among them is a program in Fayette County, Tennessee, sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund to help local residents use available federal funds for the economic development of their community. Other groups, too, are gaining experience in working toward economic and social progress. The conference will facilitate the sharing of these experiences and help to demonstrate how rural families, working together with government and private agencies, can help themselves.

The conference invites all who are interested in participating in the development of rural areas: farmers, leaders of church, civic, labor, fraternal, and business groups, educators, staff members of concerned organizations, and government personnel working in this field.

National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

W. NEWTON POUGH
ATTORNEY AT LAW
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

Office JEfferson 4-1356

Residence JEfferson 4-3165

October 11, 1962

Southern Regional Incorporated
54 Forsythe Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Blackford

Dear Sir:

This is to acknowledge yours of October 4, 1962 and its content. And to further advise that at any time in the future, we can be of service, feel free to call upon us.

Very truly yours,

W. Newton Pough

WNP/ls

October 4, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Kaye:

Enclosed is the Council's check for $400.00 in payment of the balance of your fee on the South Carolina Agriculture Project. As you request, I am also enclosing copies of the letters sent Messrs. Finney, Pough, and Washington.

We will be interested to hear of what use you make of the material for the Southern Rural Conference and will appreciate your keeping us informed. We will, as you also request, do likewise.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp
enclosures:
Check - $400.00
letters of transmittal to Messrs. Finney, Pough, Washington (copies)

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

October 4, 1962

Mr. Ernest A. Finney, Jr.
16½ W. Liberty Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Finney:

Mr. Ira Kaye has informed me that the balance of the fee owed you for your participation in the South Carolina Agriculture Project is $400.00. I am, therefore, enclosing herewith the Southern Regional Council's check in this amount.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:bp
enc. - check ($400.00)
cc. - Mr. Ira Kaye

October 8, 1962

Mr. Newton Pough
125 Boulevard, N.E.
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Pough:

Mr. Ira Kaye has informed me that the balance of the fee owed you for your participation in the South Carolina Agriculture Project is $400.00 I am, therefore, enclosing herewith the Southern Regional Council's check in this amount.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:bp
enc. - check ($400.00)
cc. - Mr. Ira Kaye

October 4, 1962

Mr. Charles E. Washington, Jr.
905 North Street
Beaufort, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Washington:

Mr. Ira Kaye has informed me that the balance of the fee owed you for your participation in the South Carolina Agriculture Project is $400.00. I am, therefore, enclosing herewith the Southern Regional Council's check in this amount.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp
enc. - check ($400.00)
cc. - Mr. Ira Kaye

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

October 1, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Kaye:

We are prepared to send you a check for $1,600.00 as the balance of your fee for the project in South Carolina. Our treasurer, however, informs me that any fee which SRC pays that is in excess of $600.00 she reports on a federal tax form and that you would therefore be taxed on the full $1,600.00 were a check for that amount made payable to you. I would therefore suggest that you send us an itemized account listing the specific individuals and amounts of the checks to be made out to them thereby saving yourself a clash with the Internal Revenue Department.

I look forward to hearing from you at your convenience about this.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

October 3, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Att. Mr. Staige D. Blackford

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Answering your letter of 1 October, please send four checks for $400.00 each; one to me and one each to:

Ernest A. Finney, Jr.
16½ W. Liberty Street, Sumter, S.C.
Newton Pough
125 Boulevard, N.E., Orangeburg, S.C.
Charles E. Washington, Jr.
905 North Street, Beaufort, S.C.

For my records, I would appreciate it if you would send me a copy of the letter of transmittal at the time you mail the checks to the other three attorneys.

I would appreciate it, however, if you would keep me informed on the follow-up of this report, particularly since I want to make use of the material for the coming Southern Rural Conference sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund.

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:rd

SB
JM
pls handle

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

September 14, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Att. Mr. Leslie Dunbar

Dear Les:

I have just completed the mailing of the main part of the Department of Agriculture project to Jack Minnis and I have informed of this fact by telephone. I hope that you and he will get together on it for the follow-up as soon as possible. If I can be of any further assistance please let me know, as I am most anxious to have a thorough follow through.

The results indicate that the Department of Agriculture has a lot to explain as well as a lot to do immediately to correct the deficiencies which we have uncovered.

If the Council can spare the funds, I would like to accompany you or some of the important people from the Southern Regional Council to Washington to discuss the implications of this survey at a high level.

I certainly believe that a similar study should be made in other Southern states to underscore the problem.

Meanwhile, I would appreciate it if the additional funds for myself and my colleagues were sent to me in bulk for distribution or directly to them.

Kindest personal regards,

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

$2000 authorized
$400 paid
$1600

IK:rd

October 18, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
120 North Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Kaye:

Les Dunbar passed your letter of October 2 on to me, but I have beensomewhat delayed in answering it, for which I apologize.

Regarding the material that makes up your survey, I regret to say that we are still in the process of deciding just what to do with it. As is obvious, considering the amount of the material gathered by you and your colleagues, we cannot publish it as is. We hope, however, to boil down all this data into a consise but comprehensive report, but I strongly doubt that it will be available by the time the Southern Rural aConference meets next month. I can assure you, though, that we will send you the published results of your survey as soon as they are available in final form.

I trust all of your associates have now received the fees due them for their work on this project and I am sorry for the delay in getting this money to them.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

Telephone SP-3-3040

October 2, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Att. Mr. Leslie Dunbar

Dear Les:

I had hoped that by now I would have heard something on our survey.

I have just received notice of the Southern Rural Conference to be held in mid-November at Bricks, North Carolina. My contribution to that conference was supposed to be this survey and I would like to have it in fully approved shape to be used there.

Unfortunately, a complication has arisen and it may not be possible for me to personally attend. In that event, I would certainly like to have the material that makes up the survey available to the conference. My annual two weeks reserve tour for the Air Force has been set to start November 11. This is not quite firm yet so I don't want to rule out my attendance. I will probably know within the next ten days whether it is possible for me to change that date.

My associates have been pressing me for the balance of the money due on the survey. I would like to have some words for them as soon as possible. I'm sorry that I missed you this week-end. I had hoped that you would call sometime during your stay.

With kindest personal regards I remain,

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

Ira Kaye

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRamercy 3-0284

SB

December 5, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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research associate
ALLEN YANCEY, Jr.
Tennessee representative

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am enclosing for your information a copy of our Memorandum on the Effect upon Negro Farmers of Local Control over Federal Rural Aid Programs, to be presented to Secretary Freeman when we meet with him Thursday.

I am glad we had an opportunity to discuss this on the telephone yesterday. I look forward to receiving a copy of the SRC full report on the South Carolina study when it is available.

I appreciate your suggestion that we might get together on one of your trips to New York. I hope you will let me know when you plan to be here, so we can set a time.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:gh
enc.

133

December 6, 1962

MEMORANDUM ON THE EFFECT UPON NEGRO FARMERS OF LOCAL CONTROL OVER FEDERAL RURAL AID PROGRAMS

TO: Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture

FROM: Fay Bennett, Ira Kaye, and Rowland Watts, for the National Sharecroppers Fund

The programs of the federal government designed to alleviate the social and economic problems arising from the progressive displacement of agricultural workers and their families from the land, are all based upon the efficacy of local initiative, local control, and local review. If the Rural Areas Development program and the rural provisions of the Area Redevelopment and Manpower Retraining programs are to reach those who are most in need of the opportunities they offer, it is important to know, at the outset, whether or not earlier programs based upon local action and control have achieved their objectives. If not, to what extent has the machinery for local control vitiated the programs, and how can such machinery be modified or supplanted?

An important contribution to consideration of this matter is a study of nine counties of South Carolina recently completed by Mr. Ira Kaye, a lawyer of Sumter, South Carolina. Some of the facts there uncovered are here discussed. The full report with its supporting data is now being prepared for publication by the Southern Regional Council, which sponsored the study.

This study examines the record of federal economic aid and technical assistance programs in nine rural counties* of South Carolina. In each, over 50% of the residents and over 50% of the farmers are Negro. Less than 10% of the eligible Negroes were registered voters in most instances, but the accompanying chart indicates that this pattern is shifting under the impact of registration drives. In each county, the Negro farm operator-owner owned less than 10% of the farm land, averaging less than 20 acres, although in practically every instance over 50% of the farm operators were Negro. In contrast, the white operator-owner averaged over 150 acres.

While it is recognized that many of the small farms are inherently uneconomic, certainly this large group of Negro farmers is most in need of credit for farm operation, farm acquisition, and housing. However, out of $1,222,630.00 advanced by F.H.A. for land acquisition during the last three fiscal years, only $55,550.00 was advanced to Negroes. Only nine loans have been made to them during the period, five in the current year. In farm housing $1,328,915.00 was advanced, but only $81,955.00 to Negro farmers. This represented 14 loans, five of which were in the current year. The record for operating and emergency loans is better. Negroes received $1,241,380.00 of the $3,615,240.00 in

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*Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Calhoun, Clarendon, Hampton, Jasper, Lee, and Williamsburg.

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operating loans made and $142,160.00 of the $358,330.00 in emergency loans granted. Thus, while Negro farmers could reasonably be expected to constitute 75 to 80 per cent of the aided group, they actually received only about one-third of the aid. No Negro has ever received a soil conservation loan.

It is believed that these figures are directly related to the manner in which local committees are selected or elected, how these committees are serviced, and the personnel which they employ.

The Farmers Home Administration

The Farmers Home Administration is grounded in the programs of rehabilitation loans going back to 1934 and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration as broadened with small farm purchase loans beginning in 1937. Basically, it is supposed to help small farmers acquire and sustain family-size farms by providing a source of cheap credit and of technical assistance and advice.

The key to its local operation is the appointed county committee and the county supervisor, a civil service employee of the Department of Agriculture. The county committee is selected by the state director from three nominees for each of the three positions submitted by the Department of Agriculture's employee, the county supervisor. The county supervisor is invariably white, although some counties have Negro assistant supervisors.

The county committee makes recommendations on individual loans based on the applicant's character, sense of responsibility, and reputation in the community, as well as on the economic feasibility of the loan. The guidelines are vague and there is no effective review. No records are kept of committee hearings and findings, which may be based upon a mere review of the background report of the local supervisor.

The nine-county study suggests that at least in the areas of operating, ownership, and housing loans, Negro access to federal aid is seriously circumscribed by white domination of the loan machinery. No Negro Assistant County Supervisor, regardless of qualifications, has been promoted to Supervisor, not only in the nine counties but in South Carolina generally. Furthermore, Negroes are not employed even in any of the clerical jobs available, despite the fact that the salaries are paid with federal funds and the jobs are usually under civil service. This all-white employment practice may account for the pattern of insensitive treatment, almost amounting to rudeness, and an apparent lack of concern for the small Negro farmer. For example, in official correspondence, he is rarely, if ever, addressed as "Mister," and often his last name is ignored.

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

As set forth in the current yearbook, After One Hundred Years, the belief of the Department has been that in making individual acreage allotments, etc., "farmer-elected committeemen to administer the new programs at the county and local level would be commendably democratic in principle and intensely practical." It was recognized that the South had special problems, and the

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

practice was modified so that "leadership in local administration was shared at the outset with county agents and other officials of the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Service."

However, the Extension Service has always been a segregated institution whose policies and operations were established by the white segment. Thus Negro farmers are continuing to be handicapped by the setting of the same pattern for this most important area of agricultural economics. We suggest that the A.S.C. farmer-committee system as here applied cannot be the "most effective and economical method of operation" to bring to the Negro farmer his fair share of federal assistance, as the Secretary had hoped it would be. The nine-county survey bears this out, and the Secretary should reconsider whether or not the committee system should function in this manner "with full authority and responsibility in the days ahead."

Of the 90,000 farmers who serve annually as committeeman throughout rural America, only one has been Negro--he in Vermont and now deceased. The South Carolina study uncovered two Negro community committeemen of former years, but none is serving anywhere in the state at the present time.

The importance of these committees cannot be overemphasized. What they determine on crop allotments or on soil bank payments often determines the farmer's whole line of federal, cooperative, and private credit. And the local committees basically establish the state practice. Review committees are limited to procedural review and, in any case, in South Carolina, are entirely white.

In the nine-county area, many part-time workers with but a rudimentary knowledge of surveying are used during the summer months in measuring the allotted acreage. Negro high school and college students are undoubtedly qualified; none is employed. Nor is any Negro employed in any clerical, white collar, or supervisory position, despite the fact that all the salaries and wages are paid out of federal funds.

The Agricultural Extension Service

It is unnecessary here to review the sad history of the Extension Service's segregated practices. A casual review of South Carolina newspapers in the last year, however, underlines the continuing concentration of its activities on concern for white farmers and lack of concern for Negro farmers. The figures on 4-H Club members bears this out.

It is recognized that in recent years, efforts have been made to modify this pattern, but in the nine counties only five Negro men are employed as Extension Service representatives and only six Negro women as home demonstration agents. More intensive recruitment efforts seem warranted, with adequate salaries to attract qualified persons.

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Conclusion

While it is important that present efforts be intensified to expand Negro opportunities for equal participation in the previously existing programs, it is crucial that the new programs not be handicapped by dependence upon the existing patterns of operation. County agents and local supervisors are influential in guiding these programs. They must be made increasingly aware of the importance of giving priority to this problem and of the fact that the first criterion for assistance must be economic need. Positive efforts must be made to more widely publicize these programs simply but forcibly to those most in need of them. More assistance in preparing the applications for aid and more concerned supervision of the processing of the applications through committees seems warranted. In the meantime, the federal policy of non-discrimination in employment must be more aggressively implemented on the local level.

This report has particular relevance for present and future economic development programs, because the old discriminatory pattern is already being repeated in the local committees that control the RAD and ARA programs throughout the rural South. Despite the fact that the low-income Negro farm families have been a major factor in determining many counties' eligibility for federal rural development programs, experience in over one year of joint ARA-RAD operation shows that Negroes have not measurably benefited. In only a handful of areas are Negroes represented on local RAD committees, despite the requirement that such committees be "representative." Since it is the responsibility of the Department's Office of Rural Areas Development to recommend rural counties' Over-all Economic Development Programs to ARA for final approval, it is clearly within the present area of USDA's responsibility to assure that local control of RAD programs is truly representative.

In Fayette County, Tennessee, designated eligible for aid under Section 5(b) of the Area Redevelopment Act, the Negro extension agent told a local bi-racial (but predominantly Negro) development committee that he could not help them within the RAD program until he had received specific instructions to do so from state extension authorities. Yet the extension service is charged with the responsibility of helping local RAD committees to organize. A similar experience has been reported by the Negro extension leader for the state of Arkansas.

The results of unrepresentative RAD committee projects are illustrated by several in South Carolina. In Chesterfield County, in the towns of Pageland and Jefferson, loans and grants totaling over $300,000.00 were made to plants who do not hire Negro labor. Another loan went to a Beaufort plant with similar hiring practices, although the owner was willing to comply with any applicable federal FEPC laws. According to our information, not a single job has been opened to Negroes in South Carolina as a result of the Rural Areas Development program.

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

December 18, 1962

Mrs. Alice Spearman
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

I am enclosing a copy of SRC's Report on Negro farmers in South Carolina, one based on the material gathered by Ira Kaye for us last summer. I hope you will find the report informative and useful and that you will let us know if you would like additional copies. We would also appreciate your keeping us informed about any reactions to this report, either press or otherwise, in South Carolina.

I enjoyed meeting you at the Bricks conference last month and trust our paths will be crossing again during the coming year.

Best wishes of the Season.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:bp
Enclosure:
A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS
IN SOUTH CAROLINA

December 18, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Kaye:

At long last our report, A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA, has been processed and under separate cover we are mailing you ten copies. As I mentioned to you previously, space limitations prevented us from using your material in toto. But we have, I think, extracted the most pertinent parts of your study for this report: it should be clear to those who read it (including, we hope, the Secretary of Agriculture) that the Negro farmers in the nine counties covered in your survey are not getting a square, fair, or new deal from the Agriculture Department.

I trust the report will be satisfactory to you and that you will let us know if you would like additional copies. We are, of course, sending copies to Fay Bennett and to other interested parties in South Carolina. We would appreciate your keeping us informed about any reactions to this report, press or otherwise, you may pick up in your state.

Best wishes of the Season.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SB

Les has written Fay Bennett & we are sending her 10 copies.

This is a reminder to send copies to Ira Kaye, and 2 each to the 3 lawyers who worked on the report.

Sent 12/19/62

MA

Same as covering letter to Fay

December 19, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Kaye:

I am returning by separate attachment your survey of Negro farmers in nine South Carolina counties. It was, of course, the basis for our report, which I sent you yesterday.

I am afraid that in the process of editing and cutting down, then editing and cutting down some more the pages got marked up pretty heavily. But I don't think you will have any trouble reading it or keeping it handy for future use.

We would like to retain the interviews with the farmers themselves since they may be useful to our Voter Education Project, as well as the charts and attachments, which will be a great help to our research department.

Once again, a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. I trust our paths will cross at some point in '63.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

January 7, 1963

Mr. M. F. Spaulding, Dean
School of Agriculture and Home Economics
Tennessee A. & I. State University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dean Spaulding:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 4, and for your kind remarks about our study of Negro farmers in South Carolina.

Our mail room is sending you 20 additional copies of the report, and you should receive them shortly. We appreciate your interest in seeing that the report is circulated to persons involved with farm programs and problems in Tennessee.

As for those in the state who have already received copies of the report, I am enclosing a list of individuals compiled by our mail room.

I hope you will let us know about any other reactions, pro or con, to this report in Tennessee.

Yours sincerely,

Staige Blackford
Director of Research

SB/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

LIST

Persons Receiving SRC Report on Negro Farmers in S. C.

CHATTANOOGA:

Mr. Glenn W. Ellis
Dr. Major Jones
Mr. Martin S. Ochs
Dr. Kenneth B. Piper
Mr. Raymond Witt
Mr. John Popham

CLARKSVILLE:

Mr. G. W. Brooks

EVANSVILLE:

Rev. William C. Mooney

GREENVILLE:

Mrs. Ben Russell

JACKSON:

Mr. C. P. Bell

JOHNSON CITY

Mr. Richter H. Moore

LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN:

Mr. A. H. Thatcher

MEMPHIS:

Mr. W. C. Patton
Mr. M. T. Lockard
Dr. Hollis Price
Rev. Paul T. Jones
Mr. Hunter Lane, Jr.
Mr. A. Maceo Walker
Miss Ellen Correll
Mr. Lewis Donelson, III

NASHVILLE:

Rev. Will D. Campbell
Mr. J. Metz Hollins
Mr. Mitsuichi Masuoka
Mr. Herman Long
Prof. William H. Nichols
Dr. Samuel Wiggins
Mr. John L. Seigenthaler
Mr. Maclin P. Davis

KNOXVILLE:

Mr. George R. Dempster

SEWANEE:

Mr. Ben F. Cameron, Jr.

SB

TENNESSEE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL STATE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 4, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have read with interest your special report "A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina". It is to my knowledge a very true picture of the existing conditions throughout the south. I would be interested in knowing who in Tennessee received this report. I am requesting 20 additional copies so that I can place them in our state department and strategic positions.

Yours very truly,

M. F. Spaulding

M. F. Spaulding, Dean
School of Agriculture
and Home Economics

MFS/m

January 7, 1963

Mr. Ira Kaye
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Kaye:

Since I was away over the holidays, I did not get a chance to see your letter of December 20 until last week. I'm glad that you liked our condensation of your study, but regret that space limitations forced us to condense it so drastically. I might just add that reactions to the report thus far have been extremely gratifying indeed, and I am enclosing copies of the stories concerning it which appeared in the Atlanta Journal (incidentally, Claude Sitton, the New York Times man in Atlanta is hoping to do a story for the Times' news service even though it appears the great city's newspaper strike is going to go on indefinitely).

Les also passed on your letter containing the clip about the Turkish children on the Shaw Junior High honor roll. We were both interested in seeing it and appreciate your interest in sending it to us.

I trust you will have a happy and prosperous New Year and that you will keep us informed about future farm developments in South Carolina.

Yours sincerely,

Staige Blackford
Director of Research

SB/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

√MA - pls copy letter + clip for BM
√SB - pls reply

December 17, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Att. Mr. Leslie Dunbar

Dear Les:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed clipping on the Shaw Junior High honor roll. The underlined names are all Turk children.

You might want to use it in some publicity in the future and you might in a general discussion of school desegregation problem using this information as an arguement in favor of a total and massive desegregation versus token desegregation.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:rd
Enclosure

Recvd 12/21/62
LWD ✓
SB

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

December 20, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Att. Staige D. Blackford

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Thanks for sending me on the copies of the study. Although I would have liked to have seen more of the meat used, I believe that it is an excellent condensation.

The one item which I would have particularly liked to have seen included was the policy letter that Mr. Freeman sent down to the local Farmers Home Administration offices stating in effect that no one who really wanted to farm was to lose because of his past credit situation. The contrast between the policy and the results is one of the most shocking things to me.

If by chance through any foundation grants it becomes possible to expand this study to include other states and to present a comprehensive picture of the plight of the rural Negro in the South, I would like to get a crack at supervising the research and your report. I believe that some urgent action is required in this field.

Best wishes to Les and the staff.

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

IK:rd

January 9, 1963

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

Les Dunbar passed onyyour letter of January 3 to me, and we were both glad to learn you were pleased by the South Carolina report. Thus far, the reaction to this report has been most gratifying, and we hope it has been carefully read by the powers-that-be in the Agriculture Department.

I appreciate your sending us the additional names of the officials in the Area Redevelopment Administration since we did not have them. Copies of the report were mailed to them this week.

We are also interested in and heartened by the letter you recently received from John Baker (who, incidentally, impressed me no little during the Bricks conference last fall).

I trust the weather has improved in New York since I returned from there last week: it's a great town, but you can have it in the wintertime.

Sincerely yours,

Staige Blackford
Director of Research

SB/mmj

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.
—for the advancement of agricultural labor—
112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

SB ph ack

January 3, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for sending me ten copies of the South Carolina report. It is well put together, and its brevity should help to make it widely read. I note that distribution of the report is being made to officials in the Department of Agriculture as well as to Department officers in South Carolina and others. I wonder whether it has been sent to officials of the Area Redevelopment Administration. While the report pertains mainly to Agriculture, you know that the funds for rural areas development in designated areas come from ARA in the Commerce Department. The section on Rural Areas Development on page 19 and the final paragraph of the Conclusions on page 20 would have particular relevance to the ARA officials. Perhaps copies have already been sent to them. If not, may I suggest they be sent to the following:

OK?

William L. Batt, Jr., Administrator
Harold W. Williams, Deputy Administrator
Harold L. Sheppard, Assistant Administrator for Area Operations
Sherwood Gates, Deputy Assistant Administrator for Area Operations
George H. Robinson, Special Assistant for Community Organization
Miss Anne Gould, Training Coordinator, Office of the Administrator

These may all be addressed at the Area Redevelopment Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D.C. Also, Mr. Wayne R. Shields, ARA Senior Field Coordinator of the Southeast Region, may be addressed at Jefferson Road, Athens, Georgia.

I think you will be interested in the enclosed copy of a letter I have received recently from John Baker.

I hope very soon to send you a formal letter concerning a possible joint project in the rural South.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:gh
enc.

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490

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

December 19, 1962

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers
Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Fay:

Howard Bertsch has just reported some information I know you will be interested in.

We now have one county office in Sumter, South Carolina, serving both white and Negro farm families. This was the only place where a Farmers Home Administration office was operated on a segregated basis.

Also the Farmers Home Administration now has thirty professional Negro employees. A third of these employees have been hired in the past year. This was the first action of this type that has been taken in a good many years. The other Negro employees were hired about twenty years ago.

I knew you would be pleased to hear this.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Baker
Assistant Secretary

Growth Through Agricultural Progress

January 16, 1963

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

We certainly appreciate your kind words about our report on Negro farmers in South Carolina as well as the list of members of the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development. They have been mailed copies of the report.

Unfortunately, however, we will be a bit delayed in getting 50 additional copies to you since the demand for the report has just about exhausted our supply of it (which I find rather encouraging, as I'm sure you do too). But we are preparing another supply, and you should receive a batch of them shortly.

Incidentally, I had a pleasant chat yesterday with Mrs. Devree about the article she's planning on Haywood and Fayette Counties. It sounds very interesting indeed, and I hope she can land it with a national magazine.

Glad to know it's springlike in New York. Wish I could say the same for Atlanta, where it's been in the twenties for the past several days. Oh well, as Brother Sheeley said, "if winter comes..."

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford

SDB/mmj

Director of Research

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.
—for the advancement of agricultural labor—
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To send 50 copies to F. Bennett - BCC

January 11, 1963

Mr. Staige Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

I am glad you have sent copies of the South Carolina report to officials in the ARA. It also occurs to me that if you haven't already done so, copies could be sent to Senators Douglas, Humphrey, and McCarthy. As you know, they are the Senators who carried the ball for the ARA program in Congress.

I think too that the report would be received with much interest and value if it were sent to members of the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development. I am attaching a list of the members of this Committee and their addresses in hopes that SRC will want to send the Committee members a copy.

I find that the ten copies which Leslie Dunbar sent me are now gone and would greatly appreciate your sending me an additional 50 or 100 copies. Since there isn't a single copy left, could you send me half a dozen by first class mail? I can put these to good use. I have just read the report again and am greatly impressed with the fine editing job which was done in your office. The report is concise yet impressive for the factual material it presents and the awareness it creates that Negro farmers in the South must receive their share of government aid programs if they are to remain in farming.

I am sorry we didn't have good weather during your recent visit to New York. You must have been here when we had a very cold spell. This has changed, and it is almost springlike today.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:gh
encl.

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Research Associate

ALLEN YANCEY, Jr.
Tennessee Representative

490

Sent South Carolina Report to named listed below 1/16/63 BCC

sent 6 to Fay Bennett 1/15/63

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

National Advisory Committee on
Rural Areas Development

Name	Address
Clarence J. McCormick, Chairman	McCormick Farms Route 4 Vincennes, Indiana
Stanley Andrews	Route 1, Box 52-AA Alamo, Texas
H. Vance Austin	Managing Director Credit Union National Association 1617 Sherman Avenue Madison, Wisconsin
Fay Bennett	National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc. 112 E. 19th Street New York 3, New York
Dr. Harry L. Brown	President, Georgia Farm Bureau 2374 Ingleside Avenue Macon, Georgia
Homer L. Brinkley	Executive Vice President National Council of Farmer Cooperatives 1616 H Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.
L. C. Carpenter	Missouri Farmers Association Columbia, Missouri
A. E. Cascino	Vice President International Minerals and Chemical Corporation Skokie, Illinois
Dr. Howard Dawson	5628 Massachusetts Avenue Ext., N.W. Washington, D. C.
John Edelman	Washington Representative Textile Workers Union of America AFL-CIO 704 - 17th Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

Name	Address
Clyde T. Ellis	General Manager, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association 2000 Florida Avenue, N. W. Washington 9, D. C.
Harold Enarson	Vice President University of New Mexico Albuquerque, New Mexico
Ted Eriksen, Jr.	345 North Spring Ukiah, California
E. B. Evans	President, Prairie View College Prairie View, Texas
Frank L. Fernbach	Economist, Research Department, AFL-CIO Room 310, 815 - 16th Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.
George T. Frost	Chairman, Weber County Board of Commissioners Ogden, Utah
Nolen J. Fuqua	Duncan, Oklahoma
Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson	President, Wildlife Management Institute 709 Wire Building 1000 Vermont Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Velma Good	608 - 7th Avenue, North Great Falls, Montana
Elizabeth B. Herring	Executive Secretary National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor 1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 4, D. C.
Robert M. Koch	President, National Limestone Institute, Inc. 210 H Street, N. W. Washington 4, D. C.
Dr. Henry McCanna	Executive Director National Council of Churches of Christ Town and Country Department 475 Riverside Drive New York 27, New York

Name	Address
Dr. J. G. Maddox	Professor of Agricultural Economics North Carolina State College of Agriculture Raleigh, North Carolina
Dr. M. D. Mobley	Executive Secretary American Vocational Association 1010 Vermont Avenue, N. W. Washington 5, D. C.
E. W. Mueller	Secretary, Rural Work National Lutheran Council 327 S. LaSalle Street Chicago 4, Illinois
Dr. Ernest J. Nesius	Dean, College of Agriculture University of West Virginia Morgantown, West Virginia
Herschel D. Newsom	Master, The National Grange 1616 H Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.
Mr. Helge Nygren	President, Mor-Gran-Sou Electric Cooperative, Inc. Flasher, North Dakota
Rev. E. W. O'Rourke	Executive Director, National Catholic Rural Life Conference 3801 Grand Avenue Des Moines, Iowa
James G. Patton	Farmers Union 1575 Sherman Street Denver, Colorado
Dr. Willa B. Player	President, Bennett College Greensboro, North Carolina
L. A. Potts	Dean, School of Agriculture, Box 448 Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee, Alabama
E. T. Savidge	Deputy Manager, Agricultural Commission American Bankers Association 12 East 36th Street New York 16, New York
Honorable Granville Turner	Route 2 Toney, Alabama

March 13, 1963

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Director
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

I am glad you have found the additional copies of our report on Negro farmers in South Carolina useful. We ase sending you a list of those government officials to whom copies of the report were sent. Please let us know what gaps exist, and we'll be glad to fill them.

Incidentally, you may be interested to learn that we are in the process of preparing a report on the types of federal assistance available to people in rural areas where there is a lack of employment opportunities. It is an outgrowth of the recent conference held at Frogmore, South Carolina. I will certainly see that you receive a copy of this report.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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March 4, 1963

Mr. Staige Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Many thanks for sending me the additional copies of your report on Negro farmers in South Carolina. We are finding these very useful.

I am glad that copies have been sent to members of the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development. There will be a meeting of this Committee in Washington at the end of this week, and we expect to discuss ways in which Agriculture programs may be applied more equally to those who need them.

While in Washington, I expect to see Dr. E. T. York, Administrator of the Federal-State Extension Service, to discuss the South Carolina situation in relation to the refusal of the Extension Service Director to permit Negro County Agents to attend the Penn Center conference and their exclusion from planning from Rural Areas Development programs. As I discuss these matters with government officials, it would help me to know which have received copies of the South Carolina report. I seem to run into people who say they have not seen it. Would it be possible for you to send me a list of those to whom it has been sent, so that we can fill in any gaps?

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Director

FB:gh

The National Sharecroppers Fund has worked for over twenty-five years to bring economic and social justice to Southern sharecroppers and tenant farmers and to migratory farm workers.

490

Copy to HCF 4/23/63

PAV
SB

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA
Telephone SP-3-3040

April 18, 1963

RECEIVED
APR 22 1963

Mr. Howard Bertsch, Administrator
United States Department of Agriculture
Farmers Home Administration
Washington 25, D.C.

COPY

Dear Mr. Bertsch:

I thoroughly appreciated the opportunity to discuss the credit problems of the low-income farmers with Mr. Turner, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Eleazer. We conferred on Monday, 15 April and again on Wednesday, the 17th, after Mr. Turner had a chance to speak to many other persons in the area.

From my last interview with Mr. Turner, I am certain that he does not believe that the problem area that I had in mind is substantially a Farmers Home Administration problem. Unfortunately, no one seems to want to be responsible for the solution of this problem. I agree that it is not only a Farmers Home Administration problem. It will take maximum efforts of the entire United States Department of Agriculture and several other agencies in order to obtain a permanent solution. However, my evidence indicates that the Farmers Home Administration can be doing more than it has been in the past and more than it seems to be willing to undertake in the future. Despite the very great discrepancies that my last summer's study showed and in spite of the fact that even in this fiscal year the situation is not very much better, explanations were given Mr. Turner, and I believe he will accept them, to indicate that these discrepancies are not based on prejudice against Negroes. Mr. Turner states that in speaking to several members of the local committees he was assured by them that they were not prejudiced against Negroes and they bent over backwards to aid Negro farmers. Unfortunately, even the most ardent segregationist in this state insists he is not prejudiced against Negroes. Just as in other related fields in race relations, such as voter registration, school enrollment and jury exclusion, we have to let the statistics speak for themselves and the statistics in this case shows that under the present set-up the Negro farmers are not getting their fair share of credit.

In the farm ownership field, Mr. Rogers really hit the nail on the head when he stated that the farm ownership program administered

IRA KAYE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
120 N. Main Street
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

Telephone SP-3-3040

in this state at least has to concentrate on getting farmers economically viable units in order to continue to farm and that it is easier to do this for white farmers since they start off with larger units and when they have to acquire proportionates to their existing farm acreage it makes for a better and safer arrangement all around. What in effect he really is saying is that the neglect of the Negro farmer in the past now makes it almost impossible to help him obtain enough land for an economically viable farm. If this is so, then a radical change in direction must be called for.

I still believe that the Farmers Home Administration must see to it that there is adequate Negro representation on the local committees. This is the only feasible manner in which the special problems of Negro farmers will be dealt with the local basis. There should also be made available to Negro clerical and administrative workers jobs in the local offices to give the local offices more of a community face instead of a projection of the white only character that exists today. There is certainly no reason why, in this day and age, Negro applicants should not be addressed by their proper legal names in official correspondence. In some of these local areas, the Black Muslims are trying to induce the Negroes to drop their last names as so-called slave names. To the Negro applicant that has dealt with thenFarmers Home Administration, this would be a relatively easy task since he was never addressed by anything but his first name. The Negro therefore, tends to feel when he deals with the Farmers Home Administration that he is a second class citizen and will receive second class treatment.

Moreover, and this is most important, in its advisory capacity in the rural area development program, the Farmers Home Administration must see to it that all local committees represent all of the community and that the OECD'S tha t they advise and counsel on contain positive assurances that Negroes in the community will be in a position to obtain jobs and train for jobs.

The fact remains that if you excluded the Negro poor from the distressed area counties in this state most, if not all, of these counties would not qualify as a distressed area.

Your office is certainly to be commended on the interest you have shown in this problem and I only hope for the sake of the really desperate Negro communities in this state that something constructive can be done for them in view of this interest.

Very truly yours,

Ira Kaye

Ira Kaye

cc: Leslie Dunbar

COPY

SDPS?

fmLWD

letter on facts & figures

A. J. Clement, Jr. SC CHR

~~Extension Service~~ - ~~Administrator~~ dir. ASCS

Wilder F. Funk - Columbia

1745 Sumter St.

Extension Service DR 3-5731 - DeKALB County agent

Mr. Helton -

~~FARMERS HOME Admin.~~ ~~James R. D. Anderson~~

FHA - State director - ~~1515 Lady St.~~ -

[redacted]

Off. in each County - Edwin V. Rogers

Fed. Office Bldg

901 Sumter

Columbia

Allendale

W. D. Crum - Snelling Bldg.

Bishopville

Ed Hucks, Jr. Agric Bldg.

St. Matthews

C P Bull INABINET Bldg.

Barnwell

Clarence Grunnels Gross Bldg.

Kingstree

E D Player P.O. Bldge.

Manning

J T Walker PO Bldge

Ridgeland

H P Woods Main & Green

Bamberg

H Q Foster Agr. Bldg.

Memo from JAMES A. MOSS

Separate section in central file – requests for S.K.C. endorsing publication for state print shop

– Jutti – Francis

3:00 SNNC

---

(1) Elizabeth Paschal – Group for Advancement of Negro Study – call Katz.

(2) Criteria used & points discrimination in granting loans to farmers in deep South –

– Neil Shangerpper –

– College students in S.C. Conn. unions help in fact finding

Memo from **JAMES A. MOSS**

Sunday School News
- Cities w/ Pupil placement laws
- N. S. students scattered

Jack Memmes - de Thursday

(1959 Census of Agriculture Part 27)

ALLENDALE — C3.31/4: 959/V.1/pt.27

~~BAMBERG~~ EDGEFIELD — Item # 152-A-16

CALHOUN — Monthly Cat # 275, Jan-62

CLARENDON

HAMPTON

JASPER

LEE

McCORMICK

WILLIAMSBURG

THE STATE	30,272	2,382,594	981,386 (41%)	1,401,208
	LND. A.	TOT. POP.	UR. POP.	RUR.
ALLENDALE	418	11,362	3,114 (27%)	8248
CALHOUN	377	12,256	— (0%)	12,256
CLARENDON	598	29,490	3,917 (13%)	25,573
EDGEFIELD	481	15,735	2,876 (18%)	12,859
HAMPTON	562	17,425	— (0%)	17,425
JASPER	662	12,237	— (0%)	12,237
LEE	409	21,832	3,586 (16%)	18,246
McCORMICK	370	8,629	— 0 (0%)	8,269
WILLIAMSBURG	931	40,932	3,902 (10%)	37,030

1959 Census of Agriculture, South Carolina
Bureau of the Census, Regional Office - Valunteer Bldg.

1. number of acres farmed
2. " " " " by share croppers
3. " " " " " tenants
4. " " " " " owners

in

Cotton, Rice, Tobacco, peanuts, wheat, Corn, + other

by

white, colored

in

above nine Counties of South Carolina

County Table 1. Farms, Acreage, & Value

	Farms #	W	N	Land in farms (acres)	Cropland harv. f.c.	acres
Allendale	447	214	233	151170	391	69561
Edgefield	1076	518	558	172511	968	40707
Calhoun	832	450	382	162943	770	71590
Clarendon	2584	912	1672	232705 (256,464)	2475	103718
Hampton	827	504	322	199067 (195,069)	771	62185
Jasper	270	218	352	113682	530	16620
Lee	1693	616	1077	190608	1635	92922
McCormick	398	180	218	29445	327	7205
Williamsburg	4292	1395	2897	381966	4167	121069
The State	78172	47177	30995	9149492	71602	2694196

County Table 3 - Farms & Farm Acreage by Color & Tenure of Operator

EXT 6302

(Land in farms)

	all farm op. (acres)	(acres) full own.	(acres) part o.	(acres) man.	(acres) all ten.
Allendale	151170	46952	87059	8585	8574
Edgefield	172511	101660	41152	12927	13772
Calhoun	162943	69919	76098	1956	14970
Clarendon	232705	95206	86697	2821	47981
Hampton	199067	100618	71297	19212	7940
Jasper	113682	36917	20424	52380	3959
Lee	190608	66714	87729	1066	35099
McCormick	29445	29216	16070	8826	5333
Will.	381966	172589	130704	10671	68662
The State	9149492	4681918	2860093	512907	1094574

Land in farms by color & tenure of operator (acres) (white)

	white total	f. own.	p. own.	man.	all tenants
All.	135951	40768	83658	8585	3540
Edg.					

Annual legumes

Soy beans grown for all purposes

	farms rep	14852
	acres grown alone	421263
	" " with other crops	82219
Farm. for beans	value, dollars	13196626
~~sa~~ sales	" "	12404829

Peanuts grown for all purposes

f. rep.	3028
ac. grown al	11762
" " with other	214
value	910357

Cotton

farms rep.	45-437
acres	544195
bales	411120
Tot. $	67834800
sales	" " "

Tobacco

f. r.	23982
acres	78208
lbs.	128975-743
Tot $	81254720
sales	" "

Tot. dr. ma to be listed

State Table 4 - Farm Op. by Color, Age, Resd., & Off-Farm Work

Farm Op.

By color: #

Whit	47178
Negro	30953
Other nw	41

State Table 8 - Farms Reporting, Acreage, Quantity Harvested

Corn:

* Corn for all purposes

farms reporting	57604
acres	776621
value, dollars	25 641 329

Small grains harvested:

wheat	farms reporting		10537
	acres		158276
	bushels		2116662
sales	f. r.	rep.	7997
		bush.	2 355 699
		doll	4 240 260

Corn, cont.

* Harv. for grain	f. r.	55187
	acres	684262
	bush.	175 24 709
sales	f. r.	15741
	bush.	5 304528
	$	6,532,526

~~Land in farms according to use~~

~~State Table 1. Farms, Acreage & Value~~
~~Cropland Harvested — 2,094,196~~

Table 3
Farms & Farm Acreage by Color & Tenure of Operator

	#
All farm Operators	
all f. o.	78,163
full owners	38,974
part "	14743
managers	327
All tenants	24109
proportion of ten	30.8
Cash tenants	2992
Share-cash tenants	813
share tenants	6724
croppers	10775
other & unspec.	2805

	acres
All cropland harvested	2729291
F. O	977063
part owners	1074280
man	84384
a. t.	593264
c. t	99420
s-c t.	37749
s t.	179577
crop.	217154
oth & un	59209

All White Farm Operators

	#
W. F. Own.	47507
A. own.	29691
P. O.	9808
man.	326
All ten.	7682
% of ter	16.2
C-t	1372
S-C t	323
S. t	2683
Croppers	2100
Oth.	1199

	acres
Land in farms	7942508
A. own.	4173539
P. own.	2672477
man.	529140
All ten	567352
C. t	168398
S-C t	48996
S t	162834
Crop.	89092
Oth	106032

Cropland harv.	2116411
A O	834319
P O	947304
man.	80766
all t	254022
C-t	64300
S-C t	23294
S t	81375
C	49889
Ot	24864

Table 3 cm.

All N-W Farm. Op.

	#
NW F. O.	30656
f. o.	9283
p. o.	4935
man.	11
all ten.	16427
per. ng	53.6
c t	1620
s c t	490
s t	4041
crop.	8670
oth	1606
	acres
Land in farm	1199484
f. ow	477060
p. o.	260265
man.	6120
all ten	456639
c t	61930
s-c t.	19405
s t	133944
crop.	199135
oth	41625

	acres
crop. hay.	612880
f. o	142744
c o	127276
man.	3618
all-tem	339,242
c t	35-120-
s-c t	14155-
s t	98202
crop.	167265-
oth.	24490-

	N VOTING AGE	W VOTING AGE	TOTAL VOTING AGE
ALLENDALE	3421	2608	6029
EDGEFIELD	4073	4227	8300
CALHOUN	3546	2696	6242
CLARENDEN	8303	5449	13752
HAMPTON	4260	4863	9123
JASPER	3536	2797	6333
LEE	5930	4546	10476
McCORMICK	2435	1965	4400
WILLIAMSBURG	11287	7873	19160
	46791	37024	83,815

6 Land in farms by color & tenure of operator (acres)

County	White farm op.	full own.	part own.	man.	all tenants	Nonwhite color	full own.	part own.	man.	ten.
Allendale	135951	40768	83058	8585	3540	15219	6184	4001	...	5034
Edgefield	152128	92138	38745	15927	4318	20383	8522	2407	...	9454
Calhoun	141926	63049	68770	1956	8161	21007	6870	7328	...	6809
Clarendon	232534	130992	75497	3629	22421	23930	9201	5352	...	9377
Hampton	187598	94613	68871	18452	5662	11469	6005	2426	760	2278
Jasper	100698	30308	16428	51805	2157	12984	6609	3996	577	1802
Lee	151197	57327	80957	1066	11847	29411	9387	6772	...	13252
McCorm.	48372	25128	13153	8826	1265	11073	4088	2917	...	4068
Will.	280786	140601	107428	10071	22686	101180	31988	23276	...	45916
State	7915858	4193021	2599722	507374	615741	1233634	488897	260371	5533	478833

County	Corn in all p. # farms rep.	acres	Wheat in farms	acres	bushels	(bushels) sales	Peanuts in farms	acres	acres w. oil crops
Allendale	329	18883	88	3464	77851		42	456	...
Edgefield	688	7334	299	2752	53808		13	10	8
Calhoun	587	11660	303	7390	145282		22	31	...
Clarendon	2246	33328	309	2583	51542		[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
Hampton	715	25202	67	1690	26566		[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
Jasper	501	9035	4	79	1095		182	1626	27
Lee	1303	13685	608	7125	157139		38 25	5	...
Mc Com.	246	1628	70	442	7171				
Will.	3815	57807	207	1243	24587				
State	27604	776621	15537	158276	3116662		3028	11762	214

County Table #
1 Farms reporting Acreage & Quantity of Crops Par.

August 9, 1961

Subscription Department
The Urbanite Publishing Company
147 East 50th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Sirs:

We have read with great interest your April, 1961, Volume I, Number 2, The Urbanite. Our check is enclosed for a one year subscription, to begin with the current issue. We would also like to have all other back issues, which we assume would be as follows: March, May, June, July, and August. Will you please send, and bill us for the charges?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure: check for $3.50

2-15-65

Mrs. J. R. Beard
Rt. 1, Ashley Rd.
Anderson, S.C.

2-15-65

25 - Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs,
Present & Pending @ 5¢ $1.25

Feb. 16, 1965

Dear Sirs,

Please send me 100 copies of "Federal Anti Poverty Programs Present & Pending" for us to use in League of Women Voters Units in Fort Smith. Also could you send me sample copies of any other pamphlets dealing with this program that you might have? Thank you very much.

Mrs. Lester Furr
4900 Park
Fort Smith, Ark.

Sent 2-19-65 MA

---

415 Snow Rose St.
Memphis, Tenn.
38111.
Feb. 16.

Would you be kind enough to send me at least one copy (I could use 3 effectively) of "Federal Anti-Poverty Programs - Present and Pending." I am a member of TCWR Memphis, & in touch with a number of individuals & groups working locally on the "Anti-Poverty" projects. There is much interest & study going on in Memphis.

Sincerely,
Margaret C. McCullock

Feb. 8, 1965

Dear Sirs:

I would like copies of "Federal Anti-Poverty Programs - Present and Pending" for distribution at the next meeting of the United Church Women of which I am president. Also, I would like copies of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 if they are available. If possible 25 of each.

Thank you,
Mrs. J. R. Beard

February 17, 1965

Miss Elinor Lerner
COFO
1720 Military Avenue
Vicksburg, Miss.

Dear Miss Lerner:

We are sending you the 75 copies of our Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs for people who want to take them to churches and clubs in the rural parts of the county. We hope you, and they, find them helpful.

We have been charging 5¢ each (to help us with printing costs; we have already had to reorder due to the phenominal demand) but we are not sending you a bill because we are not certain of COFO's financial circumstances. However, if you need more copies, later, we may have to bill you. We have to try to keep within our publications and distribution budget.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Reseaazh Associate

Council of Federated Organizations

VICKSBURG PROJECT
1720 MILITARY AVENUE
VICKSBURG, :: MISSISSIPPI
PHONE 636-5967

February 14,1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Geotgia

Dear Sir:

Could you please send us about 75 copies of yourbooklet called Federal "Anti-poverty" Programs ,xRxxxxx Present and Pending . We will take less if you can't send 75. We have had numerous requests for copies, especially from people who want to take them to churches and clubs in the rural parts of the County. At present, we only have one copy.

If you have any other literature on the subject, we would love to see it.

Thank you.

Yours in freedom,
Elinor Lerner
1720 Military Ave.
Vicksburg, Miss.

2
75 copies
.05
$3.75

Memo from MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT

Atl League of Women Voters
20 copies 2nd Anti Poverty Program
meeting Feb. 18, 1965

Dr. Cathcart was speaker & he had told program Chm. that the best thing he had seen was our publication.

One of the League's Current Agenda items (Nat'l) is Human Resources.

2-16-65
MA

2-19-65

Mrs. Lester Furr
4900 Park
Fort Smith, Ark.

2-19-65

100 Federal Anti-Poverty Programs @ 5¢ $5.00

February 24, 1965

The Petal Paper
P. O. Box AV
Fairhope, Ala.

Dear Sirs:

We have your notice that our subscription has expired. In October we sent you a check, for a previous notice, which cleared the bank on Oct. 16, 1964 with a notation on the back that it was deposited to the personal account of the editor. Will you please check our records again?

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

LWD ✓

Check cleared bank Oct. 16th, 1964

Shall we renew?

Petal paper subscription was renewed 10/7/64 CR# 3821 for $3.00.

RHA

2/24/65

FIVE YEAR SUMMARY TO YOU

1949-1953

URBAN LEAGUE
Of Greater Cincinnati

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The Urban League of Greater Cincinnati's five year summary speaks for the steady progress the organization has been able to bring about more factually and graphically than any words of mine can do. Due to the excellent work of our Staff, the Board of Trustees, the Committees, and the Guild — our women's auxiliary — the citizens of Cincinnati are becoming increasingly receptive to the League's function in our community.

In a not too remote year, an Urban League report will probably announce that economic and civil discriminations are no longer major problems in our area. It will headline the welcome news that all of us are finally recognized on the basis of individual merit. The Urban League of Greater Cincinnati is optimistically and faithfully dedicated toward this end.

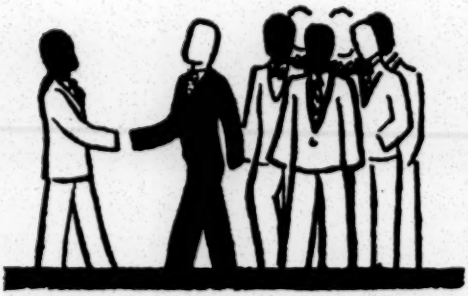
MAXWELL C. WEAVER
President
Board of Trustees
Urban League of Greater Cincinnati

An anniversary, particularly the fifth of an agency, is a good time to take inventory. Such questions as what is the Urban League of Greater Cincinnati, what is its job, how does it operate and what has it accomplished deserve answers. Because of agency philosophy and procedures few people aside from those closely associated with the organization know the facts. Thus, the five year summary.

THE STAFF

What Is The Urban League?

The Urban League of Greater Cincinnati was established in September, 1948. It is a social work organization designed to improve the living and working conditions among Negroes and to promote interracial cooperation throughout the community.



The Board of Trustees of the Urban League, its committees and membership are interracial and representative of management, the worker, organized labor, community organizations and agencies in the employment, health, race relations, housing, education and recreation fields.

Our tools — methods and techniques — are those of research, conference, education, mediation and persuasion. The program is carried by volunteers and a staff of three persons.

As one of the sixty affiliates of the National Urban League, the Urban League of Greater Cincinnati believes that equality of opportunity — to work, to play and to live as first class citizens — is the American way.

What Is The League's Job?

To provide services to management and labor in the field of race relations with stress on job and on-the-job training opportunities for Negro workers.

To provide vocational guidance and counseling services with special emphasis on preparation, employment standards and planning for the future.

To supply facts about Negro living and working conditions to be used as a basis for further improvement and community planning for health, housing, education and recreation for *all* Cincinnatians.

What Are The Results?

Community Participation

Policies and programs have been revised and expanded by fourteen public and private social, health, housing and recreation agencies, eight operators of public accommodations and seven educational institutions to include all citizens — sound community planning and action! New housing for non-whites has been developed and more is under serious consideration.

These changes grew out of seventy-five meetings called by the League and participation in 1,787 conferences with social welfare agencies and private home builders. Matters not only of interest to the non-white population but those of concern to the entire Cincinnati community were pointed. Stress has been placed on the fact that difficulties faced by Negroes can be solved only through intelligent interracial cooperation and action!

Economic Opportunity

2,277 job applicants have been interviewed, screened and referred to private industry and other community resources.

1,905 field-trips were made to industrial and business firms, labor organizations, non-profit agencies relative to these applicants, employment policies and practices.

533 jobs were developed that were new opportunities for non-whites. Among those "Pilot Placements" were sales people, chemists, engineers, a home economist, accountants, draftsmen, social workers, stenographers, secretaries, cashiers, typists, bus drivers, production line and machine workers of various kinds. One person wrote:

> It is with great pleasure that I write you this letter to let you know that the job to which you referred me is working out fine. I know that I should have written you before now and I ask that you forgive me. You will never know how much I appreciate you trying me out for this job out of all the names you had on file. I realize as I work every day dealing with the public that I symbolize the kind of democracy you and the Urban League are fighting so hard to maintain.
>
> In the office everyone shares and shares alike. Not even the slightest bit of tension is there. Mr. X. is a wonderful person to work for and I handle all of his correspondence. I also do telephone dispatching. It is all very wonderful and interesting. I have found true friends in Y and Z and Mr. X thinks a lot of them. I guess as a whole you can be proud of us. Thank you very much again.
>
> Yours very truly,

76 employers hired for the first time or placed Negroes in new job categories.

New employment opportunities developed are represented in a conservative estimate of $1,500,000.00, the total annual income of these "pilot workers." The human values involved are inestimable!!!

One company employed its first colored employee in 1952. The firm now uses 150 non-whites as office workers, assembly line operators and technicians. Its president's letter:

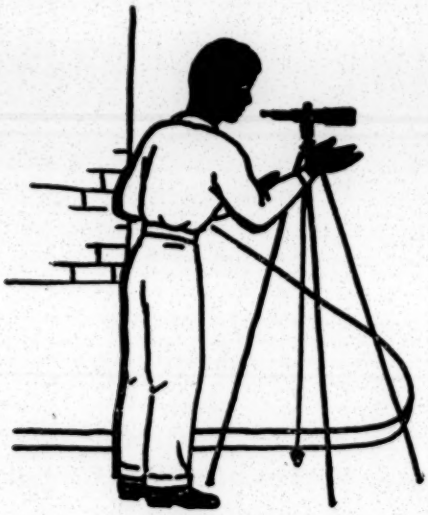
> I want to express my appreciation of your fine cooperation in this undertaking. As you can well imagine a change of this kind is accompanied

by a certain number of internal problems. We are well satisfied with the results and will continue actively to work with you and the Urban League in furthering this employment.

We are well pleased and gratified with the type of Negro personnel hired. They are all performing well in their jobs and are an asset to our company. We will continue to employ personnel in our offices and factory on merit. We do appreciate the help the League has been to us and hope that you will continue to be of assistance.

Yours very truly,

1,800 young people have been counseled with regard to their vocational futures and job adjustments. General appearance, attitude, job conduct and performance, confidence in one's self and setting of goals have been given major considerations. 200 visits to schools, agencies and organizations have been made to resolve their special problems and to share with others new vocational opportunities for minorities. Full and partial scholarships at seven colleges and universities were arranged.



A young woman who had a series of job failures was referred. After interviews with our Counselor she located work and wrote:

This letter is to indicate my sincere appreciation for the guidance and aid you have given me during the past year. It is my desire to commend you for your vigorous, progressive attention to matters relative to employment. It is my hope that you will continue to perform in as commendable a fashion.

I am very happy in the position that I now have. I feel that you have been instrumental in helping me to handle situations that everyone encounters at some time in life.

Wishing you luck in the coming year.

Sincerely,

2,081 requests for human relations and Urban League information were filled. Among those served were government officials, students on the high school, college and graduate school levels, individuals from agencies and organizations of a civic, social, educational or service nature.

24,787 individuals have been reached through interviews and other services rendered, speeches and projects sponsored.

Looking Forward

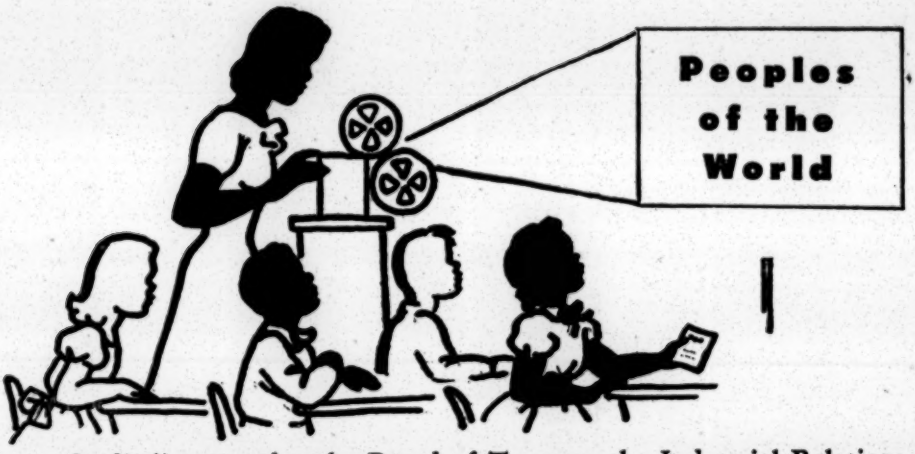
The study, "Racial Discrimination in Employment in the Cincinnati Area," completed in 1953 by Dr. Alfred Kuhn of the University of Cincinnati provides specific reasons for future plans! For example, a few quotes:

> In 1952, employment of Negroes in a broad sampling of 294 employers (143,702 jobs) was almost 25% below their proportion (10.6%) of the metropolitan population.
>
> Only $\frac{1}{8}$ of Cincinnati's industries employ Negroes at a rate approximating their population proportion. Where Negroes are employed, they are largely confined to the least desirable types of work.
>
> The median income for Negro families is $1645 per year, as contrasted to a median of $2970 for whites. As much as 83% of the Negro families earn less than the median income for Whites.
>
> In clerical and sales jobs, Whites are 9 times as likely to be placed as Negroes; 5 times as likely to be placed in skilled industrial work; and 6 times as likely in semi-skilled work. In service jobs, Negroes are 5 times as likely to be placed as Whites, but this reversal of the ratio by no means offsets their low placement rate in longer lasting and generally more desirable jobs.
>
> Lack of qualification for jobs on the part of Negroes is an important partial cause of the differences in jobs held, but can by no means be regarded as the only answer to the question posed by such differences.
>
> The Negro student finds many avenues of vocational training closed to him, regardless of what his qualifications may be, and he is discouraged from taking training in many other fields because there is little likelihood of his getting a job. These two factors are important to the problem of lack of qualification.
>
> Employment discrimination itself is an important factor in lack of qualification, killing initiative and incentive to learn.
>
> In a count of all job orders closed during a ten-week period in 1952, the Cincinnati office of the Ohio State Employment Service found that 76% of the job orders specified "white only."

Efforts shall be doubled to develop new and better job and training opportunities based strictly on qualification and merit.

Special attention shall be devoted to vocational guidance and counseling thus building for initiative and desire to improve.

Continued effort shall be directed at community facilities being available to all with housing a primary objective.



Credit lines are due the Board of Trustees, the Industrial Relations, Health and Housing, Education and Recreation Committees who have been of immeasurable help.

A tribute is in order to the Racial Amity Committee which for 16 years has been a race relations sounding board in the community and has sponsored the Interracial Fellowship Dinners and Annual Meetings of the Urban League and its predecessor, the Division of Negro Welfare.

The Guild, our women's organization and public relations arm, has presented four major projects, two art shows and teas honoring a volunteer and membership. These women have aided greatly in telling the Urban League story and by giving of their time and energy to special projects. They together with many others, have had vital roles in improving human relations in Cincinnati.

Special words of appreciation are more than merited by the Council of Social Agencies and the Community Chest of Cincinnati and Hamilton County for their assistance in planning and financing.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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MR. JERRY MAXEY

STAFF

JOSEPH A. HALL, *Executive Secretary*
FRANCIS L. DOWDELL, *Industrial Relations Secretary*
ESTHER M. DANTLEY, *Administrative Secretary*

Urban League of Greater Cincinnati
312 West Ninth Street — **PArkway 3160**

NEWSLETTER
of the Commission on Human Rights
City of Milwaukee

Vol. I - No. 14 March-April, 1955

ANNUAL REPORT TO THE COMMUNITY

Approximately 275 representatives of governmental, religious, veteran, labor, industrial, educational and civic organizations participated in the Commission's Third Annual Report to the Milwaukee Community on April 26. Highlights of the occasion were the following presentations: "A Housing Guide for Action," prepared by Dr. Frank S. Horne, Assistant to the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, and given by William S. Hill, Racial Relations Officer, Public Housing Administration; and an excellent report by Mrs. Julia Abrahamson, Executive Director, Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, on how Chicago won national commendation by facing up to problems occasioned by changes in population characteristics.

After outlining significant provisions in the 1954 federal housing law designed to assist communities in eliminating slums and rehabilitating neighborhoods, Dr. Horne's paper suggested these steps by community groups "interested in preserving Milwaukee's reputation as an All-American city":

"See that your urban renewal program continues and extends the occupancy policies of your public housing program.

"Make friends of and 'work on' and with the more liberal realtors, builders and lenders.

"Encourage and assist the individual qualified nonwhite families to secure homes wherever their money and desire can take them.

"Support enforcement of objective city codes, property use and occupancy standards without regard to race.

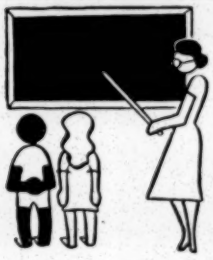
"Avoid the dilemna of "white sites' and 'Negro sites' or 'white housing' and 'Negro housing', by consistent spread of the American free enterprise concept of a total housing market open to the bargaining of any American family.

"Develop a consistent, well conceived community education program specifically geared to the assets of the new Negro economic middle class, his latter day record as credit risk, maintainer of property and also good neighbor; to exploding the myths of the effects of race on property values, etc.

"Every possible channel of communication should be utilized by those who know how to create the climate of (Please see Community-Wide - Page 4)

TOWARD FREEDOM AND EQUALITY

EDUCATION



Nearly 250,000 Negro and white children are attending classes peaceably together in 500 public elementary and high schools which until last year, had been for the exclusive use of boys and girls of one race or another.

This introduction of democratic patterns in education is the direct result of the U. S. Supreme Court's historic anti-segregation decision, the anniversary of which will be celebrated May 17.

In the 12 months, school desegregation has been initiated in the District of Columbia, in Baltimore, two cities in Arkansas, 29 counties in West Virginia, 30 communities in Missouri, five towns in scattered areas of Arizona and New Mexico.

Acceptance Voted for Negro Colleges

West Virginia's 2 Negro colleges were voted membership in the West Virginia Intercollegiate Conference, the first time in the history of the state. The Conference voted unanimously to admit West Virginia State College and Bluefield State College into the Conference increasing the membership to 16.

The action was taken on motion of Dr. Paul N. Elbin, president of West Liberty State Col., who said that since segregation was abolished in the state colleges, "it seems applicable that the admission of these two Negro Colleges to the conference would follow logically.

Equality in Employment

On April 20, 1955, Governor Freeman signed into law Minnesota's fully enforceable FEP act which will become effective July 1, 1955.

The administration-sponsored FEP measure passed the Minnesota House of Representatives on April 13, 1955, by a vote of 96 to 30. Two days later, the Senate concurred by a vote of 49 to 10. In signing the measure, on April 20, 1955, Governor Orville L. Freeman stated that he was doing so because it was "morally right, economically sound and because it contributes to the leadership in democracy throughout the world by showing we live up to what we profess -- equal opportunity for all." Thus, Minnesota became the ninth state to enact a fully enforceable FEP law and the first state to pass such an act since 1949.

The Act covers all employers of 8 or more persons as well as employment agencies and labor organizations. It prohibits discrimination itself and acts facilitating discrimination such as eliciting from job applicants information relating to their race, religion or national origin.

The Act assigns $30,000 for administration for each of the next 2 years.

CONGRATULATIONS

Alverno College, a Catholic women's college in Milwaukee, received a Thomas J. Crowe award from the College Division of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago. Alverno College was cited for promoting interracial justice and harmony. The award was presented to Sister Mary Augustine, O.S.F., President of the College on May 15 on occasion of the Annual Communion Breakfast of the Catholic Interracial Council in Chicago.

Summer Workshops in Intergroup Relations

The following is a partial list of 1955 summer workshops in intergroup relations to be held in colleges and universities located in the Middlewest. To the extent possible, data have been included regarding dates, fees and credits. Scholarships are available for some of the courses. Application should be made to the institution at which the course is offered. Some of the workshops are conducted in cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews or the Anti-Defamation League. Early application is advisable:

ILLINOIS: Northwestern University, Evanston - June 20-July 30; tuition $87; 6 credits, graduate or undergraduate.

University of Chicago, Chicago- "4th Annual Midwest Workshop in Community Human Relations," July 25 - August 12; tuition $100.00 plus $15 registration; may be taken on credit or non-credit basis.

INDIANA: Indiana University, Bloomington -- "Workshop in Intergroup Relations," July 18 -- August 5; Tuition, $6.50 per credit hour for Indiana residents, $10.25 per credit hour for non-residents, no fees for non-credit students; 1 to 3 credit hours.

MICHIGAN: University of Detroit, Detroit -- "Workshop in Human Relations," June 27-July 22; tuition, $75.00 for undergraduates, $90 for graduate students; 6 credit hours.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor August 1-August 13; Tuition $25.00 for state residents, $30 for non-residents; 2 credits.

OHIO: Kent State University, Kent-- July 24 - Aug 12; tuition $70.00; 3 credits, graduate or undergraduate.

WISCONSIN: Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee --- two concurrent workshops, June 20-July 29; tuition for each $50, 6 credits, graduate or undergraduate.

New York Law Prohibiting Bias in FHA-Aided Housing

On April 15, 1955, New York State's Governor Averell Harriman signed two laws dealing with discrimination in housing. One, the first state law of its kind, forbids discrimination in housing which receives government mortgage insurance; the other, a procedural measure, grants the State Commission Against Discrimination jurisdiction to enforce the previously existing laws barring discrimination in public and publicly-assisted housing.

The law which bars discrimination in housing covered by government mortgage insurance marks a most significant advance. It applies to multiple dwellings and developments of ten or more homes which receive, after July 1, 1955, VA mortgate guarantee, FHA mortgage insurance, or a commitment from a government agency to insure. It covers mortgages for acquisition, construction, rehabilitation, repair or maintenance. The prohibition lasts as long as the insurance is outstanding.

New York State has established a precedent by laying down a standard of conduct for a builder if he wishes to take advantage of government mortgage insurance. Because of the real assistance that FHA and VA offer the builder or developer, it is not expected they will refuse to comply.

COMMUNITY-WIDE MEETING

(Continued from Page 1)

sentiment in which President Eisenhower's slum vaccine may get as good a chance to work as undoubtedly the polio vaccine of Dr. Salk's will."

Voluntary Action

How the Hyde Park-Kenwood community in Chicago "faced up to its problem" and won the area national commendation was outlined by Mrs. Julia Abrahamson, Executive Director of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference.

The sprawling neighborhood was in transition six years ago with Negro and other minority groups starting to move in, she reported.

A voluntary organization was established which "sought information to replace rumor with facts, set up clinics to train leaders and to make detailed studies that would be the base for planning."

More than 240 block groups (representing about two-thirds of the area) were formed, she said, to work for "rehabilitation of dwellings, have abandoned cars hauled away, develop playgrounds and prevent unscrupulous real estate operators from turning vacant properties into rabbit hutches."

As a result of more than five years of effort, the community area was selected as the nation's first urban renewal project, with 47 acres destined to be cleared.

CITY OF MILWAUKEE
COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
CITY HALL . MILWAUKEE 2, WISCONSIN

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

APR 12 1955

SEAEA NEWSLETTER

BEFORE THE CONFERENCE REPORT

For

Communication Among Southeastern Adult Educators

March, 1955

14TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN MIAMI . . .

Make your plans at once for the Miami Conference. The dates are April 17, 18, and 19, and the Columbus Hotel is the place. The local arrangements committee has been hard at work with the program approved by the Executive Committee. The conference should be among the best. With "Adult Education at Work in a Free Society" as our central idea the program is designed to make us carefully examine what has been done, what is being done, and how we can do it better. The questionnaires which were returned from the October Newsletter were very helpful; there should have been many more! With all the help thus made available, the committee has tried to provide a program which will be meaningful to the greatest numbers. There will be a symposium, speeches, reports, an educational smorgasbord (without formal reports), and free time for planned tours, shopping, or just getting acquainted.

The date of this conference puts it after the Florida "Winter Season" when room and meal rates are very reasonable. Hotel rates are listed on page 2. Please write for reservations now. The Columbus reports that many reservations are already in. This hotel is centrally located on Biscayne Blvd. All meetings will be held in the Hotel. (Continued on Page 2)

PREVIEW OF THE CONFERENCE . . .

All activities are scheduled for the Columbus Hotel beginning with registration at 2:00 P.M., Sunday, April 17. The reception at 5:00 P.M. will provide an opportunity for renewing old friendships and making new ones. Dr. Mitchell, Pres. of SEAEA will introduce Dr. Paul Essert, President of AEA and other notables. We will really get down to business at eight o'clock that evening with an address by Dr. Mitchell and a report on the Atlanta Study Conference and other regional projects by Dr. Andrew Hendrickson.

On Monday morning at nine, Dr. H. Franklin Williams will moderate a symposium on "How Do We Face Current Issues", including such issues as Problems of Minorities, Federal Aid to Education, Individual Liberties, and others. Speaking at this time will be: Dr. William Cooper, Hampton Institute; Dr. George D. Epley and Dr. J. Beery of the University of Miami; Thomas D. Bailey, Florida School Superintendent; Richard W. Ervin, Attorney General of Fla. and Mrs. Mabel Norris Reece, Editor of the "Mt. Dora Topics", Mt. Dora, Florida.

After this exciting experience, a tour of "Villa Viscaya" will be a welcome change of pace. This villa, built by John Deering with an unlimited purse and materials and artists (Continued on Page 2)

CONFERENCE IN MIAMI (Continued)

Parking is available in nearby lots and garages. The railroad stations are only a small taxi-fare away and airport limousines stop at the Columbus.

Remember that registration begins at 2:00 P.M., Sunday, April 17. Then at 5:00 P.M. we will have a reception for everyone giving you a chance to meet your officers, Dr. Paul Essert, Pres. of AEA, and other dignitaries. This follows the same general pattern of last year's Mobile Conference. It makes the weekend available for traveling and gets us off to a good start Sunday night with our first general session. The conference will close at noon on April 19. NOW before you put this newsletter down on your cluttered desk, WRITE, WIRE, PHONE for your reservation in Miami. It's certain that this conference will be a good one as well as a big one. You want to be with your friends and fellow-workers so do it now. Below are listed hotel rates and addresses.

* * * * * * *

COMMITTEE ON LOCAL
ARRANGEMENTS FOR MIAMI CONFERENCE . . .

Mr. Gilbert Balkin, B'nai B'rith, Miami; Mr. James Burnsted, Ft. Lauderdale, Broward County Schools; Mrs. Hilda Eason, Miami Public Library; Mr. Rick Franklin, University of Miami; Mr. L. W. Henderson, Miami-Dade County Schools; Mr. M. Jancsik, Miami-Dade County Schools; Mrs. Genevieve McHenry, State Department of Education; Dr. Frank Sessa, Miami Public Library; Mr. Seymour Samet, American Jewish Committee, Miami.

CONFERENCE PREVIEW (Continued)

from the wide world is now a part of the Dade County Park system. Its landscaped grounds, gardens, and interiors are well worth a visit. Those who do not care to inspect "Viscaya" may take other tours, shop or loaf!

Dr. Mitchell will preside at the business session which will begin at eight that night. Dr. Essert will then bring his message. The major opus of the evening will be "Creating a Free Society" by Dr. Coolie Verner, Professor of Adult Education, FSU. Not being satisfied with all this, we will have an "Educational Smorgasbord" allowing us to pick and choose from TV, Leadership Training, Utilizing Volunteers, Handling Hot Issues, Civil Defense, Worker Education, and a host of others.

Tuesday morning will find us in general session again at nine o'clock with a program not yet entirely determined but promising to be just as stimulating as all those preceding. Malcolm Knowles of AEA will help Richard Beckhard and others with our summaries and evaluation. With completion of reports and plans, another conference of the Southeastern Adult Education Association will be history, but it is the earnest hope of the officers and committee workers that each one of us can carry away a little something that is new and valuable and that we will all be a little bit changed "at work in a free society".

* * * * * * * * * *

REMEMBER THE CONFERENCE DATES
April 17, 18, and 19, in Miami

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION $3.00

* * * * * * * * * * * *

CONFERENCE HOTELS IN MIAMI

The Columbus Hotel (All meetings and reception held here.)

Room Rates: Single, $6.00-$8.00; Twin, $8.00-$10.00; Combination Twin Room and Single Room (2 Rooms for 3 people) $4.00 each person; Suites, (Parlor and bedroom) $25.00. These are special rates for this organization, so be sure to state in your request that you are coming for the Southeastern Adult Education Conference.

Negroes should make reservations at the following hotels and motel:

Carver Hotel, 899 N. W. Third Ave., $3.00 per person per day.
Dorsey Hotel, 941 N. W. Second Ave., $4.00 single, $5.00 double.
Mary Elizabeth Hotel, 642 N. W. Second Ave., $6.00 single, $7.00 double.
Lord Calvert Hotel, 276 N. W. Sixth St., $8.24 single, $10.30 double.
Booker T Motel, 4230 N. W. 27 Ave., $4.50 single, $6.50 double.

April 1, 1960

Mr. William E. Bippus
Manager of Hotel Sales
Williamsburg Restoration, Inc.
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Bippus:

Thank you so much for your letter of March 31 in regard to facilities for convention groups provided by the three hotels in Colonial Williamsburg. I dislike troubling you again; however, I do not find the pamphlet, which was to have been enclosed, listing the size of the hotels and their facilities. We would like very much to have this information, and would appreciate your forwarding the pamphlet at your convenience.

We are grateful for the information you have detailed for us, and we will certainly make clear in the forthcoming directory that, although Williamsburg welcomes convention groups, during certain seasons priority must be extended to visitors to the historic attractions in your area.

Sincerely yours,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

April 4, 1960
(dictated April 1, 1960)

Mr. Walter E. Crawford
Atlanta Convention Bureau
Rhodes Haverty Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Crawford:

Miss Manderson has told me of your call on Wednesday. I am enclosing some materials descriptive of the Council and its work, and I trust that these will give you the desired information regarding our organization and objectives.

The survey which we are doing of biracial accommodations in the South was, in fact, as we noted in the questionnaires which were sent out, urged on us by several organizations as well as individuals. We believe that there is a legitimate interest in this information and that compiling it will be a service to groups which need biracial meeting places, and to hotels and other establishments which are able to furnish them. It is too early for us to have definitely decided on the form in which our report will be presented. I can, however, assure you of this: the report will be factual and objective, and there will be a sincere effort not to embarass or spotlight any hotel or other establishment.

I want to thank you for your call and your attention to our request. If there are any other matters you would like to discuss, please call. Incidentally, we are receiving rather good response both from hotels and convention bureaus.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: L-1
The Changing South

April 8, 1960

Mr. Lowell S. Hamilton, Manager
Birmingham Convention Bureau
1914 - 6th Avenue, North
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 30. We look forward to conferring with you on your next trip to Atlanta.

We also appreciate your suggestion that we contact Mr. Crawford of Atlanta's Convention Bureau. We have already been in touch with him and he has been of considerable help; however, practices in regard to accommodations for biracial groups vary so from state to state and city to city that we believe contact with individuals in each of the cities within our range to be the most accurate method of gathering information for the proposed directory.

Cordially,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM6a

Widespread opinion to the contrary, public accommodations in Southern states are not generally required by law either to segregate or exclude Negroes. Virginia does, by statute require segregation in "any place of public entertainment or public assemblage," although the specific application of the law seem not to be wholly clear. Tennessee, and perhaps other states as well, has an administrative regulation prohibiting whites and Negroes from being served food together in hotels and restaurants; the regulation has so far been ignored in the desegregation of lunch counters in Knoxville and Nashville. Several A number of cities and towns have ordinances prohibiting non-segregated meetings; no compilation of such ordinances has been made. The prevalent pattern, however, both in state and municipal legislation, is not outright prohibitions (which raise directly the issue of state-action and therefore of constitutional rights); it is rather to leave the hotel proprietor legally free to select his guests. The proprietor remains, of course, subject to the restraints, or assumed restraints, of community custom.

March 17, 1960

Mr. George B. Tindall
Department of History
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Tindall:

You will probably be interested in seeing the enclosed letter, which represents our first step in a survey of meeting accomodations available to biracial groups. It was mailed to some 50 intergroup organizations - the majority of which replied - in mid-February.

Unfortunately, we have been able to give the project only sporadic attention during the last month, but we do hope to complete within the next week mailing of detailed questionnaires to the following:

1. Convention bureaus in those Southern cities in which they exist.

2. Chambers of Commerce in 90 cities, selected on the basis of size or other factors, making them suitable convention sites.

3. Some 231 hotels in these cities, selected on the basis of number of rooms (100 or over).

4. A (yet undetermined) number of regional and national organizations. As you suggested in your letter of December 12, 1959, to Harold Fleming, these groups will be questioned in regard to their attitudes on the problem of non-discriminatory meeting accommodations.

We hope that returns from these mailings will provide information which will enable us to issue a final report in two sections: one will be a directory of non-discriminatory facilities; the second will be in the form of an interpretive piece concerned with the attitudes of the groups, loss to the region in convention business, the variances in practice from state to state, laws and ordinances, etc.

I have the list of meeting places you forwarded Mr. Fleming in December, and it has already been of considerable help. We will, of course, be happy to receive any of your suggestions or comments on the survey. We will write you again when we have further information which may be of interest.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a
Enclosure, form letter

SURVEY: CONFERENCE CENTERS

Alabama:

C.B. 1. Birmingham
2. Gadsden
3. Mobile
* 4. Montgomery
** 5. Tuscaloosa

Arkansas:

** 1. Fayetteville
2. Fort Smith
* 3. Little Rock
4. Hot Springs
5. Mt. Sequoia

Florida:

1. Fort Lauderdale
** 2. Gainesville
CB 3. Jacksonville
CB 4. Miami
CB 5. Miami Beach
CB 6. Orlando
7. St. Petersburg
CB 8. Tampa
* 9. Tallahassee
10. West Palm Beach
11. Key West
12. Coral Gables

Georgia:

** 1. Athens
CB * 2. Atlanta
3. Augusta
4. Columbus
5. Macon
6. Savannah

Kentucky:

1. Covington
2. Berea
* 3. Frankfort
** 4. Lexington
CB 5. Louisville
6. Mammoth Cave

* State Capitals ** University centers

Louisiana:

** * 1. Baton Rouge
CB 2. New Orleans
3. Shreveport

Mississippi:

* 1. Jackson
2. Natchez
3. Biloxi
4. University, Miss.

North Carolina:

CB 1. Asheville
2. Charlotte
3. Durham
4. Greensboro
* 5. Raleigh
6. Winston-Salem
7. Pinehurst
8. Montreat
9. Lake Junaluska
** 10. Chapel Hill

Oklahoma:

* 1. Oklahoma City
2. Tulsa
** 3. Norman

South Carolina:

** 1. Charleston
* 2. Columbia
3. Greenville

Tennessee:

CB 1. Chattanooga
** 2. Knoxville
CB 3. Memphis
* 4. Nashville
5. Gatlinburg
6. Monteagle
7. Sewanee
8. Oak Ridge

Texas:

1. Amarillo
** * 2. Austin
3. Beaumont
4. CorpusChristi
CB 5. Dallas
6. El Paso
7. Fort Worth
CB 8. Houston
9. Laredo
10. Lubbock
11. Port Arthur
12. San Angelo
13. San Antonio
14. Waco

Virginia:

1. Alexandria
2. Charlottesville
3. Norfolk
4. Portsmouth
CB * 5. Richmond
6. Roanoke
7. Williamsburg
8. Hot Springs
9. Newport News

April 6, 1961

Supt. of Transportation
Tampa Transit Lines
Tampa, Florida

Dear Sir:

The progressive step of hiring Negro drivers for passenger runs is currently being considered by transit systems in a number of Southern cities. For publication in our monthly New South, we would be grateful for information about your utilization of Negro drivers. (We are also writing the several other companies, who along with the Tampa Transit Co., took the lead in this area during the past year.)

Most particularly, we wouldllike to know:

(1) How many Negro drivers are presently employed by your company?

(2) Are they assigned to predominantly Negro runs? Are they restricted from any runs?

(3) What is your evaluation of the success of the program?

Any additional observations would, of course, be of interest.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/jf

April 6, 1961

Donald E. Eyer, President
Kansas City Public Service Co.
Kansas City Missouri

Dear Sir:

The progressive step of hiring Negro drivers for passenger runs is currently being considered by transit systems in a number of Southern cities. For publication in our monthly New South, we would be grateful for information about your utilization of Negro drivers. (We are also writing the several other companies who, along with the Kansas City Public Service Co. took the lead in this area during the past year.)

Most particularly, we would like to know:

(1) How many Negro drivers are presently employed by your company?

(2) Are they assigned to predominantly Negro runs? Are they restricted from any runs?

(3) What is your evaluation of the success of the program?

Any additional observations would, of course, be of interest.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/jf

April 6, 1961

Supt. of Transportation
Jacksonville Transit Lines
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Sir:

The progressive step of hiring Negro drivers for passenger runs is currently being considered by transit systems in a number of Southern cities. For publication in our monthly New South, we would be grateful for information about your utilization of Negro drivers. (We are also writing the several other companies who, along with the Jacksonville Transit Lines, took the lead in this area during the past year.)

Most particularly, we would like to know:

(1) How many Negro drivers are presently employed by your company?

(2) Are they assigned to predominantly Negro runs? Are they restricted from any runs?

(3) What is your evaluation of the success of the program?

Any additional observations would, of course, be of interest.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Rearch Assistant

MM/jf

April 6, 1961

Mr. R. J. Cartwright
Supt. of Transportation
Mobile City Lines

Dear Sir:

The progressive step of hiring Negro drivers for passenger runs is currently being considered by transit systems in a number of Southern cities. For publication in our monthly New South, we would be grateful for information about your utilization of Negro drivers. (We are also writing the several other companies who, along with the Mobile City Lines, took the lead in this area during the past year.)

Most particularly, we would like to know:

(1) How many Negro drivers are presently employed by your company?

(2) Are they assigned to predominantly Negro runs? Are they restricted from any runs?

(3) What is your evaluation of the success of the program?

Any additional observations would, of course, be of interest.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/jf

April 6, 1961

Supt. of Transportation
Nashville Transit Authority
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Sir:

The progressive step of hiring Negro drivers for passenger runs is currently being considered by transit systems in a number of Southern cities. For publication in our monthly New South, we would be gratefull for information about your utilization of Negro drivers. (We are also writing the several companies who, along with the Nashville Transit Authority, took the lead in this area during the past year.)

Most particularly, we would like to know:

(1) How many Negro drivers are presently employed by your company?

(2) Are they assigned to predominantly Negro runs? Are they restricted from any runs?

(3) What is your evaluation of the success of the program?

Any additional observations would, of course, be of interest.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/jf

123 NORTH WEST STREET
P. O. BOX 57
JACKSON 5, MISSISSIPPI

April 23, 1958

Miss Marge R. Manderson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson

A ten day absence from the City has caused the delay in my reply to your letter of April 10.

As far as I know, there is complete segregation in all of the bus, train and air line waiting rooms in Mississippi. There has been established no difference, as far as I know of, in the facilities for interstate and intra-state passengers.

All eating places are also strictly segregated.

In the railroad facility here in Jackson, the white passengers are not even allowed to walk through the negro waiting room although this was a long established custom several years ago.

Trusting that this answers your inquiry sufficiently, and with all good wishes to you and all at the Council office, I remain

Sincerely in Christ,

+ Joseph B. Brunini

Joseph B. Brunini
Auxiliary Bishop of Natchez-Jackson

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

JC and MM:

Please see that final report on waiting room survey is sent to Miss Pinkerton. (See attached ltr.)

C
O
P
Y

July 7, 1958

Miss Aileen B. Pinkerton
Consultant on Personnel and Information
National Travelers Aid Association
72 West 45th Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Miss Pinkerton:

Thank you for your letter of July 3. I am sorry we didn't have the foresight to write you about our survey at the outset.

Enclosed is a copy of the questionnaire we have circulated to knowledgeable sources in various Southern communities, including some of your member agencies. As you probably know, one of the Council's functions over the years has been documentation of changing racial patterns in the South. This survey is intended to update our information in the field of transportation. When the survey is completed, we expect to publish a report of the findings. I shall see that you and your appropriate member agencies receive copies.

The sources of our information will be treated confidentially. Anything you may do to encourage the local associations to cooperate in the survey will be warmly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Questionnaire on Waiting Room Survey)

March 2, 1959

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
Mr. Harry S. Jones, Executive Director
121 E. Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Jones:

May we ask you again for assistance? We have had numerous reminders of the need for and interest in an accurate survey of the segregation patterns now prevailing in the city terminals of bus, rail and air lines. There is at present no reliable report on these conditions.

Our hope is that you may be able to select, from your membership, someone in each of the North Carolina cities that we would like to include in the survey, and that the person selected will be willing to obtain the information called for on the enclosed questionnaire. Because we intend to release the data to the press, to other agencies, and to governmental bodies, the local reporters should be careful observers. Because we want the survey to reflect the real conditions, they should also be "see-it-yourself" sort of people. If in any locality you do not have members whom you could recruit for this task, but do know of some other qualified person, please feel free to draft him or her, if possible.

The cities are: Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh

One other word. This survey was first attempted last Summer, and some partial results were obtained. For one reason or too many, it was not completed in shape satisfactory for release. The intervening months have not obliterated the usefulness of the undertaking, nor our gratitude to those who previously helped with it. The data which we then received (and which may or may not be out of date now) is shown on the enclosure. You will note that the cities covered then differed somewhat from the group which we have selected now.

I hope you will find it possible to help us do over what has to be done over, and do anew what has not been done. We would like to get this off our chests quickly.

This is my first occasion, since taking up my job with the Council, to correspond with you. Let my plea for help in this instance be an invitation and a precedent for you to call on our research staff here whenever you think we might aid you.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. Two copies of the questionnaire for each city are enclosed in case extras are needed by your local observers. Extra copies of last Summer's data are also included so that you may distribute them to the observers.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

This is a survey of waiting room practices in the larger southern cities. As you undoubtedly know, segregation of interstate passengers has been prohibited by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The rights of intrastate passengers are not yet clearly defined.

The data you report will be compiled with that of other observers and used, depending on its findings, for press release and report to governmental agencies. We ask, therefore, that you verify all the information personally.

For this effort, over and above the call of duty, you have SRC's warmest and most sincere thanks.

CITY _____

WAITING ROOM DESEGREGATION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Bus, Train and Air Line Waiting Rooms

a. Are there separate waiting rooms for Negroes?

Bus: yes ___ no ___ Train: yes ___ no ___ Air: yes ___ no ___

b. If so, are Negro interstate passengers allowed to sit in the white waiting rooms?

Bus: yes ___ no ___ Train: yes ___ no ___ Air: yes ___ no ___

c. Do they in actual practice?

Bus: Frequently ___ Infrequently ___ Never ___ Train: Frequently ___ Infrequently ___ Never ___ Air: Frequently ___ Infrequently ___ Never ___

d. Are Negro intrastate passengers allowed to sit in the white, or general waiting room?

Bus: yes ___ no ___ Train: yes ___ no ___ Air: yes ___ no ___

e. Do they in actual practice?

Bus: Frequently ___ Infrequently ___ Never ___ Train: Frequently ___ Infrequently ___ Never ___ Air: Frequently ___ Infrequently ___ Never ___

2. Are toilets segregated?

Bus: yes ___ no ___ Train: yes ___ no ___ Air: yes ___ no ___

3. Restaurants

a. Does the terminal include a restaurant or lunch counter?

Bus: yes ___ no ___ Train: yes ___ no ___ Air: yes ___ no ___

b. If so, are Negroes allowed to sit and be served in the same restaurant or at the same counter with whites?

Bus: yes ___ no ___ Train: yes ___ no ___ Air: yes ___ no ___

c. If they are not served with whites, please indicate what eating facilities, if any, are provided for Negroes?

Bus:

Train:

Air:

4. Transportation to and from terminal

a. Are all taxi-cabs allowed to carry either Negro or white passengers?
yes ___ no ___

Do they in actual practice? yes ___ no ___

b. Do air line limousines carry Negroes without segregation? yes ___
no ___

5. Comment

(Any remarks that you would like to add? These would be of value and interest to SRC as suggesting the general attitude of the city. Information regarding the policy and attitude of the police would be especially helpful, as would news of any city ordinances of the past three or four years dealing with waiting rooms. Please also use this space for elaborating on any of the above questions which cannot be answered simply yes or no.)

Signed _____

Address _____

March 2, 1959

Dr. A. W. Dent, President
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
c/o Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Dent:

May we ask you again for assistance? We have had numerous reminders of the need for and interest in an accurate survey of the segregation patterns now prevailing in the city terminals of bus, rail and air lines. There is at present no reliable report on these conditions.

Our hope is that you may be able to select, from your membership, someone in each of the Louisiana cities that we would like to include in the survey, and that the person selected will be willing to obtain the information called for on the enclosed questionnaire. Because we intend to release the data to the press, to other agencies, and to governmental bodies, the local reporters should be careful observers. Because we want the survey to reflect the real conditions, they should also be "see-it-yourself" sort of people. If in any locality you do not have members whom you could recruit for this task, but do know of some other qualified person, please feel free to draft him or her, if possible.

The cities are: Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Shreveport

One other word. This survey was first attempted last Summer, and some partial results were obtained. For one reason or too many, it was not completed in shape satisfactory for release. The intervening months have not obliterated the usefulness of the undertaking, nor our gratitude to those who previously helped with it. The data which we then received (and which may or may not be out of date now) is shown on the enclosure. You will note that the cities covered then differed somewhat from the group which we have selected now.

I hope you will find it possible to help us do over what has to be done over, and do anew what has not been done. We would like to get this off our chests quickly.

This is my first occasion, since taking up my job with the Council, to correspond with you. Let my plea for help in this instance be an invitation and a precedent for you to call on our research staff here whenever you think we might aid you.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. Two copies of the questionnaire for each city are enclosed in case extras are needed by your local observers. Extra copies of last Summer's data are also included so that you may distribute them to the observers.

March 2, 1959

Mr. William K. Williams, Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Williams:

May we ask you again for assistance? We have had numerous reminders of the need for and interest in an accurate survey of the segregation patterns now prevailing in the city terminals of bus, rail and air lines. There is at present no reliable report on these conditions.

Our hope is that you may be able to select, from your membership, someone in each of the Florida cities that we would like to include in the survey, and that the person selected will be willing to obtain the information called for on the enclosed questionnaire. Because we intend to release the data to the press, to other agencies, and to governmental bodies, the local reporters should be careful observers. Because we want the survey to reflect the real conditions, they should also be "see-it-yourself" sort of people. If in any locality you do not have members whom you could recruit for this task, but do know of some other qualified person, please feel free to draft him or her, if possible.

The cities are: Jacksonville, Miami, St. Petersburg, Tampa

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Director of Research

LWD:a

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March 2, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Griswold:

May we ask you again for assistance? We have had numerous reminders of the need for and interest in an accurate survey of the segregation patterns now prevailing in the city terminals of bus, rail and air lines. There is at present no reliable report on these conditions.

Our hope is that you may be able to select, from your membership, someone in each of the Arkansas cities that we would like to include in the survey, and that the person selected will be willing to obtain the information called for on the enclosed questionnaire. Because we intend to release the data to the press, to other agencies, and to governmental bodies, the local reporters should be careful observers. Because we want the survey to reflect the real conditions, they should also be "see-it-yourself" sort of people. If in any locality you do not have members whom you could recruit for this task, but do know of some other qualified person, please feel free to draft him or her, if possible.

The cities are: Little Rock, Fort Smith

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Director of Research

LWD:a

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March 2, 1959

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

May we ask you again for assistance? We have had numerous reminders of the need for and interest in an accurate survey of the segregation patterns now prevailing in the city terminals of bus, rail and air lines. There is at present no reliable report on these conditions.

Our hope is that you may be able to select, from your membership, someone in each of the Alabama cities that we would like to include in the survey, and that the person selected will be willing to obtain the information called for on the enclosed questionnaire. Because we intend to release the data to the press, to other agencies, and to governmental bodies, the local reporters should be careful observers. Because we want the survey to reflect the real conditions, they should also be "see-it-yourself" sort of people. If in any locality you do not have members whom you could recruit for this task, but do know of some other qualified person, please feel free to draft him or her, if possible.

The cities are: Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery

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Director of Research

LWD:a

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March 3, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

May we ask you again for assistance? We have had numerous reminders of the need for and interest in an accurate survey of the segregation patterns now prevailing in the city terminals of bus, rail and air lines. There is at present no reliable report on these conditions.

Our hope is that you may be able to select, from your membership, someone in each of the Virginia cities that we would like to include in the survey, and that the person selected will be willing to obtain the information called for on the enclosed questionnaire. Because we intend to release the data to the press, to other agencies, and to governmental bodies, the local reporters should be careful observers. Because we want the survey to reflect the real conditions, they should also be "see-it-yourself" sort of people. If in any locality you do not have members whom you could recruit for this task, but do know of some other qualified person, please feel free to draft him or her, if possible.

The cities are: Norfolk, Portsmouth, Richmond, Roanoke, Lynchburg.

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Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

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March 3, 1959

South Carolina Council on Human Relations
Mrs. E. H. Spearman, Executive Director
1745 Sumter Street, Room 100
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

May we ask you again for assistance? We have had numerous reminders of the need for and interest in an accurate survey of the segregation patterns now prevailing in the city terminals of bus, rail and air lines. There is at present no reliable report on these conditions.

Our hope is that you may be able to select, from your membership, someone in each of the South Carolina cities that we would like to include in the survey, and that the person selected will be willing to obtain the information called for on the enclosed questionnaire. Because we intend to release the data to the press, to other agencies, and to governmental bodies, the local reporters should be careful observers. Because we want the survey to reflect the real conditions, they should also be "see-it-yourself" sort of people. If in any locality you do not have members whom you could recruit for this task, but do know of some other qualified person, please feel free to draft him or her, if possible.

The cities are: Charleston, Columbia, Greenville

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Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. Two copies of the questionnaire for each city are enclosed in case extras are needed by your local observers. Extra copies of last Summer's data are also included so that you may distribute them to the observers.

March 3, 1959

Rev. Edwin G. Kloppe, Executive Director
Texas Council on Human Relations
407 West 27th Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Kloppe:

May we ask you again for assistance? We have had numerous reminders of the need for and interest in an accurate survey of the segregation patterns now prevailing in the city terminals of bus, rail and air lines. There is at present no reliable report on these conditions.

Our hope is that you may be able to select, from your membership, someone in each of the Texas cities that we would like to include in the survey, and that the person selected will be willing to obtain the information called for on the enclosed questionnaire. Because we intend to release the data to the press, to other agencies, and to governmental bodies, the local reporters should be careful observers. Because we want the survey to reflect the real conditions, they should also be "see-it-yourself" sort of people. If in any locality you do not have members whom you could recruit for this task, but do know of some other qualified person, please feel free to draft him or her, if possible.

The cities are: Austin, Beaumont, Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio

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Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. Two copies of the questionnaire for each city are enclosed in case extras are needed by your local observers. Extra copies of last Summer's data are also included so that you may distribute them to the observers.

March 3, 1959

Mrs. Louise Young, Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
416 - 21st Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Young:

May we ask you again for assistance? We have had numerous reminders of the need for and interest in an accurate survey of the segregation patterns now prevailing in the city terminals of bus, rail and air lines. There is at present no reliable report on these conditions.

Our hope is that you may be able to select, from your membership, someone in each of the Tennessee cities that we would like to include in the survey, and that the person selected will be willing to obtain the information called for on the enclosed questionnaire. Because we intend to release the data to the press, to other agencies, and to governmental bodies, the local reporters should be careful observers. Because we want the survey to reflect the real conditions, they should also be "see-it-yourself" sort of people. If in any locality you do not have members whom you could recruit for this task, but do know of some other qualified person, please feel free to draft him or her, if possible.

The cities are: Chattanooga, Knoxville, Memphis, Nashville.

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Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

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March 3, 1959

Rev. Walter Cowart, Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cowart:

May we ask you again for assistance? We have had numerous reminders of the need for and interest in an accurate survey of the segregation patterns now prevailing in the city terminals of bus, rail and air lines. There is at present no reliable report on these conditions.

Our hope is that you may be able to select, from your membership, someone in each of the Georgia cities that we would like to include in the survey, and that the person selected will be willing to obtain the information called for on the enclosed questionnaire. Because we intend to release the data to the press, to other agencies, and to governmental bodies, the local reporters should be careful observers. Because we want the survey to reflect the real conditions, they should also be "see-it-yourself" sort of people. If in any locality you do not have members whom you could recruit for this task, but do know of some other qualified person, please feel free to draft him or her, if possible.

The cities are: Columbus, Savannah, Macon, Augusta

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Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

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March 4, 1959

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
P. O. Box 9096
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Lyells:

May we ask you again for assistance? We have had numerous reminders of the need for and interest in an accurate survey of the segregation patterns now prevailing in the city terminals of bus, rail and air lines. There is at present no reliable report on these conditions.

Our hope is that you may be able to select, from your membership, someone in each of the Mississippi cities that we would like to include in the survey, and that the person selected will be willing to obtain the information called for on the enclosed questionnaire. Because we intend to release the data to the press, to other agencies and to governmental bodies, the local reporters should be careful observers. Because we want the survey to reflect the real conditions, they should also be "see-it-yourself" sort of people. If in any locality you do not have members whom you could recruit for this task, but do know of some other qualified person, please feel free to draft him or her, if possible.

The cities are: Jackson and Biloxi.

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Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a.

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ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Letter

July 16,1959

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta,Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is the report of the Ft. Smith Bus,train and air-line waiting rooms which we unearthed recently.

I hope it is not too late to be included in your report.

Sincerely,

John A. Thompson

John A. Thompson

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 17, 1959

Dear Observer,

We are pleased to be sending you, at long last, a copy of our completed Special Report: "Waiting Room Practices in 21 Southern Cities," to which you contributed by your report on your home locality.

It was felt that the report, to be most widely read and of greatest good, should not be too long. Accordingly, some information was necessarily omitted in the final draft. However, it did form a basis for the conclusions and for the general tone of the report, and we are grateful for each and every observation and added comment. All were most helpful, and you have our genuine thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: Special Report

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

WAITING ROOM PRACTICES

IN 21 SOUTHERN CITIES

SRC 11
July 17, 1959

A REPORT OF WAITING ROOM PRACTICES IN 21 SOUTHERN CITIES

This report summarizes the findings of a survey of racial practices in train, bus and air line waiting rooms of 21 of the South's leading cities. Information was gathered through questionnaires sent to one or more informed persons in each city.

Racial discrimination in public transportation has existed for more than 75 years. The November 25, 1955 ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission, following several Supreme Court decisions, was designed to remove all discriminatory practices in interstate travel by rail or bus. The ICC, applying the doctrine of the School Segregation Cases, ruled that segregation of interstate passengers on train and buses and in the waiting rooms of stations is unlawful. It declared:

> "The disadvantages to a traveler who is assigned accommodations or facilities so designed as to imply his inherent inferiority solely because of his race must be regarded under present conditions as unreasonable. He is entitled to be free of annoyances which almost inevitably accompany segregation, even though the rail carriers sincerely try to provide both races with equally convenient and comfortable cars and waiting rooms."

The ICC investigates instances of non-compliance. Robert J. Test, Sr., Acting Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, wrote, in a letter to the Southern Regional Council on July 23, 1958, "Full details of ... non-compliance should be forwarded to the Secretary of the Commission. The Commission investigates all complaints concerning segregation or other discrimination committed against passengers travelling in <u>interstate</u> commerce wherever the carrier or carriers concerned are alleged to be responsible for these practices."

Air traffic is regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Act, which prohibits "undue and unreasonable preference" and "unjust discrimination or undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage." Because of these provisions, a

federal circuit court in 1956 awarded monetary damages to a Negro, and against the air line which had discriminated against her.

The purpose of this report is to inform individuals and the general public of actual conditions and practices in waiting rooms of bus, train and air terminals of selected Southern cities in light of these provisions of federal law and rulings.

The problems presented in the following discussion are only a few of those that are encountered in the transition from segregation to desegregation of waiting room facilities in the South. This report shows that facilities in air line terminals are desegregated or rapidly being desegregated; that facilities in train stations are still largely segregated but are slowly becoming desegregated; that facilities in bus terminals are almost completely segregated.

The cities covered in the survey are listed below:

FLORIDA - Jacksonville
Miami
St. Petersburg
Tampa

VIRGINIA - Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond
Roanoke
Lynchburg

ARKANSAS - Little Rock

KENTUCKY - Louisville

NORTH CAROLINA- Charlotte
Greensboro

GEORGIA - Atlanta
Augusta
Columbus
Macon

TENNESSEE - Chattanooga
Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville

The average population of the metropolitan areas of these cities was approximately 275,000 in 1950. (This includes Lynchburg with a population of only 53,161.) The northernmost city is Louisville and the southernmost is Miami. Included in this survey are the capitals of four states.

One of the outcomes of the survey is an increased awareness that the

pattern of segregation is not uniform throughout the South, but has a manifold variety of forms. For this reason, it is difficult to record neat, clear-cut data on any situation. Practices differ from city to city, even within the same state. There are, moreover, inconsistencies in the waiting room practices of a single carrier in a particular city. Some employees of the terminals talked freely with observers; others evidenced cautious reserve. Some cities have ordinances relative to waiting rooms; others do not. These differences and inconsistencies vividly point up the fact that waiting room practices are in the process of change and modification.

Furthermore, there is real uncertainty as to just what the situation is in some cities. Indeed, there are cities and terminals which appear to have deliberately left their policies confused and ambiguous. The Lynchburg Council on Human Relations asserts, "In general, Negroes reported general confusion about separation, both on their part and on the part of officials. No set pattern seems to prevail, and practices appear to be in a stage of transition."

A Nashville observer states, "The average police officer will not interfere unless called to intercede."

In Chattanooga, an observer says, "Any disturbance would be dealt with under those laws dealing with disorderly conduct. Police are instructed not to interfere except where there is violence."

"With respect to segregation in local waiting rooms, the general attitude of Little Rock and its officials can be most accurately described as neutral," declare two Little Rock observers. They continue, "Stimulated by managerial government, the Little Rock police force has adopted a more professional attitude toward law enforcement. At the top the policy is to enforce the law regardless of race. However, this is not to say the individual patrolman cannot and does not act 'independently.'"

Air Line Waiting Room Practices

There are fewer problems in the air line terminals than in either the bus or train stations. All twenty air line terminals (Portsmouth does not offer air line service) have non-segregated waiting rooms.

The terminal restaurants are also, for the most part, non-segregated, at least to some degree. Memphis, Columbus and Augusta are the exceptions. In Augusta there are no eating facilities for Negro passengers. Negroes may eat at the snack bar in Memphis; at the lunch counter in Columbus.

Sometimes an air terminal restaurant that is supposedly non-segregated will nevertheless attempt to maintain de facto segregation. At the non-segregated Chattanooga Airport, a Negro reported that he was told he could not be served because the restaurant was preparing for a "private party"; however the usual practice seems to be to serve Negroes.

The Atlanta airport restaurant is a good example of the ambiguity of policy and practice which was referred to above. Conditions there are uncertain, and practice from day to day is inconsistent. Well-dressed, professional Negroes have been served without incident or embarrassment. On the other hand a regionally prominent Negro leader reports having been told flatly by the restaurant management that no Negroes could be seated and served. Still another Negro was informed, at about the same time, by the management that Negroes would be served behind a screen. It is the opinion of some informed observers that the policy at the airport is so ill-defined that the treatment of Negroes depends almost entirely upon which employees are on duty at any particular time. Other observers attribute the differential treatment of Negro customers to the dress and bearing of the Negroes themselves. A Birmingham Negro, refused service at the Atlanta Airport restaurant, filed suit in federal court against officials of the Atlanta

Airport, the City of Atlanta and some of its officials, and the lessee of the restaurant. A ruling is expected in the near future.

Toilets are segregated in at least four of the cities: Chattanooga, Memphis, Columbus and Augusta; no reply to this question was received from Macon. In the Atlanta terminal, Negroes so freely use the rest rooms marked "white" that it would seem mistaken to regard its facilities as segregated. Negroes have been known to use the white rest rooms without incident at Chattanooga and Columbus. All other cities reportedly have non-segregated toilets.

Railway Waiting Room Practices

There is a wide variation of practices and policies among the train stations. Practices differ as to which facilities are segregated, as to methods used to segregate, and as to degree of insistence upon segregation. One station may have a non-segregated waiting room but segregated restaurants and toilets, while another may have a segregated waiting room but non-segregated restaurants and toilets. One station may put up iron pipes to suggest separation of races, while another may put up partitions. One city may enforce separation diligently, while another may be lax in enforcement.

Seven cities have non-segregated waiting rooms. These are Memphis, Portsmouth, Richmond, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Louisville (at Union Station), and St. Petersburg (which has merely painted out the old "colored" and "white" signs, leaving passengers free to seat themselves in either of two rooms; Negroes usually find their way to the formerly "colored" room).

The fourteen remaining cities have separate waiting rooms for white and Negro passengers, as has Louisville's Central Station. In several of these, however, Negro interstate passengers frequently use the general waiting room: these are Knoxville, Nashville, Charlotte, Greensboro, and Chattanooga

(Southern R.R.). At least infrequent use of the general waiting rooms is reported in the stations of all but four cities. These four are Roanoke, Tampa, Macon and Augusta.

These same four are the only cities in which Negro intrastate passengers reportedly never use the general waiting room, although they seldom do so in Chattanooga (Union Station), Greensboro, Miami, Jacksonville, Atlanta, Columbus, Louisville (Central Station) and Little Rock.

In some of the stations, Negro passengers occasionally do not observe "expected" practices but sit where they choose. For example, at the Southern Railway Station in Lynchburg, where the old Negro waiting room has been converted into offices, Negroes often disregard the iron pipe that has been set up between rows of seats in the formerly all-white waiting room.

There is a sign on the door of the restaurant in the Chattanooga Greyhound station which reads: "Owned by Union News Company. Operated under the laws of the State of Tennessee." This notice well represents the situation in train as well as bus stations, throughout the South. Segregated restaurants and lunch counters in train and bus terminals present a special problem. Lunch room facilities operated by a lessee (non-carrier) are not within the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The Union News Company, a non-carrier operating lunch rooms in several Southern cities, continues segregated services to passengers. Any other non-carrier could presumably do the same. A Negro interstate passenger, sitting in a general waiting room, is not "free of annoyances" when he must go to the kitchen to be served, as is the case at the Terminal Station in Chattanooga.

In the railroad stations of five cities, Negroes are allowed to sit and be served at the same lunch counter or in the same restaurant with whites. These are Nashville, Memphis (interstate passengers only), Greensboro, Little

Rock and Louisville (only at Union Station; separate at Central Station). Three have no eating facilities for Negroes - Augusta, Tampa, and Richmond; and six have none for Negroes or whites - Columbus, St. Petersburg, Charlotte, Portsmouth, Norfolk and Lynchburg (at Southern R. R. Station). The remaining seven have separate eating facilities.

The varying restrictions imposed upon Negro passengers may be briefly illustrated. At Lynchburg N. & W. Station, there are segregated seating arrangements in the restaurant, separated by a partition. In Tampa, Negro passengers must walk across tracks and a street to a Negro restaurant. At the L. & N. lunchroom in Knoxville, there is a sign to indicate that for service, Negroes should go to a room near the kitchen where there are two or three chairs and a table.

Where segregation is the rule in eating practices, it is generally strictly observed. But there are occasional exceptions. At the Union Station in Chattanooga, a waitress told a white observer that the "restaurant" (a counter with seats, owned by the Union News Company) has a place in the kitchen for Negroes. A Negro observer, however, sat down and was served. He thought he might have been considered a "plant", since there was a legal suit last year.

Toilets are non-segregated in the railroad stations of eight cities - Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, St. Petersburg, Greensboro, Louisville (Union Station), Chattanooga and Little Rock. Toilets in all other stations are segregated. Some segregated toilets are nevertheless unmarked, as in Knoxville and Nashville.

Bus Line Waiting Room Practices

The bus carriers have been the most resistant to change. Richmond and Portsmouth alone have non-segregated waiting rooms.

Of the 19 cities with separate waiting rooms, Negro interstate passengers are allowed to use the general waiting rooms in eight, although they do so infrequently: Atlanta, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Jacksonville, Greensboro, Louisville, Nashville and Little Rock Stations #2 and #3. (Little Rock has three bus stations, which are here designated as Stations #1, #2, and #3.)

In at least ten cities, and at Little Rock Station #1, Negro interstate passengers are segregated. These are Augusta, Columbus, Macon, Roanoke, Tampa, St. Petersburg, Miami, Charlotte, Memphis and Chattanooga. In Knoxville, de facto segregation apparently exists, although non-segregation is reportedly the policy.

In two cities in which Negro interstate passengers are allowed to use the general waiting rooms, intrastate passengers are not. These are Atlanta and Little Rock (Stations #2 and #3). Otherwise, intrastate passengers are segregated in the same cities as are the interstate passengers.

Two of the three Little Rock stations are of particular interest. At bus station #1, waiting rooms are designated as follows: "White Intra-state Waiting Room" and "Inter-state and Colored Intra-state Waiting Room." It is reported that this ingenious method of labeling the waiting rooms in fact allows all white passengers, whether inter- or intra-state, to use the former, while all Negro passengers must use the latter.

It is further reported that Little Rock bus station #2 does not seem to recognize the ruling on interstate passengers. The waiting rooms are marked only "Colored" and "White". There is no inter- and intra-state distinction made.

The bus station restaurants and lunch counters tend to follow the same segregated pattern. Only three cities have eating facilities open to Negroes, even on a limited basis: in Portsmouth there is a non-segregated snack counter with no stools; in Louisville, children are not segregated at the

general lunch counter - adults are; in Nashville, at the Greyhound Station, Negroes are served meals at the end of the counter, but buy snacks with others.

Stations in at least three cities have no eating facilities for Negroes: St. Petersburg, Columbus and Little Rock (#3). One Little Rock station (#1) has no eating facilities for whites or Negroes.

Both bus stations with unsegregated waiting rooms - Portsmouth and Richmond - have segregated restaurants. At the new Portsmouth Greyhound Terminal, to be opened soon, it has been announced that no facilities will be segregated. In Richmond, Trailways Station reportedly does not enforce restaurant segregation. But Greyhound Station in Richmond, as in many other Southern cities, leases its restaurant to individuals who segregate it within the non-segregated waiting room. In the other 14 cities, eating facilities are entirely segregated.

Occasionally exceptions are made for Negroes who are well groomed. Neat, attractive dress is a basis for respect and consideration from others. A good example of partiality toward Negroes of favorable outward appearance is Jacksonville. In the bus depot at Jacksonville, "well-dressed, intelligent looking Negroes" have been served in the cafeteria designated for whites. Other Negroes have been asked to leave.

Bus stations segregate their eating facilities in various ways. At Little Rock Station #2, the lunch counter continues into the Negro waiting room, but is divided by a wall. A partition is used to separate passengers in the Lynchburg bus terminal. In Knoxville, Trailways Station serves Negroes through a window in the Negro waiting room. Facilities at the new Tampa Trailways Station are considered satisfactory. By contrast, facilities at the Tampa Greyhound Station are regarded as unsatisfactory for both whites and Negroes. In Columbus, Negro passengers must go to a restaurant some

distance from the station.

All bus stations have segregated toilets except those in Richmond and Greensboro.

Transportation to and from the Terminals

In many of the Southern cities surveyed, taxicabs and airport limousines transport passengers indiscriminately.

Seventeen cities offer non-segregated limousine service to and from the airport terminal. Memphis, Columbus and Macon are the exceptions; Portsmouth does not have airline service. In Tampa and Lynchburg, however, some reports indicate that in actual practice segregation often occurs.

There are non-segregated taxis in 12 cities - Little Rock, Norfolk, Lynchburg, Portsmouth, Roanoke, Miami, Knoxville, Nashville, Chattanooga, Augusta, Charlotte and Greensboro. They remain segregated in six: St. Petersburg, Tampa, Jacksonville, Memphis, Atlanta and Macon.

In Richmond, all taxis may transport either white or Negro passengers, but do not make it a practice to transport them together. In Columbus, white taxis transport both white and Negro passengers, but only when passengers are all white or all Negro; Negro cab drivers in Columbus have been told by local authorities not to take any white passengers.

A Macon city ordinance forbids taxicabs and cars-for-hire from transporting white and Negro passengers at the same time. (This also applies to air line limousines in Macon, as they are owned by private individuals.) In Atlanta, a city ordinance restricts whites to white-operated cabs, Negroes to Negro-operated cabs.

Apparently there is no connection between taxicab policies and waiting room practices in any particular city. Cabs are often non-segregated in cities with segregated facilities in their bus and train terminals. In a

majority of the cities, passengers may take advantage of non-segregated cabs en route to and from terminals.

Conclusions

The carriers themselves can, at most, only make it possible for individuals to be free to choose where they want to eat, sit or ride. The common usage of desegregated waiting room facilities may not occur until after waiting rooms are desegregated completely in law and policy. Members of both the white and Negro races will have to make new adjustments. Custom and tradition often discourage the Negroes from "trying" a desegregated situation and whites from accepting them. For instance, in the St. Petersburg air line terminal, some Negroes sit outside on benches, though not forbidden to sit inside. It is possible that in the St. Petersburg terminal, as in others, this is partly the result of subtle intimidations.

The surface of the "cake of custom" is slowly cracking. A Chattanooga observer remarked, "It would seem that Negroes, aware of conditions, do what they can to break tradition, but many follow custom." A similar awareness by white persons of the part they must play is necessary before real progress can be made toward the removal of legal and social barriers in interstate travel.

Prior to the 1955 rulings on interstate travel, little desegregation had occurred in any of the South's bus and train terminals. Since that time, facilities have been desegregated in most of them. The monumental ICC ruling may be conceived of as the "legal" stage upon which the "social" action of a modern drama of Southern life unfolds. The ICC determined the legal requirements for desegregated waiting room facilities in bus and train terminals; social compliance in this field, as in others of Southern society, lags behind. Law does alter custom, however, and if change is laggard, it is

nonetheless real.

The Southern Regional Council believes that an awareness of conditions and practices in waiting rooms of the Southern bus, train and air terminals facilitates the solutions to existing problems and those that may arise in the desegregation of public transportation facilities. Courage, patience and understanding are needed by all who would see orderly progress in the South.

* * *

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

Sunday, July 26, 1959

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
July 20, 1959
JAckson 2-8764

Atlanta, Ga., - A survey of racial practices in waiting room facilities in 21 leading Southern cities reveals that "facilities in air line terminals are desegregated or rapidly are being desegregated; that facilities in train stations are still largely segregated but are slowly becoming desegregated; and that facilities in bus terminals are almost completely segregated."

The report, released today by the Southern Regional Council, includes Little Rock, Ark.; Jacksonville, Miami, St. Petersburg, and Tampa, Fla.; Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, and Macon, Ga.; Louisville, Ky.; Charlotte, and Greensboro, N. C.; Chattanooga, Knoxville, Memphis, and Nashville, Tenn.; and Norfolk, Portsmouth, Richmond, Roanoke, and Lynchburg, Va.

Racial discrimination in public transportation has existed for more than 75 years, and it was not until November 25, 1955, that any substantial breakdown of train and bus waiting room segregation began. On that date, the Interstate Commerce Commission, which regulates train and bus travel across state lines, ruled that segregation of interstate passengers on trains and buses and in waiting rooms of stations is unlawful. The decision declared, in part:

> "The disadvantages to a traveler who is assigned accommodations or facilities so designed as to imply his inherent inferiority solely because of his race must be regarded under present conditions as unreasonable. He is entitled to be free of annoyances which almost inevitably accompany segregation, even though the rail carriers sincerely try to provide both races with equally convenient and comfortable cars and waiting rooms."

Air traffic is regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Act, which prohibits "undue and unreasonable preference" and "unjust discrimination or undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage."

The survey reveals that practices differ widely from city to city and even in cities within the same states. There are, moreover, the Council reports, inconsistencies in waiting room practices of a single type of carrier in a particular city. These differences and inconsistencies vividly point up the fact that waiting room practices are in the process of change.

"Furthermore," the Council reports, "there is real uncertainty as to just what the situation is in some cities. Indeed, there are cities and terminals which appear to have deliberately left their policies confused and ambiguous."

AIR LINES

All 20 cities (Portsmouth does not have air line service) have non-segregated waiting rooms, and 17 of the cities offer non-segregated service in terminal restaurants, at least to some degree. Rest rooms reportedly are segregated in only four of 19 cities from which information was received.

TRAINS

Seven of the cities surveyed have non-segregated waiting rooms in train terminals. In 10 of the remaining 14 cities, Negro interstate passengers have used the general waiting room. Negroes are allowed to sit in the same restaurant or at the same lunch counter as white travelers

in five of the cities surveyed. Rest rooms in train terminals are non-segregated in eight of the cities.

BUSES

Only two of the 21 cities surveyed have completely non-segregated bus station waiting rooms although Negro interstate passengers are allowed to use the general waiting room in eight other cities. In six of these cities, Negro intrastate passengers infrequently use the "white" waiting room. There were no non-segregated restaurants reported, but limited service, such as snack bars, on a non-segregated basis was reported in three cities. Two cities have non-segregated rest rooms in bus stations.

AIR LINE LIMOUSINES AND TAXIS

The Council survey reveals that in this related field 17 cities offer non-segregated limousine service to and from air line terminals and 13 cities offer non-segregated taxi service.

The Council concludes:

"The surface of the 'cake of custom' is slowly cracking. A Chattanooga observer remarked, 'It would seem that Negroes, aware of conditions, do what they can to break tradition, but many follow custom.' A similar awareness by white persons of the part they must play is necessary before real progress can be made toward the removal of legal and social barriers in interstate travel....

"The Southern Regional Council believes that an awareness of conditions and practices in waiting rooms of the Southern bus, train, and air terminals facilitates the solutions to existing problems and those that may arise in the desegregation of public transportation facilities. Courage, patience, and understanding are needed by all who would see orderly progress in the South."

40

LIST OF THOSE REPLYING TO WAITING ROOM QUESTIONNAIRE; 1958 -59 attempt

✓ Mrs. Earl Andrews, 3125 Audubon Rd., Birmingham, Ala.

✓ Mrs. Leslie E. Barnhardt, RFD 322 Creola Rd. 5830 Charlotte 9, N.C.

✓ Mrs. Reeves Bowen, 1318 Broome, Tallahassee, Fla.

✓ Mrs. J. A. Burt, 1815 Enterprise St., Jackson, Miss.

✓ Mrs. Rev. Joseph B. Bruini, P.O. Box 75, Jackson, Miss.

✓ Mrs. W. A. Davis, 7 New Zion Lane, Charleston, S.C.

✓ Mrs. E. E. Dean, 206 - 32nd Ave., Hattiesburg, Miss.

✓ Mrs. E. V. Ennis, 1538 Halland Ave., Norfolk, Va.

✓ Mrs. Thos. Drier — Sales & Goodwill Pub., 1611 Bright Waters Blvd. St Petersburg Fla.

✓ Mrs. Ilsa Frankel, 1751 Jones Ave., Miami Beach, Fla.

. Mrs. C. F. Goldthwarte, 2112 Ridge Rd., Raleigh, N.C.

✓ Mrs. D. M. Howard, 309 Garden Spring Lane, Augusta, Ga.

. Mrs. Emmett Johnson, Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga.

note "sent card" . Mrs. Herbert McAbee, 509 Pennwood, Spartanburg, S.C.

✓ Mrs. Norman Phelps, 2405 Pine Ridge Rd., Jacksonville, Fla.

. Mrs. ~~Earl~~ Karl E. Rothrock, 2422 Ransdell Ave., Louisville 4, Ky

no. ~~✓ Mrs. H. B. Simpson~~, Children's Home, Winston-Salem, N.C.

. Mrs. Ira C. Shelley, 1339 Seminole Dr., Greensboro, N.C.

✓ Mrs. Arnold Slater, 1800 Crestwood Dr., Chattanooga, Tenn.

. Mrs. Harry Strauss, 501 Emerilord, Knoxville, Tenn.

. Mrs. Wm. C. Smith, 231 Broad St., Portsmouth, Va.

✓ Mrs. Fl Nora Supworth, 961 S.W. 58th Ave., Miami, Fla.

✓ Mrs. Lee Tidwell, 655 Robinson Place, Shreveport, La.

✓ Mrs. O. D. Thomas, Box 2523, Tuscaloosa Institute, Ala.

. Mrs. R. E. Tomlin 1815 Eighth St. N, St. Petersburg, Fla.

✓ Mrs. A. N. Tissot, 520 Boulevard, Gainesville, Fla.

. Mrs. J. ~~Dyde~~ Boyde Tyrrell, 2624 Fairway Dr., Roanoke 15, Va.

. Mrs. H. H. Walker, 2304 Fontaine Ave., Charlottesville, Va.

✓ Mrs. Horace Williams 1903 Lombardy Lane, Nashville, Tenn.

✓ Jas. A. McDaniel, Exec Dir, Urban League, 546 Beale Ave Memphis Tenn

✓ Zelmon C. Cothran, Chm., Dept. of Sociology, Agri., Mech & Normal College Pine Bluff Ark

✓ Robt. Felder, 2507 Maple St., Houston 4, Texas

Mrs. J. L. Curry, 163 S. Coit, Florence, S.C.

John Le Flar, P.O. Box 1091, Mobile 6, Ala.

Mrs. Dorothy C. Dorsey

C. W. Scott, 1003 - 28th St. Newport News, Va.

Mrs. Wm. S. P. Norris (Mrs. Margaret) 1852 Albie St., Shreveport, La

✓ Mrs. B. Wade Graves, 1218 Florida St., San Antonio 12 Texas

Gustave Falk, Area Director, Am. Jewish Comm. 523 Fidelity Bldg. Dallas 2, Texas

Dr. F. Rivers Barnwell, 1328 Louisiana Ave. Ft. Worth 3, Texas

Dr. Richard P. Daniel, 1100 Fla. Nat'l Bank Bldg. Jacksonville 2, Fla.

Dr. W. R. Bowie, 111 Windsor Rd. Alexandria, Va

For further information call Robert Felder (Tex) at Jackson 4-9209, Pfeiffer Hall.

If you should desire more information after I have returned to Houston, write me at this address:

Mr. Robert Felder
2507 Nagle Street
Houston 4, Texas

Sincerely,

Robert Edward Jones Felder

RF:bw

Montez —
Send to him —
Let me write note
on his letter —
MM

LIST OF REPORTERS FOR WAITING ROOM SURVEY

GEORGIA

Atlanta ..... Dean Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Atlanta University School of Social Work
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Macon ..... Mr. John A. Jenkins
2274 Rock St.
Macon, Georgia

Augusta ..... Mr. W. C. Ervin
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Columbus ..... Miss Armine D. Dimon
2039 - 13th Street
Columbus, Georgia

FLORIDA

Miami ..... Urban League

Tampa ..... Mrs. Harold E. Carmony
1216 E. Sligh Avenue
Tampa 4, Florida

St. Petersburg ..... Mrs. Stanley Milledge
1119 Sea Gull Lane S.
St. Petersburg 7, Florida

Jacksonville ..... Miss Barbara McComike ?
208 - 11th Avenue
N. Jacksonville Beach, Florida

Mr. R. V. Daniels, Sr.
747 Line St.
Jacksonville, Florida

VIRGINIA

Roanoke ..... Mr. Percy T. Dubing ?
416 Gainsboro Road, N.W.
Roanoke, Virginia

Richmond ..... Mrs. Wayne Batty
3003 Manor Drive
Richmond, Virginia

Lynchburg ..... Mr. J. Kenneth Morland
Randolph - Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Norfolk ..... Miss Sarah W. Ashe
2900 Hollister Avenue
Norfolk, Virginia

Portsmouth ..... Dr. Hugo Owens
600 S. Green Street
Portsmouth, Virginia

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte ..... Mr. Harry S. Jones, Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
Room 209, 121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Greensboro ..... Mr. Charles E. Davis
618 Broad Avenue
Greensboro, North Carolina

Raleigh ..... Mr. W. L. Greene
125 E. Hayett Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

KENTUCKY

Louisville ..... Attorney Cromlin
The Mammoth Building
608 W. Walnut St.
Louisville, Kentucky

TENNESSEE

Memphis ..... Mr. J. A. McDaniel
546 Beale Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Nashville ..... Miss Anna D. Kelly
1708 Pearl Street
Nashville, Tennessee

Chattanooga ..... Miss Gertrude Shavin
334 N. Crest Road
Chattanooga 11, Tennessee

Miss Tommie Brown
603 North Highland Park Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mrs. Eleanor Saxton
315 Rowe Road
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Knoxville ..... Mr. Gaby Martom
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. J. H. Davis
1805 Brandair (?) Street, N.W.
Knoxville 21, Tennessee

Mr. W. T. Crutcher
611 Owen Street
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mrs. John Daugherty
3560 Talahi Drive
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. F. Woods Beckman
5908 Magazine Road.
Knoxville 2, Tennessee

Miss Mary Williams
2511 Sherrod Road
Knoxville 20, Tennessee

ARKANSAS

Little Rock ..... Mr. John Walker
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. John A. Thompson
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mrs. Louise Young, Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
416 - 21st Avenue South
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Mr. George A. Key, 3rd, Principal
Orchard Knob School
Chattanooga, Tennessee

February 11, 1960

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Executive Secretary
Division of Christian Citizenship
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

I am afraid you think we have been inexcusably slow in regard to your paper. The explanation is rather complicated and doesn't bear going into. Briefly, we all of a sudden came into possession of several addresses which seemed of more than usual interest; the problem was what to do with each, if anything, and the bottleneck to the whole decision-making process was waiting upon Governor Collins of Florida, who has now given his consent to publication of one of his speeches. Once we got this, other things fell into place.

We would like to print your address in leaflet form. We would try to distribute it carefully and widely to clergymen and church groups as well as some others on our normal distribution list. Any suggestions you have for distribution will be gratefully received.

I am returning the address, as you requested, for your revisions. Whenever you can send it back, we shall go ahead with the printing.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. As a matter of fact, the leaflet would be in a way distinctive, or at least will be distinctively marked, to indicate that it is one of a series of notable addresses which we shall print from time to time as we have opportunity.

file

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
February 15, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

Thank you very much for your letter of February 11. I am delighted that you are printing the address. I will get it back to you as soon as I possibly can. As I indicated, I have promised it to a number of people. I will send you their names and addresses when it is available, and perhaps we could also send copies to some of our Episcopal leaders who may not be on your list. We can talk about this later.

Please give my best to all the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Neil.

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Executive Secretary
Division of Christian Citizenship

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
March 2, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

At last I have smoothed this paper out to the best of my ability and present it to you brushed up, re-typed and ready for whatever processing you wish for it.

Again might I say that I am tremendously pleased that you have seen fit to use it.

Most sincerely,

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

Encl.

March 22, 1960

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for Intergroup Relations
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

I sent your address off to the printers today, and we should have the job done in two or three weeks. I made a few minor editorial alterations--the most extreme of which consisted only of the striking of two or three lines; all of these seemed to me pretty clear-cut necessities of style or syntax, and so I felt emboldened to send it off without getting your prior approval. Now I can only trust that you will agree when you see it.

A first reading of your revised manuscript was sandwiched into the sparse free moments in a terribly crowded day, and I must have been in a pretty heavy fog. All of the good stuff of the original is of course, as you said, still there even better presented.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

file

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
March 24, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

Thanks very much for your letter in regard to the paper. I was relieved to learn that you did not feel that I had made any strong substantive changes in the revision. I had not intended to do so. I am quite sure that the changes you made were wise and probably needed. I am glad that you felt free to make such minor changes without our having to enter into a lot of extra correspondence.

The postscript to the Study of the Student Protest Movement was I think well done. I have already run into several instances in which it has supplied much needed information.

Looking forward to seeing you on April 21, I am,

Sincerely,

Neil.

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
March 29, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

The students at Philadelphia Divinity School are having a Missionary Rally on May 1. One aspect of their presentation of the Church's mission which they want to present is the role of the church in race relations. I am preparing a literature table for this, and will also preach in Philadelphia on that Sunday.

I would like awfully well to get at least one hundred copies, two hundred if you have them, of the Special Report on the Student Protest Movement together with the postscript. We will of course, reimburse you for these. Could you mail 100 copies to me in care of Mr. George C. Stacy, Philadelphia Divinity School, 4205 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, and 100 copies to me in care of Mr. David Ruhmkorff, Episcopal Theological School, 99 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The latter are to be used at a similar meeting on April 13.

If the pamphlet of mine which you are printing comes off the press in time, will you please send 100 copies to Mr. Stacy, and 200 to this address. The total bill should come to me here.

Sincerely,

Neil

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

April 5, 1960

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary, Intergroup Relations
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

We shall be sending 100 copies of the special report off to Philadelphia and 100 copies to Cambridge within a couple of days. The demand for that thing has kept up and we had to re-cut the stencils, which is the reason your request has not yet been filled. We have decided that for bulk orders of this sort we shall have to charge 10¢ per copy, and if that is agreeable, will you please send us $20.00 ?

The galleys for your address were delivered to us Monday morning. I am sure that it will be ready before you leave and that you may have the 300 copies requested.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 5, 1960

Mr. Snell
National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. N. E.
Atlanta 9, Ga.

Dear Mr. Snell:

The galley proofs for the Tarplee leaflet are enclosed. I am also returning the original copy; please return the manuscript when you are finished with the job.

We have made a few changes in the galleys and have also corrected a number of printing mistakes.

The first page is to be laid out as we have agreed, which will, of course, require that the first paragraph of the galleys be reset.

In reading the galleys, we have noticed that in many places the "e"s are fuzzy with ink. Can they be cleaned up?

We would like the leaflet printed on blue stock per sample enclosed in 60 pound weight.

Please give me estimated prices on printings of 2,500 and 5,000 copies.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: galleys
paper samples, Meade
manuscript

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia
• TRinity 5-7081

Printers & Lithographers

4/11/60

Mr Dunbar—
Here are the prices
for your 24 Page
Pamphlet:

2000	Copies		437.50
2500	"		485.65
3000	"	90	527.85
4000	"	91	618.20
5000	"	76	694.65
6000	"	79	773.05

Thank
W. L. Snell
National Printing Co.

April 13, 1960

Dear Mr. Snell:

Please print 5,000 copies of the Tarplee leaflet in accordance with instructions in our previous letter.

Final page proof is enclosed.

The union label is to be affixed somewhere on the back outside page.

Your early scheduling of this job will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

MET
MA

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
April 19, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

Here it is April 18 and I note that your last letter was dated April 5. Apologies for my slowness. I have not only been away but have been very busy while I was here, marrying off my daughter. Your letter was filled with good news and there was no great need for an immediate answer.

The hundred copies of the report were distributed to interested students and faculty and friends at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. Everyone I talked with was very much impressed with it and I would describe the students who are involved in a concern for racial justice as being literally on fire with the case. Each student is asking the rector of the parish where he works to have a Communion Service especially dedicated to the plight of minority people throughout the world, including Cambridge itself. A special offering will be taken at each of the Services and they hope by fall to have developed very worthwhile specific projects.

When I go to Philadelphia Divinity School for the first of May Missionary Rally, I can only hope that the interest will be even a fraction of that which I witnessed last week. I also talked to a group of MIT faculty people at luncheon and preached at the college chapel Maundy Thursday night. The Rev. Myron B. Bloy, Episcopal Ministry to M.I.T., 317 Memorial Drive, Cambridge 39, Massachusetts, is very anxious to get 25 copies of the Student Protest Report to give to the key faculty people.

RHA
Sent
4/20/60.

MA

My check is enclosed covering the two one hundred copy orders and also this present one for 25. Will you please return a receipt?

Sent
4/20/60
RHA

CR# 22 50
4/20/60 RHA

Sincerely,
Neil

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations.

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

file

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
May 19, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

By the time you get this letter you will probably have completed the little chore which the Episcopal Church called on you for. I certainly hope that everything went well and I know that you were of immeasurable value as a resource person.

Thank you for the beautiful job the Southern Regional Council did on my paper. I think the format is distinctive and easily read. I promised copies of the paper to the people who attended the Louisville Conference -- a list of those who signed up is enclosed. Even though they are not all listed as clergymen, most of them are. If you can have these sent it will mean a great deal to me.

Sincerely,

neil

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

Encl.

return to LD

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
May 27, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

Would you send me one hundred copies of SRC-15, "Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas", and twenty-five copies of the report for the Rev. Arthur Walmsley, 281 Park Avenue South, New York, 10, New York.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Neil

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

P.S. All reports agree that you did a masterful job with the Bishops - Congratulations and thanks.

C.T.

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
June 6, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

Thank you very much for your letter which was awaiting me when I returned from New Yobk, but Arthur had already shown me the carbon of your letter. The Sit-In Reports have also arrived. I will look forward to seeing the new publications when they come out.

I have finished the first draft of a study guide on prejudice which is being planned for publication this fall by our Department of Christian Education. Unfortunately, one or two people in that Department have degeloped some cold-footedness and one person in particular feels that the whole chapter on the South should be eliminated! Knowing that I probably have already used you too much, I took the liberty of giving your name to Miss Irene Scudds, who is in the Curriculum Development Division and is charged with the responsibility of acting as editor for the study guide. The probability is that within a few days the manuscript will be mimeographed and sent out to people whose names are on her list as readers. Incidentally, Miss Scudds is not one of the timid souls connected with the project. If this rather lengthy effort of mine arrives at a time when you can read it over and share your reactions and suggestions with us, I would be particularly appreciative if you could let me have a carbon of the comments which you will probably be making to Miss Scudds.

Hoping to see you before too long, and thanking you again for all the kind things you are doing for the Episcopal Church in general and its more or less embattled associate secretary for intergroup relations,

Sincerely,

Neil.

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

June 9, 1960

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

I will be very glad to read the draft of your study guide when it arrives. If you have to put up with people who think a text on prejudice can be written without a chapter on the South, I can well understand why you are "embattled."

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box853
Lynchburg, Virginia
June 10, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Thanks for your note. I enjoyed tremendously my indeed being embattled. Actually, you put your finger exactly on how I felt, but since this was one person, it isn't as bad as it sounds even though that person is a Division head. The article by James M. Dabbs is splendid. Will you please send me 300 copies of them, and Arthur Walmsley 25?

Sincerely,

Neil

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Sedretary for
Intergroup Relations

June 13, 1960

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

We are sending you 300 copies of Mr. Dabbs' address, and 25 copies to Arthur Walmsley. I agree with you that this is one of the most deeply thought essays I have read. I told Harold when it came out that it was reassuring to me that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations could believe that argument as closely textured as this would attract widespread interest sufficient to reprint.

We haven't made any decision as to whether we charge for quantity orders of this, and it is too hot for us to think about. The address cost us 6¢ a piece. If you have any change lying around you may reimburse us. If your money is tight, forget it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

file

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
June 21, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

Thank you for sending me copies of Mr. Dabbs' address. I am sure that they will be in my office when I return from Kenyon College where I am on the staff of one of our Leadership Training conferences. We will have the wherewithal to reimburse you for the cost of the pamphlets. Dr. Joseph Fletcher, professor of Ethics at Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. is here at the conference. He read the pamphlet and was quite impressed with it. He thought as I did that it was a magnificent thing.

Hoping to see you before too long,

Most sincerely,

Neil

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

2000

The National Council

Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
July 12, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

We have just completed our conference at Gould Farm, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and the Dabbs were there with us. Everyone there was carried away not only with the Dabbs themselves, but with their literature. Mr. Dabbs and I talked it over and agreed we should send 100 of his pamphlet "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners"; 100 of my pamphlet "The Church in Areas of Racial Tension"; and 100 of the School Desegregation, First Six Years, to the Rev. John Snow, Gould Farm, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, for distribution to persons there. This is an unusually intelligent group of people with any number of high-status individuals mixed in. If you can afford to send these to that group, Mr. Dabbs and I will appreciate it very much. If you do not feel that you can send this many gratis, will you indicate to me how much I should pay you for them.

My second request is that you send 500 copies of Mr. Dabbs pamphlet entitled "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners" to Mrs. Muriel Webb, at 281 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N.Y. Mrs. Webb gets out our Christian Social Relations Bulletin and has agreed to put one copy in each of the mailing. This will be done early in the fall. I understood from your recent letter that the cost of publication for the Dabbs article was about 6¢. If you will send a statement to me indicating that you have mailed 500 copies of the pamphlet to Muriel and making note of the cost, I will be delighted to see that a check comes to you.

My third request is that you send me six copies of the new pamphlet entitled "Racial Crisis and the Press". I have written a letter to Douglas Bushy, who is in charge of the news releases from Church headwuarters, and suggested to him that he send copies of this pamphlet to each editor in the Episcopal Church who has to do with church publications, either on a national, provincial or diocesan basis. Doug is a good fellow and is quite concerned about the whole racial struggle. I believe that he will be inclined to order enough of the pamphlets from you to send them out to the people who are the object of his concern.

I have even a fourth request, and that is that you ask someone to check on my name and address for receiving the "New South". I have not been receiving it. It is my recollection that I sent in a check for a subscription to it, but it might have been going to 281 Park Avenue South, New York, in which case all that is needed is a change of address, I imagine. If my memory does not serve me correctly and I owe you for a subscription, will you have it sent and I will add the $2.00 to the next check written for pamphlets produced by the Southern Regional Council.

Thanks again for taking care of all these things for me. I hope that your summer so far has been a delightful one and that your vacation, either taken or to be taken, will be most restful and recreational.

Sincerely,

Neil.

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

July 13, 1960

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations
The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

Glad that you had a good conference at Great Barrington. I can well believe that Mr. Dabbs would have been a success in that setting. He is a genuine indigenous southerner and in the Berkshires there are still some genuine Yankees, as few in number as I am afraid Mr. Dabbs' breed is in the South, and the real thing can usually respect the real thing.

I have had a vacation of about two and a half weeks, during which, as a matter of fact, I drove close by Lynchburg during twilight hours and a fortnight later passed through Great Barrington.

We are sending the packet of stuff, as you requested, to the Rev. John Snow; there will be no charge. We do not have, however, enough copies left of The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners to send 500 to Mrs. Webb in New York. As per the enclosure, I am transmitting the order to Nat Griswold in Arkansas. I am sending you the requested six copies of Racial Crisis and the Press; I hope something may come of it.

John Constable has looked into your troubles with your New South subscription and will be writing to you, he tells me.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Attn: Leslie Dunbar

July 21, 1960

The Reverend Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary of Intergroup Relations
National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Tarplee:

Southern Regional Council indicated to us they were unable to supply you with 500 copies of Mr. Dabbs' speech as you requested. They asked us to furnish them.

So, we are sending prepaid parcel post 500 copies to your New York office. We enclose a bill for same at cost, 6¢ a copy.

We are pleased that this speech has been found useful.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

JC
MA file

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
August 5, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

Thank you very much for your letter of July 13. It was delayed in Lynchburg and then forwarded to me. I have just received it. I am currently dictating this letter in a hotel room in Greenwich, Connecticut, where I have just finished a pleasant conference on the Prejudice Study Guide. However, I discovered that through some oversight, Miss Scudds had not sent you a copy for comment. She has now corrected this, and you should be receiving the mimeographed copy even before this letter gets to Lynchburg, gets typed, and gets to you.

If you are ever in the Lynchburg Area or anywhere around where you might suspect my being, I hope that you will not hesitate to call me. Perhaps we could get together for a short visit.

I have not heard from John Snow, but will be seeing him next week if all goes well. I am sure he has received the packet that you sent. Thank you very much. Nat Griswold has already written me that "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners" has been sent to Mrs. Webb. I will see that he gets a check for the 500 copies.

Thanks for passing the word on to John Constable about my troubles in receiving The New South. I hope his efforts have borne fruit because it is an exceedlingly valuable source of information which I cannot afford to miss.

Yours sincerely,

281 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y. SPring 7-9100

Cornelius C. Tarplee

August 19, 1960

Miss Irene M. Scudds
Senior High Editor
Division of Curriculum Development
28 Havemeyer Place
Greenwich, Conn.

Dear Miss Scudds:

I am returning the manuscript on Prejudice, written by Cornelius C. Tarplee, which you sent to me on July 29. I have made a few marginal notes. Other than these, I have only one specific complaint and that is with page 36 where Neil seems to be saying that the two classes of white Southerners who oppose the Negro are the ignorant and the "gentle people living in the dream of the past." I am quite sure that neither of these catagories would embrace most Southern politicians and citizens council leaders; more important, neither category would include the multitude of white Southerners who from apathy, self-interest, or lack of real understanding of self-interest, discriminate against Negroes.

My general comment is that this is an excellent piece of work, well contrived to reach a high school audience without at all talking down. It is clearly written, comprehensive in its conception and usually well furnished with illustrative material. I am afraid I do not know well enough the internal workings of Episcopal churches in the South to hazard any guess as to whether this manual would be used in this section. It is a fact, however, that church schools of many denominations in the South are using materials which are forthright and provocative, and I should see no reason why such a manual as this would not be gratefully received by many.

I took the liberty of having Professor C. H. Parrish, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, University of Louisville, and consultant to the Coulcil, read the manuscript. His comments are enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: comments by Dr. Parrish
manuscript: Prejudice

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

July 29, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Through an oversight, the enclosed manuscript, written by Cornelius C. Tarplee was not sent you in June at the time others were mailed out. In working on the manuscript with Mr. Tarplee today, he expressed regret that the material had not been sent you and asked that we do so at once.

If you have time to read and comment, I know Mr. Tarplee will appreciate it.

Sincerely,

Irene M. Scudds
b.

Irene M. Scudds
Senior High Editor
Division of Curriculum Development

IMS/b
enc.

Department of Christian Education, 28 Havemeyer Place, Greenwich, Conn. TOwnsend 9·7290

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

June 17, 1960

Prejudice is one of the high school units we are preparing for publication. The material attached is written for the high school young person to read. The booklet will be illustrated with a cartoon type picture. Each chapter will be broken down into sections with eye-catching headings to the sub-section.

With this information in mind, would you be willing to read and comment on the manuscript and return it to us by July 15? In each of our units, the last 10 pages will be given over to program helps and notes, and questions for discussion. This will give young people a chance to react to what they have read and to discuss the implications of it. However, this part of the unit is not ready as yet.

Would you be willing to read with the following questions in mind and comment on them for us? Make whatever notes you wish on the manuscript and return it to us.

1. Do you think this manuscript would be used in your part of the country?

2. If not, how important is it that it be changed so it will be used?

3. What words, phrases, or illustrations would you like to see changed for the sake of clarity and readability?

4. Would you like to see anything added?

Thank you very much for the time and thought it takes to read this. We shall look forward to hearing from you. If you find you do not have time to do this reading, will you return the manuscript?

Sincerely,

Irene M. Scudds
Senior High Editor
Division of Curriculum Development

Department of Christian Education, 28 Havemeyer Place, Greenwich, Conn. TOwnsend 9·7290

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

file

September 27, 1960

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
63 Auburn Avenue-Room 432
N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you so much for reading and commenting on Mr. Tarplee's manuscript on "Prejudice." I did so appreciate your asking Professor Parrish of the University of Louisville to read the manuscript and to comment on it. These were passed on directly to Mr. Tarplee because we already had had our conference on the revision of the manuscript.

It was quite essential that we have some word from persons like yourself and Professor Parrish and I do appreciate the time which it took for you to examine the document.

Thank you again for your helpfulness to us.

Sincerely,

Irene Scudds

Irene M. Scudds
Senior High Editor
Division of Curriculum Development

IS/am

Department of Christian Education, 28 Havemeyer Place, Greenwich, Conn. TOwnsend 9·7290

MM ✓
LD

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
September 28, 1960

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

The marked copy of the September issue of New South arrived today and I find the article reporting on places in the South where biracial groups can meet very helpful. There are various conference centers and community centers operated by churches and/or fraternal organizations in the South which must be open. For instance, Penn Community Center is. Perhaps you left some of these out rather than invite attacks upon the organizations. I also understand that the Chamberlain Hotel in Old Point Comfort, Virginia is open to biracial groups. I may be mistaken about this. From personal experience I find the Williamsburg policy is quite ambivalent and well hedged so that by no means are all groups welcome. Specifically, the constituting convention of ESCRU was denied access. I know this because I asked for John Morris. This time, however, they have admitted the group for a January 1961 meeting. Should these facts which I have mentioned be included in any further reporting of facilities, I hope that you will not quote me specifically and by name in regard to the Williamsburg situation, since they are working in the right direction. I do, however, hope to take it up with the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation the next time I get a chance.

Thank you very much for your kindness and help in reading and commenting on the proposed study guide on prejudice. I hope to get it finished up some time in the near future, but there have been so many conflicting suggestions that I have not yet been able to wade through the morass of cooks to determine which were pastry cooks, which were counter men, and so forth.

Sorry to have missed you when I was in Atlanta last time. Hope to be seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Neil.

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

LWD -
Can we + should we? Free?
HCF

Protestant Episcopal Church

The National Council

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
December 2, 1960

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold,

The report "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement" is in my estimation excellent. I have asked my secretary to send a copy to each of the bishops through out the Episcopal church, together with a covering letter. In order to do this I will need about 150 copies. Will you also please send me 100 copies of my paper on "The Church in areas of Racial Tension".

I see where you made a talk to the Council on Human Relations in Richmond. The local paper gave it good coverage.

See you in January, I hope.

Sincerely,

Neil.

150
3.50

The Reverend
Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

281 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y. SPring 7-9100

December 5, 1960

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
Asso. Secretary for Intergroup Relations
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

We are sending you 150 of George McMillan's pamphlet and 100 copies of your address, as you requested in your letter of December 2 to Harold. We have a price of .25 on the McMillan job, so if you have $37.50 we should be glad to receive it; if you don't have it, forget it: the Bishops undoubtedly are a concern to us all.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

MR

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
December 7, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

.100

Dear Leslie,

Thank you very much for your prompt reply to my request for the pamphlet. There really isn't any reason why I should keep on ordering copies of my pamphlet at the expense of the SRC and I had anticipated paying the going price for the McMillan job. Would you kindly send a bill which I will either pay if I have the dough, or send in to the New York office for recquisition if I don't have the cash.

You should know better than anybody else I imagine just how much of a concern the bishops are to us. Still, there are a good many who will speak up and stand up in moments of need. The McMillan pamphlet will help a good deal in this regard I believe.

Sincerely,

Neil

Cornelius C. Tarplee

281 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y. SPring 7-9100

February 17, 1961

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations
P. aO. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

The carbon of your letter to the Rev. T. H. Kay has arrived and I am sorry for the mis-information for which I was responsible. After dictating my reply to Mr. Kay, it occurred to me to check with John Morris; he gave me the information about you and I inserted it in the letter. I talked with John about this today; he shares my regrets, and had believed that he was speaking informedly in what he had told me about you. At any rate I, once again, give you my applogies.

At John's suggestion, I am sending to him a copy of Mr. Kay's original inquiry; if John thinks he has anything to contribute to it he will do so.

I don't think I ever complimented you on your masterful reply to Henry P. Taylor in the Richmond News-Leader. In case you would like to have an extra copy of it and of Mr. Taylor's "muddled" rejoinder, I am enclosing thermafaxes.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: THKay

BCC - W. Campbell
J. Morris

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
Protestant Episcopal Church
CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
February 14, 1961

The Rev. Toombs H. Kay, Jr.
84-05 Wareham Place
Jamaica 32, New York

Dear Mr. Kay,

Your letter of February 8 was awaiting me when I returned from a trip to New York. Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, of the Southern Regional Council I count as a very much respected and true friend. I know of very few people in the South who know as much about the racial situation as he does. He has the advantage of me however, when he says that I have recently compiled a list of segregatienist clergy. I have no recollection of ever having done so although I have often in conversation said that I knew of five or six who were outspoken and active segregationists. There are, I suspect, quite a number more whose segregationist attitude reflects paternalism if not an even stronger feeling. This, however, is quite covert and I could not furnish any proof. Since you are doing a doctoral thesis on the subject, I am quite sure that you are aware how difficult it is to make any hard and fast judgments in this area. As much as I hate to appear to withhold information that would help you on your doctoral thesis, I do not have sufficient documentation to prove any allegations which I might make in that direction, and there just isn't enough time to do this kind of research.

My opinion in this matter does not emanate from any desire to enter into a conspiracy of silence. If it were possible to establish such a list of avowed and consciously convinced segregationists, it would probably be a service to the church to let them be known. All that I am saying is that without the proper documentation I would hesitate to call anybody such a name, because as you might realize, I feel that it is indeed hanging a pretty terrible tag upon them.

Again might I suggest that you write to the bishops of the various southern dioceses and ask them for this information. According to Episcopal church polity, they are the chief pastors of autonomous dioceses and our national church doesnot exercise personnel controls over the clergy of individual dioceses.

Regretfully yours,

The Reverend
Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

February 1, 1961

The Rev. Mr. Toombs H. Kay, Jr.
First Reformed Church
84-05 Wareham Place
Jamaica 32, New York

Dear Mr. Kay:

I am forwarding your letter of January 24 to Mr. Dabbs at his home in South Carolina, together with a copy of this reply. If Mr. Dabbs has additional information or suggestions, he will write to you direct.

Although we can offer some names to you, I think your best informant will be the Rev. Will Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., P. O. Box 1083, Nashville, Tennessee; I am sending Mr. Campbell a copy of your letter. He is in closer tough with the Southern ministry than any other person and will be able to give a more systematic answer.

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee, Associate Secretary for Intergroup Relations, Protestant Episcopal Church, P. O. Box 853, Lynchburg, Virginia, has recently compiled a list of 12 or more Episcopal clergy who have been active in segregationist activities and statements. You may wish to write him, also.

There are a few ministers whom we think of as having taken a prominent stand in behalf of segregation. Here are a few names, though the list is by no means complete:

James Parker Dees, Trinity Episcopal Church, Statesville, North Carolina
John R. Richardson, Westminster Presbyterian Church, 493 Ponce de Leon Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia
Stanley Frazier, Methodist minister, Montgomery, Alabama

Wesley Pruden, chaplain White Citizens Council, Little Rock, Arkansas

Joseph M. Branch, Davisboro Baptist Church, an organizer of the Metropolitan Association for Segregated Education, and former chaplain Georgia House of Representatives

The Reverends E. E. George and Royce Bagley, Baptists, have been speakers and chaplains for the KKK meetings in Georgia

Under separate cover I am sending several items which may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
Tarplee, The Church in Areas of Racial Tension
Campbell, A Man Had Two Sons
New South, January 1960, Campbell article
McGill, N. Y. Times reprint, The Agony of the Southern Minister"
Christian Century reprint, "Let Us Kneel-in Together!"
Statements by ministerial groups

BCC - Campbell
Dabbs
Tarplee

Original letter sent to Mr. Dabbs

FIRST REFORMED CHURCH

JAMAICA NEW YORK

THE MANSE
84-05 WARNHAM PLACE
JAMAICA 32, NEW YORK

TOOMBS HODGES KAY, JR., MINISTER

RAYMOND L. NOONAN, CLERK
30 ROBBINS AVENUE
BABYLON, NEW YORK

January 24, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue North
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I am a student at New York University, writing a doctoral thesis on the role of the Protestant churches in the integration controversy. This is based on selected denominations and selected representative ministers. I have been told that, from your years of labor and wide experience in race relations, you would be able to suggest the names of Protestant ministers in the South who are spokesmen either for or against the integration of the races.

Since Protestant denominations are often reluctant to suggest clergy who oppose integration, I would be especially grateful to have the names of ministers in this area.

If there is related literature published by the Southern Regional Council, I would be pleased to know about it in order to purchase it.

May I thank you in advance for your help in this matter.

Sincerely yours

TOOMBS H. KAY, JR.

Tangle
Fil

THK:W

MA file

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
February 28, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

Thank you very much for your letter. Please don't feel any concern over the fact that the Rev. Mr. Kay quoted you to the effect that I had compiled a list of segregationist clergy. I know nothing about about this guy and as I told him, I think it is tantamount to libel to call anybody a segregationist, so I had better refrain unless I can document it and besides, it would be a good idea for him to write the bishops themselves.

It was fun writing the letter to the Richmond News Leader. I had looked for it but in my trips, didn't catch the iddue in which it was printed so I am glad to have the information. Mr. Taylor's letter in response seems hardly worth answering. I find it too much fun to write letters to the editors, and I don't have too much time for it.

Would you be so kind as to send 75 copies of my paper to the Rev. Wood Carper, General Theological Seminary, 175 Ninth Avenue, New York 11, New York? Will you please send a statement to my address here and I will send it through for a check. As far as I know, I am up to date on sending through recquisitions, but if not, please let me know.

3-1-61 mp

Hoping to see you soon, I am,

Sincerely,

Neil

The Reverend
Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

Special Report of the Associate Secretary for Inter-Group Relations to the National Council Annual Meeting February 21-22, 1961, Seabury House, Greenwich, Connecticut

RECEIVED MAR 15 1961

Scarcely a year ago, the first sit-ins by southern young people began in Greensboro, N.C. Almost immediately many such occurrences swept through the South. Expected by many Southerners to disappear like the collegiate "panty raids" with the coming of examinations, summer vacations, and especially after a few jail sentences, just the opposite took place. During the school year 1960-61 they have increased in incredible proportions, not only sit-ins but kneel-ins, jail-ins, walk-ins, wade-ins, and almost every other conceivable form of non-violent demonstration has become almost pandemic in the South.

At the same time school desegration has entered a third phase. First there was rapid desegregation in the border states while the Deep South watched and said, "never." Second, there was the phase of massive resistance and the proliferation of many state laws aimed at evading and avoiding desegregation. There were Little Rock and Prince Edward County. There were private white schools held in churches and other available places, while the public schools were closed and Negroes stayed home.

The third phase of school desegregation sees the unconstitutionality of most of the hastily passed legislation already established.

Applications to enter white schools have been made in dozens of places, and in a great many, at least, token desegregation has already taken place. Large cities of the Deep South, like Houston, New Orleans, and Atlanta, are in the initial stages of school desegregation.

A fourth front in the civil rights struggle only occasionally erupts in overt incidents. But the Tent City in Southern Tennessee is one dramatic evidence that the Negro is moving determinedly toward the polls.

Perhaps the oldest of all the attacks on segregation, applications for admission to white colleges by Negroes has been going on quietly and successfully. The University of Texas has a comparatively large number of Negro students; the University of Virginia, Va. Polytechnic Institute, North Carolina State, Memphis State, and probably a good many others have a few Negro students. Now at this semester's beginning the University of Georgia, citadel of segregated white education, fell before the successful efforts of the two young Negroes. With it massive resistance died in Georgia. Word is out that five applicants are seeking admission to Georgia Tech, two to Clemson College, several to Winthrop. The Wake Forest faculty has made it public that it favors the admission of Negroes to that Baptist institution.

Developments in Atlanta, Georgia, make it almost certain that the next big showdown will take place there. Sit-ins, jail-ins, kneel-ins, a nearly 100 per cent effective Negro boycott of Rich's department store, the successful school desegregation of the nearby University of Georgia, and the largely successful attempts of the city government to free itself from the domination of the rural counties, have all played significant parts in setting the stage for a really important and probably decisive step in the fall. As of late fall of last year, human relations observers in Atlanta felt that a better prepared citizenry, and a better organized, more decisive city government, would forestall much of the tragedy that was apparent in New Orleans. But it was not hard to find Atlantans who were of the opinion that what was coming in Atlanta would make New Orleans a tea-party by comparison. The most recent word from Harold Fleming, director of the Southern Regional Council, whose office is in Atlanta, appeared in the Sunday New York Times. He said, "As school desegregation nears in Atlanta, the forces of organized bigotry in the South are clearly concentrating their efforts here. The Apostles of anti-Negro, anti-Semitism, and anti-Catholic prejudice are gathering for what they evidently see as a major test of their extremist doctrine."

As expressions of civil rights protest and demand become too numerous to be fully covered by the newspapers, they confront almost every southern community and challenge every individual. Instead of producing peace and quiet, accelerated desegregation inevitably produces new crises and new conflict.

In Lynchburg, Virginia, six students are serving jail sentences for violation of local trespass laws in a sit-in. Among them are the son of the Christian Social Relations head of the Disciples of Christ Church, and a young Randolph Macon student who is a national officer of the Methodist Student Association. At that trial, one of our own priests was forcibly ejected from the courthouse. The priest, a white man who serves a largely Negro congregation, had asked to be seated with his own parishioners. These occurrences have received national notice. Hundreds of letters are being received by these people. They have heard from as far away as Australia.

In Rock Hill, S.C. those arrested and jailed for sit-in demonstrations have been put in solitary confinement on bread and water, because they have protested that they had been singled out for especially heavy duty on the chain gang.

In a few months time the climate of the South has undergone a most significant change. Where once a taut silence surrounded the race issue on nearly every local level, it is now discussed everywhere. Especially among college students it is the main topic of conversation. And according to a very recent Gallup poll, 76 per cent of Southerners now feel that desegregation is inevitable. Barriers to desegregation are coming down everywhere one looks.

But in few cases does this seem to be accomplished without at least some crisis and conflict. It would not seem too extravagant to say that the whole South is aflame with both portent and action.

The Church faces a dilemma. At least as far as on the scene witness is concerned, only a few clergy and college students appear personally involved at the scenes of conflict. Only Lloyd Foreman, a Methodist parson, was found among those in New Orleans, who took his place on the firing line, seeking to do what he might in the interest of truth and justice.

On the other hand, the tide has rolled on and made almost irrelevant, efforts at education, discussion groups, reflective considerations, and all the usual paraphernalia of peaceful and prudential preparation. The time once available for such strategy has apparently been squandered in silence when to face issues, even verbally, was daring and unpopular. Now the cutting edge of the civil rights movement has moved way out in the direction of overt witness and decisive action - an area into which little of the Church appears ready or able to go.

Nevertheless, as this trend moves toward a vast regional climax, more and more of the Church's members, lay and clerical, can be expected to be drawn into its vortex. Some will emerge as heroes and others will become casualties of one kind or another.

Numbers of clergy have found themselves relieved of their charges. A good many have been and are in serious tension situations. There have been cases of financial hardship, mental suffering, and even breakdowns. There is no question that this number is going to increase sharply.

Among the college sit-in demonstrations Canterburians have already been jailed. There is little likelihood that the number of such casualties is going to decrease, and it would seem that the Church would want to offer support and assistance.

The Department of Christian Social Relations expects me to do my best to keep abreast of these developments and to do whatever present resources might permit. Informed in this manner, and from other sources, the Department expects to keep you informed. Specific measures such as emergency assistance for the various growing casualties, and other concentrated action are urgently needed.

Cornelius C. Tarplee

Associate Secretary
Division of Christian Citizenship

MA

The National Council

Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
March 21, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

The short but extremely fine statement by Dr. Hill entitled "This I believe" arrived this morning. Will you kindly send me 500 of them and enclose an invoice so that I can send it through our finance department for collection, as I have done on the other publications.

Thanks for everything you are doing.

Most sincerely,

Neil

The Reverend
Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

500
.05
25.00

281 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y. SPring 7-9100

March 22, 1961

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

We are mailing you today the requested 500 copies of "This I Believe" and our invoice is enclosed. Glad you like it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
April 16, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Although I believe you have sent me the Rev. Lloyd Foreman's address, I do not seem to be able to find it. Would you be good enough to forward the enclosed letter to him for me? I will appreciate it very much.

Sincerely,

Neil

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

4/17/61
S

HOUSTON, TEXAS

I. Miscellaneous Data

A. Population

City of Houston 1950 - U.S. Census	Native White	Negro	Foreign born white	Other	Total
	453,105	124,766	17,398	894	596,163

Later population figures n.a.; however, the Houston Standard Metropolitan Area comprises Harris County. Harris County's population:

	White	Negro	Total
1950 (U.S. Census)	657,415	149,286	806,701
1956 (Estimate, Texas Employment Commission)	N.A.	N.A.	1,096,000
1958 (Estimate, Texas Employment Commission)	N.A.	N.A.	1,195,000

B. Education

Median School Years Completed by Persons over 25, 1950, Harris County:

	Harris County	Texas	United States
White	(Male, 10.2; Female, 10.5)	9.7	9.7
Non-white	7.6	7.0	6.9

C. Voter Registration

Qualified Negro Voters, 1958, Harris County: 45,994

D. Income

1949 Median Income, families and unrelated individuals, Harris County: $3,078.00

1949 Median Income, nonwhite families and unrelated individuals, Harris County: $1,681.00

E. <u>Occupation Groups</u> - Harris County Non-white population:
Source, U. S. Census, 1950

Total non-white males employed - 40,893

Breakdown, occupation groups utilizing 1,000 workers or more

1.	Laborers, except farm and mine	14,836
2.	Operatives and kindred workers	9,393
3.	Service workers, except private household	7,990
4.	Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	3,112
5.	Clerical and kindred workers	1,339
6.	Managers, officials, and proprietors	1,286
		37,956

Total non-white females employed - 24,444

Breakdown, occupation groups utilizing 1,000 workers or more

1.	Private household workers	12,118
2.	Service workers, except private household	6,159
3.	Operatives and kindred workers	2,608
4.	Professional, technical, and kindred workers	1,266
		22,151

II. Education

School Enrollment: The Houston Independent School District is the sixth largest school district in the nation; the largest segregated school district.

Elementary Schools:	White	Negro
1959-60	79,750	33,190
1958-59	77,707	30,111
Per cent increase:	2.6	10.2
Junior High Schools		
1959-60	25,310	7,689
1958-59	23,279	7,071
Per cent Increase	8.3	8.7
Senior High Schools		
1959-60	17,453	4,870
1958-59	16,176	4,736
Per cent Increase	7.9	2.8

Total 1959-60 enrollment: 168,262 (White - 122,513; Negro 45,749) an increase of 5.7 per cent over 195859.

Chairman, 7-member School Board: Dr. Henry A. Petersen

Superintendent of Schools: John W. McFarland

One member of school board is a Negro, Mrs. Charles E. White (elected November, 1958). (See attached news clips for further information on schools.)

School Segregation Legislation, Texas:

1957 - HB 65 prohibits future desegregation without the approval of a majority of the voters in the school district concerned and provides for re-segregation upon the approval of a majority of the electors in any desegregated district. Measure denies state school funds to districts desegregating without referendum.

HB 231 provides for the placement of pupils in schools by local school authorities on the basis of 17 educational and psychological factors, not including race, "national origin" or "ancestral language".

1957 Special Session - SB1 provides for closing public schools to prevent use of troops on the premises.

SB2 appropriates $50,000 for use by attorney general in defending state laws when attacked in local school districts.

HB5 authorizes county judges to require registration of any organization deemed to be interfering with operation of public schools and allows judges to call for membership lists.

III. Economy

In terms of bank debits to demand deposits, Houston was (as of last three months of 1959) the 12th largest banking center in the United States, and second largest in the South (largest: Dallas).

A. Employees in Manufacturing (averages in 1,000's)

1955	- 84.4
1956	- 89.2
1957	- 92.5
1958	- 88.1
Oct., 1958	- 90.2
Sept., 1959	- 89.7
Oct., 1959	- 89.0

B. Gross ~~hours of~~ earnings of production workers in manufacturing

Oct. 1958	-	$97.12	
Sept. 1959	-	106.07	
Oct. 1959	-	101.50	
Oct. 1959,	national average	- 89.06	
"	Birmingham	- 71.51	
"	Atlanta	- 83.41	
"	Louisville	- 96.54	
"	Detroit	- 117.87	
"	Baton Rouge	- 118.16	(Southern high)
"	Fort Worth	- 106.34	(Texas high)
"	Kenosha (Wis.)	- 120.18	(National high)

C. Monthly Department Store Sales
Per cent change corresponding period year ago

	Nov. 1959	Oct. 1959	11 months, 1959
United States	plus 6	plus 7	plus 7
Dallas federal reserve district	plus 9	plus 7	plus 9
Houston	plus 16	plus 10	plus 12

IV. **Housing**

1950 data from U. S. Census of Housing:	Negro	White
Number of owner-occupied units:	11,417	79,157
Number of renter-occupied units:	23,909	66,155

	Non-White	White & Non-white combined
Total dwelling units:	35,540	191,681
Median Number of persons per dwelling:	2.9	2.9
Dwellings having 1.51 or more persons, per room	4,043	11,737
Median value, owner-occupied one-dwelling unit structures:	$ 4,461.	$ 7,846
Median rent, renter-occupied units:	$39.50	$45.40
Hot and cold piped running water inside structure	13,637	152,134
Only cold piped running water inside structure	17,380	30,290
Piped running water outside structure	2,437	3,924
No piped running water	1,907	3,448
Not reported	179	1,885
Flush toilet inside structure, exclusive use	26,714	164,840
Flush toilet inside structure, shared	1,821	10,274
Other toilet facilities (including privy)	6,436	13,073
No toilet	362	1,411
Not reported	207	2,083
Condition and Plumbing Facilities,		
Not dilapidated:		
With private toilet & bath, & hot water	11,687	138,775
" " " " only cold water	9,022	13,938
With running water, lacking private toilet or bath	5,127	16,531
No running water	2,724	4,665
Dilapidated:		
With private toilet & bath, hot r. water	579	2,898
Lacking hot water, private toilet or bath	5,520	10,378
Not reported	881	4,496

Housing, continued.

Miscellaneous Data

1. A plan to separate Negro and white sections in a public housing project by a brick dividing wall was approved by the Houston Housing Authority. (Nov., 1956)

V. Public Accommodations

Four Houston Negroes filed suit in U. S. district court seeking to enjoin officials from denying Negroes use of Sylvan Park Beach. (June 1958) Outcome unknown.

Houston's golf courses are desegregated.

Bus station facilities are reportedly segregated. One train station has separate waiting rooms while the other has only one general waiting room. A recently constructed airport does not have segregated waiting room facilities but does maintain segregation in the restaurant.

One of the largest hotels (name unknown) reportedly adopted policy permitting interracial conventions and banquets. (1954-56)

July 21, 1961

Dr. Daniel C. Thompson, Chairman
Division of the Social Sciences
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Dear Dan:

I am very hopeful that our new association with the Southern Regional Council will provide us the opportunity of seeing each other again. Certain it is that our paths have not had a chance to cross since almost ten years ago. I enjoy my work very much with the Council and will need and look forward to help from you as I seek to orient myself to the race relations problems in the region.

Les Dunbar has passed on to me your manuscript, "The Case for Integration," to prepare for publication as a Council document. I am very pleased to do this. I have read the article with great interest, and it cogently and clearly presents the most relevant issues with respect to integration conflicts, particularly in the South.

I would, however, like to suggest some possible changes: some editorial corrections and the others are some deletions which may help to shorten the paper but I hope will not substantially alter the structure of it and the argument and materials presented therein. I would like to emphasize that these changes are only suggestions, and if you feel that any or all of them would do some injustice to the paper, as you would like to see it printed, then of course we will be guided by your judgment.

Since we would like to expedite the publication of your manuscript, we would appreciate your reviewing the suggested changes and returning the manuscript to us at your earliest convenience.

With all best wishes to you and to your wife,

Cordially yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:a

DILLARD UNIVERSITY

NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

July 12, 1961

JM - when editing is finished copy should be sent to Dan for approval

MK

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

I am glad that you will print the manuscript as a "notable address." I have only one suggestion: Since many organizations might want to secure copies to mail to interested persons, I wish it were so that it could be made to fit easily into a standard, long envelope.

You may be assured of my full support in this endeavor.

Very sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel C. Thompson
Chairman, Division of
The Social Sciences

DCT:vm

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

June 30, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

This is the manuscript, "The Case for Integration," I was telling you about. It is an extended discussion of the debate I had with a lawyer for the White Citizens Council in New Orleans several months ago. Excerpts from this speech were printed in local newspapers. Since then I have had numerous requests to present the paper before different audiences. Many who have heard it have strongly advised that it should be made available throughout the nation, particularly the South, where this issue is paramount.

Please read this manuscript and let me know if the Southern Regional Council might be interested in publishing it.

Incidentally, several fraternal, social, and civic organizations have indicated that they would like to buy a supply of this manuscript and send them to persons in official and leadership positions in the South who are concerned one way or the other with public school desegregation.

May I hear from you soon, because I feel that if this manuscript has any value it should be made available before school opens in September. The publishing company I had been negotiating with wants me to expand it into book form which I do not have time nor the desire to do, since I am already preparing a book on leadership.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel C. Thompson, Chairman
Division of The Social Sciences

DCT:vm

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

LWD -

The United States Commission on Civil Rights held hearings in Atlanta on April 10, 1959. The subject was housing for Atlanta's Negro citizens.

The Commission has also conducted housing hearings in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. The inquiry in Atlanta has been the only one carried out in or planned for the South.

Atlanta has the reputation of being the best of Southern, perhaps of American, cities in quality and quantity of housing for Negroes. This was possibly the conclusion taken away by the Commission. In Congressional testimony on April 30, 1959 Chairman Hannah stated, in reply to a question:

> Well, sir, we concluded that there was a story in Atlanta that could well be told to the country. Of course, there is some pretty poor Negro housing in Atlanta, as there is poor housing for Negroes and white folks in other sections of the country, but the Atlanta story is a very interesting story and the progress that has been made in providing an opportunity for Negroes to acquire middle-class, and high-class, housing - while it is true they are segregated in areas - they have some very fine communities. This has been a cooperative effort worked out voluntarily by the Negroes and the white people and the city leaders and the mayor and so on.
>
> Frankly, I was surprised and pleased at what we found in the housing area in Atlanta,...because...there is a better opportunity provided for middle-class and high-class housing for at least some of these Negroes in Atlanta than in many cities in my part of the country.

The relatively good conditions in Atlanta make all the more meaningful the discussion by Robert A. Thompson, one of the witnesses at the April 10 hearings. Because housing patterns influence and pervade all other areas of social relations, we have reproduced the text of his statement.

Racial relations in the South are not fully defined by the headlines of the day, or the particular issues which make the news. The school, voting and law enforcement problems are all parts of a basic system of social practices. So too is the housing problem. As the Negroes of the South migrate steadily and increasingly to the cities, it seems obvious that housing for them will become a matter of enlarging concern for all Southerners, and that this issue, which affects all others now, will demand decisions which go to the roots of Southern customs.

Mr. Thompson notes that, in Atlanta, the "artificial" shortage of land for Negro residences crowds one-third of the city's population into one-sixth of its residential area. Slums and their human products are an inevitable result. Furthermore, as Mr. Thompson points out, there are adverse consequences for the tax revenues of the city and the economy of its central business district. The statement makes clear also how deeply involved the federal government is, through its housing laws and agencies, in determining the housing patterns of our communities.

drop

(The final paragraph of the statement, containing legislative recommendations, has been omitted and can be obtained from the Atlanta Urban League.)

MM ✓
LWD
Pls. Return

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

T E S T I M O N Y

BEFORE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION'S HEARING ON HOUSING

BY

ROBERT A. THOMPSON - HOUSING SECRETARY

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

Print

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

APRIL 10,1959

the Commission on Civil Rights

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT A. THOMPSON, HOUSING SECRETARY, ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
BEFORE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION'S ~~HEARING ON HOUSING~~
Atlanta, Georgia - April 10, 1959

: : : :

The Atlanta Urban League is a social service agency working primarily in the field of community organization. The Atlanta Urban League is and has been interested in improving the educational, housing, recreational and health conditions of Negroes since its establishment in 1920. It is a charter member of the Community Chest and cooperates with other agencies and organizations in developing means for dealing with social problems affecting community relations in Atlanta.

The Atlanta Urban League is and has been particularly aware of the critical housing needs of Negroes in Atlanta for a long period. In 1947, when the Joint Congressional Committee on Housing held a hearing in Atlanta, the Atlanta Urban League pointed out that "during the war years and the ten depression years preceding it, far fewer houses were built in Atlanta and the rest of the nation than were needed for our expanding population...that the Negro population has overflowed the maximum possible use of present facilities...that the present overcrowding of Central areas has resulted in a blight that tends to lower values of adjacent properties and is a direct menance to health, safety, morals, and the prosperity of the entire community." Prior to and since the Congressional Hearings, the Atlanta Urban League's housing program has been devoted entirely to increasing both the quantity and quality of NEW owner-occupied and standard rental housing units for the Negro population of Metropolitan Atlanta. This program involves finding suitable and undeveloped tracts of land owned by Negroes or land which can be secured and developed for Negroes; interesting insurance companies, savings and loan associations, savings banks and mortgage brokers in making construction and permanent mortgage loans; interesting builders in

constructing the dwelling units; assisting real estate brokers and working with city and county Federal officials in approving proposed housing projects. Over-income families who must leave public housing projects and those displaced by City, State and Federal highway programs, are assisted in finding decent, safe and sanitary housing at costs related to the income of the displaced family.

1. The unpublished report of the Commission on Race and Housing and the local Metropolitan Planning Commission show that upwards of 10,000 dwelling units became available to the nonwhite population of Atlanta between 1945 and 1958. The report of the Commission on Race and Housing shows that the nonwhite population secured 10,554 dwelling units of which 5,120 were owner-occupied and 5,434 renter-occupied between 1945 and 1956. The Race and Housing Study also reports that only 2,009 of the total were used housing formerly occupied by white persons.

   The Metropolitan Planning Commission reported a net gain of 12,317 nonwhite dwelling units between 1950 and 1957. This Commission reports that 3,994 units were changed from white to nonwhite occupancy.

2. The main difficulty confronting the nonwhite population in securing decent, safe and sanitary housing is the "artificial" shortage of land on which dwelling units may be built for Negroes.

   When the amount of land that can be developed for residential purposes is "reserved" for a racial group ~~at~~ to the exclusion of all other groups because of race or religion, an "artificial" land shortage for the excluded group of individuals is created.

Between 1940 and 1950, twenty-five census tracts with a total area of approximately 7.9 square miles housed 93,344 or 89.3 per cent of all Negroes living inside of the city limits of Atlanta. In other words, there were 11,709 persons for each square mile and each square mile held 3,222 Negro families.

The Metropolitan Planning Commission's report of April 2,1959, shows that the nonwhite population constitutes 35.7 per cent of the total in the City of Atlanta and that this racial group occupies only 16.4 per cent of the "total developed residential land".

2a The extent to which these difficulties are being overcome gradually, may be attributed to three related factors, namely, "the economy", the social "climate" and to the structure and quality of life in the Negro community.

The economy of Atlanta is diversified and expanding and is based primarily on commerce, communications and services. This affects the occupational structure of Negroes as well as whites; the stability, composition and distribution of the population; the economic, psychological, political orientation and relationships to other groups.

The social "climate" in Atlanta is permissive and fluid. It has an economic and political leadership that has given priority to civic advancement and national reputation rather than to maintaining rigid control of the nonwhite population. The nonwhite population has been able to establish its claims through its own leadership within the existing system and the residential expansion is viewed more as a matter of pride and profit rather than as a threat.

With respect to the structure and quality of the Negro community, it is a fact that Atlanta has, since reconstruction been a center of higher education for Negroes. For the most part, the leadership, the impetus and personnel for overcoming over-crowded housing conditions, have come from or been closely associated with these institutions of higher education - Atlanta University, Clark, Morehouse, Morris Brown, Spelman and Gammon. The leadership has had at its disposal financial resources. It has had the Empire Real Estate Board which is composed of mostly college graduates, builders and developers, and it has had the resources of the Atlanta Urban League. The Atlanta Urban League played a significant role in coordinating the efforts of white and Negro leadership in the sponsorship of housing developments for decent, safe and sanitary housing for Negro occupancy.

3. The leadership and the entire nonwhite population live within the framework of segregation. This group lives in segregated areas primarily because of custom and not because of local or state legal barriers.

The nonwhite population is expanding in the west, northeast and southeast sections of the city. In the west (Census Tracts FC-6 and FC-7) and southeast sections (Census Tract FC-20) new low cost (Section 221) housing and some high quality housing have been built both with and without the assistance of Federal Housing Programs. Expansion in the northeast section (Census Tract F-17) occurred by the nonwhite population taking over formerly white occupied units and largely without the assistance of the Federal Housing Programs.

With respect to securing sites for relocation of Section 221 housing, the situation has been very frustrating. Sites for the location of Section 221 housing must be approved not only by the Federal Housing Administration, but also by the City of Atlanta. Special privilege of the City in approving relocation sites in effect determines where both the white and nonwhite population will or will not live. The Federal Housing Administration's refusal to approve land in certain sections for nonwhite relocation housing, while at the same time approving the same general section for white relocation housing, has further restricted the nonwhite population to limited land areas. The Ben Hill area is a case in point.

4. Restricting any growing population to limited land areas increases the population density, and high density is a main cause of slums. Slum property in terms of the financial return to property owners is expensive to acquire when purchased by the City Administration for civic development. In the northeast area, census tract F-17, F-18, F-28 and F-29 with a total of 173 blocks or 699.6 acres, the assessed value per square foot ranged from 35 to 95 cents in 1951 according to the Metropolitan Planning Commission's report of March 31, 1953.

Moreover, the confinement of low-income groups to close in and the nonwhite population to circumscribed areas affects adversely the economic life of the central business district and the economic life of the entire city. According to U. S. Department of Commerce report for February 13, 1958, "60 per cent of consumer buying is done outside downtown areas of Atlanta" or the central business district.

If the trend of outward migration by the more affluent population to the suburbs continues or is accelerated, the left-behind low-income groups and the central business district will undoubtedly suffer.

5. No state or local laws have been adopted to accomplish equal housing opportunity on a non-separate basis. Custom has dictated that all housing under the control of the city be on a segregated basis.

The Westside Mutual Development Committee, composed of three white and three Negro citizens, selected by the Mayor, has from time to time settled differences of opinions relative to the Westward expansion of Negroes. These committee members have been able to allay from time to time, the fears of white property owners about the Westward movement of the nonwhite population.

The Westside Mutual Development Committee, however, recognizes one very fundamental point and that is that every property owner, regardless of color or religion, has the right to sell or not to sell his or her property to whomever he or she wishes.

6. The various Federal Housing Agencies are without power to withhold funds or assistance to cities and developers of projects on the basis of segregation or non-segregation. Approval of plans or projects is thus tantamount to the Federal Government approving or disapproving segregated housing.

7. The employment of qualified Negro personnel by the Federal agencies concerned with administering housing and renewal programs will tend

to increase the ability of these agencies to deal more realistically with the problems involved in increasing the housing supply. It is therefore recommented that:

a 1. Qualified Negroes be employed in the state offices of the Federal Housing Administration on an integrated basis.

b 2. The Public Housing Administration employ qualified Negroes on an integrated basis in all regional offices.

c 3. The Housing and Home Finance Agency employ qualified Negro personnel in all of its regional offices.

d 4. The Urban Renewal Administration employ qualified Negro personnel on an integrated basis to implement this far-reaching program.

Other recommendations that are related to housing and which should be brought to the attention of the President and the Congress are:

1. Amend Public Laws 627 - Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956, and according to the attached statement of the Atlanta Urban League dated January, 1957. (Please see attached.)

2. That the Life Insurance Company Income Tax Act of 1959 (HR4245) be defeated in the Senate and vetoed by the President if passed by the Senate.

   It is the considered opinion of this witness that the Bill-HR 4245 would, if passed by the Senate, lessen the number of homes that life insurance companies would be able to finance because of increased taxation. Increased taxes would, in all probability, force life insurance companies to purchase more and more municipal tax-free bonds instead of investing in mortgages.

3. The monetary and tax policies as they affect the total supply of housing should be reviewed by the Congress and the Committee on Economic Development. It is specifically requested that, the Commission on Civil Rights ask the Committee on Economic Development to give attention in its present study to mortgage credit and taxes as a means of removing the inequities in the housing supply between regions, states and cities.

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SUMMARY

How is "tokenism" to be distinguished from a program of school desegregation that proceeds with "deliberate speed"? After all the statistics and the legal technicalities have been examined, the real test remains -- good faith. In the absence of good faith, the ~~cleverest~~ sorendest of desegregation plans will avail nothing; in the presence of good faith, even a slow pace of desegregation can be accepted as partial compliance with the established principle that racial segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional.

At bottom, then the problem is a moral one. The Supreme Court's 1954 decision spoke in legal and constitutional language, but the principles that it enunciated go beyond the mere concern for a smooth and orderly functioning of society. The Court was then (and continues to be) concerned with the rights and dignities of man, and these rights and dignities constitute the moral basis of society. Whatever detracts from them violates not only the rulings of our highest legal tribunal but erodes the very foundation of our existence as an organized society. It is in this light that we must evaluate the discouraging spectacle of evasion and violation of the school desegregation decision in the past nine years.

Pupil-placement plans have been ~~widely~~ often employed in southern states in an effort to feign compliance with the Supreme Court while preventing any genuine school desegregation. The courts

while less crude in their methods, pupil placement based on ~~restrictive transfer plans~~

have tended to rule that such plans may not be used so as to discriminate against Negro pupils. Even so, ~~The fact that~~ a number of districts are appealing these rulings. ~~speaks for itself. The~~ school-closings ~~and tuition-grant systems~~ condemn themselves -- no civilized person can escape a feeling of outrage at the action of people who would in effect deprive all children of educational facilities rather than make even careful and guarded efforts to obey the desegregation decision. Restrictive transfer plans have similarly been used in many instances to pretend desegregation of schools. ~~while permitting white parents to withdraw their children from desegregated schools.~~ Some ~~of these~~ methods, if used to undertake desegregation ~~slowly~~ deliberately but in good faith, might be instruments of progress. Instead, they have been used to frustrate the directives of the courts and the demands of justice.

The costs of the campaign to avoid the requirements of the United States Supreme Court have been enormous. Southern states have spent uncounted sums of money, urgently needed to improve the general level of education of their citizens, to block desegregation. Special legislative sessions, legal costs, duplication of educational facilities, even propaganda against racial justice have strained the budgets of southern states. But even more costly is the effect upon the human beings involved -- white and black -- and upon the moral atmosphere in which they

live. When the leaders of society refuse to obey fully the demands of decency and the dictates of the courts, and when they speak transparent lies about their actions, the citizenry cannot help but be corrupted. Respect for law and government is destroyed, to the great injury of our whole society.

The fears that are expressed regarding the consequences of desegregation have been reliably shown to be unfounded. Certain temporary dislocations MAY, of course, occur. But neither the educational level nor the long-range adjustment of students is impaired. The passing difficulties are surely a small price to pay for a righting of long established wrongs.

At the core of "tokenism" is an attitude that is as hurtful to whites as to Negroes, to white school children as to Negro pupils: racial bigotry. Racism is a malignancy that is spread widely through our society but may be more virulent on the Southern states than elsewhere. The principles of morality, of justice, and of educational opportunity demand that we overcome this ~~cancer~~. The Supreme Court urged "deliberate speed." For almost a decade, we have impatiently observed the deliberation. It is time for speed.

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TOKEN INTEGRATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by

J. Kenneth Morland
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

MARCH 1963

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INTRODUCTION

A new term --"token integration"--has emerged in the struggle for racial equality in public schools in the South. Although employed in more than one way, the term is generally used to describe deliberate efforts to keep racial integration at a minimum. It differs from "massive resistance," aimed at preventing any integration, for it allows for some breakdown of racial segregation. But token integration has essentially the same goal as massive resistance: it seeks to preserve, in effect, the established pattern of segregation. Thus it differs from gradual desegregation which urges a slow pace in the process of changing the segregated pattern, but which at the same time envisions the elimination of segregation eventually.

Authors and advocates of plans providing for token integration have made clear their hope that such plans can prevent sizeable change. For example, consider the arguments used in support of North Carolina's Pupil Placement Act of 1955, which, including local option and transfer provisions, constitutes a plan for token integration. The report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education, urging adoption of the plan, began describing the problem confronted by public schools in the state:[1] "The educational system of

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[1]The full text of the report is found in ~~RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER~~, Vol. 1 (1956), pp. 581-586.

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North Carolina has been built on the foundation stone of separation of the races in the schools....The decisions of the Supreme Court have destroyed our foundation on segregation required by law..."The report pointed out that defiance of the Supreme Court would be "foolhardy" because it would alienate those who might be won to the segregationist's way of thinking and it could mean "the closing of the public schools very quickly." To avoid such alienation and the closing of schools, it suggested that a child not be barred from a particular school solely because of color since this had become unconstitutional. Nevertheless, racially separate schools could be maintained, the framers of the report believed, through a form of natural and voluntary separation in the following way: "...an administrative body may well find...that under local conditions it may not be feasible or best for a particular child to go to a particular school with children of another race. A color bar by law is one thing. A factual local condition bar, even if color is one of the causes of the condition, is a different thing....We believe that members of EACH race PREFER to associate with other members of their race and that they will do so naturally unless they are prodded and inflamed and controlled by outside pressure." The writers of the report concluded by saying that they were"...proposing the building of a new school system on a new foundation--a foundation of no racial

segregation by law, but assignment according to natural racial preference and the administrative determination of what is best for the child."

In sum, token integration plans are designed to meet the demands of the Supreme Court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level as to maintain de facto segregation. Token integration, then, is an end in itself-- an end in which the established patterns of segregation prevail.

What are the various plans of token integration, and how well have they fared in the courts? What have they accomplished, and at what price, financial and human? What is the rational behind token integration, and how soundly based is such rationale? These are among the questions with which this report will deal.

METHODS OF KEEPING SCHOOL INTEGRATION AT TOKEN LEVELS[2]

Pupil Placement Plans

A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of public placement laws. The eleven former Confederate states[3] have passed such laws, which, in essence, authorize either a state or local board to assign pupils individually to different schools. The criteria for assignment range from a few broadly stated principles, such as "orderly and efficient administration of the school," to as many as 20 or more detailed considerations. Included in the latter may be the availability of teachers and transportation, the pupil's preparation and ability, the moral and health condition of the pupil, and the anticipated effect of the admission on other pupils and on the community itself. None of the plans mentions race itself as a criterion of assignment; instead, they allow the operation of racially separate schools to shift to other grounds. Hartwell B. Lutz pointed

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[2]Among the sources relied on in this section are the following: RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER (published by the Vanderbilt School of Law); U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, CIVIL RIGHTS USA: PUBLIC SCHOOLS, SOUTHERN STATES, 1962 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1962); G. W. Foster, Jr., "1960: Turning Point for Desegretation?" SATURDAY REVIEW, December 17, 1960, pp. 52-54: G. W. Foster, Jr., "Token Desegregation and the Law," a working paper.

[3]Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, (see U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, CIVIL RIGHTS USA: PUBLIC SCHOOLS, SOUTHERN STATES, 1962, p. 4, footnote 12 for reference to where these plans might be found.)

this out in commenting on the Alabama Pupil Placement Law when he said that it was:

> ...of common knowledge that the bill was passed with the intention of preventing, or, at least, delaying racial integration. The manner in which the bill might accomplish this is obvious; when a Negro child applies for admission to a white school, the Board of Education can simply assign him to a school that has only colored pupils on any one of approximately 20 grounds.[4]

In actual operation pupil placement laws have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race. The limited amount of integration that has taken place has come through application for transfer from the school of initial assignment through provisions of the placement laws. If an individual wishes to contest his assignment, he is allowed to do so, but he must carry his request through an involved and cumbersome administrative route. Just how elaborate this procedure may be is illustrated by Section 4 of the North Carolina School Placement Law:

> Any person aggrieved by the final order of the county or city board of education may at any time within ten (10)

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[4]Hartwell B. Lutz, "School Placement Bill--Its Practical and Legal Effect on Racial Segregation," ALABAMA LAW REVIEW, Fall, 1955, p. 229.

days from the data of such order appeal therefrom to the superior court of the county....Upon such appeal, the matter shall be heard de novo in the superior court before a jury....The record on appeal to the superior court shall consist of a true copy of the application and decision of the board, duly certified by the secretary of such board. If the decision of the court be that the order of the county or city board of education shall be set aside, then the court shall enter its order so providing and adjudging that such child is entitled to attend the school as claimed by the appellant, or such other school as the court may find such child is entitled to attend, and in such case such child shall be admitted to such school by the county or city board of education concerned. From the judgment of the superior court an appeal may be taken by any interested party or by the board to the Supreme Court in the same manner as other appeals are taken from judgements of such court in civil actions.[5]

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In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus, actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive

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[5] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 1 (1956), pp. 240-241.

steps to contest the initial assignment, as has been well pointed out by a law professor at the University of North Carolina: "A Negro parent seeking to assert his child's constitutional rights to attend a desegregated school in some sections of the South must have unlimited courage, resources, time, and energy to litigate with the massed power of the state. He must also be prepared to face economic, and, sometimes, physical sanctions."[6] The comparatively few Negro children who have successfully protested their assignment and who have been admitted to former all-white schools have constituted the "token" numbers of Negro pupils in school with whites. Because there have been so few, the pattern of racial segregation has, in fact, prevailed where placement laws are the only means for desegregation.

School Closing, Tuition Grants

A number of states with pupil placement laws have included "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate. The arrangement has usually been to leave the decision of continuing or suspending the operation of schools up to the localities themselves, either through vote or through the action of the school board or board of supervisors. In order to make school closing legal, constitutional statutes requiring the state to maintain

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[6]Daniel H. Pollitt, "Equal Protection in Public Education: 1954-61," AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS BULLETIN, Vol. 47 (1961), p. 205.

public schools have been amended. The North Carolina local option act gives the rationale for such a provision in the following way:

> It is... recognized that our public schools are so intimately related to the customs and feelings of the people of each community that their effective operation is impossible except in conformity with community attitudes. Our people in each community need to have a full and meaningful choice as to whether a public school, which may have some enforced mixing of the races, shall continue to be maintained and supported in that community. It is the purpose of this Act to provide orderly procedures, consistent with law, for the effective expression of such choice.[7]

The act then spells out how a board of education may call for an election on the question of closing public schools. It was under a comparative Virginia provision that Prince Edward County closed its schools in 1959.

Another device for avoiding integrated schooling has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools. Six states--Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia--have passed such legislation.

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[7] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 1 (1956), pp. 934-935.

The Louisiana Act states:

> Every child residing in this state for whom no public school is available, or who is assigned to a public school attended by a child of another race against the wishes of his parent ... is entitled to apply for an education expense from state and local funds appropriated for that purpose.[8]

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In order to allow children to withdraw entirely from public schools if they are integrated to any degree, several states have amended compulsory school attendance laws. The Virginia provision reads, in part: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no child shall be required to enroll in or attend any school wherein both white and colored children are enrolled."[9]

Restrictive Transfer Provisions

Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan. Nashville was the first city to utilize such a plan. It began desegregation with the first grade in the fall of 1957 and reached the sixth grade in the 1962-63 session. Initial assignment in most plans has been made on geographical proximity, the child being assigned to the school nearest him. But Nashville

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[8] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 3 (1958), p. 1063.

[9] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 1 (1956), p. 1096.

and most of the other cities adopting such a plan have allowed those children assigned to a school in which they were in a racial minority to transfer to the nearest school in which their race is in a majority. Such a transfer provision has been aptly termed "restrictive," for it applies to certain children and not to others.[10] Whites in predominantly Negro schools may transfer under this provision while Negroes in that school may not; Negroes in predominantly white schools may transfer, while whites in that school may not.

The effect of this restrictive transfer arrangement has been to resegregate the previously all-Negro school. As a rule, white children assigned to all-Negro schools seek and are automatically granted a transfer to the nearest school in which whites are in a majority. Some Negro children assigned to all-white schools ask for a transfer, and those remaining constitute the comparatively few in integrated schools.

EXTENT OF INTEGRATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Just how effective have been these devices of pupil placement, school closing, tuition grants, STAIR-STEP PLANS and restrictive transfers in keeping integration at token levels? The figures on the number of desegregated

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[10] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, CIVIL RIGHTS USA: PUBLIC SCHOOLS, SOUTHERN STATES, 1962, p. 14.

school districts and the proportion of Negro pupils in schools with whites provide an answer to this question.

start When the Supreme Court declared in 1954 that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional, 17 states and the District of Columbia required the separation of races in public education. Since the Supreme Court ruling, the District of Columbia and six of the states--Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia--have moved more or less steadily toward compliance , and may therefore be called "compliant" states. The other eleven states--Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia--have passed legislation to prevent or to slow down desegregation. They may be called "resistant" states. In order to gain even a rough impression of the effectiveness of the plans for token integration, it is necessary to separate the extent of school integration in the "compliant" states from that in the "resistant" states.

We may look first at the number of school districts that have desegregated since 1954. A school district is regarded as desegregated when a single Negro child enters a school formerly attended only by whites, or when a single white child enters a school attended up to that time only by Negroes. Such desegregation is possible only in bi-racial school districts, ~~had been desegregated as of November, 1962.~~ that is, districts in which there are both white and Negro children residing. Table 1 shows how many bi-racial school

"Token Integration"

districts had been desegregated as of November 1962

TABLE 1

DESEGREGATION OF BI-RACIAL PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, NOVEMBER, 1962*

States	Total Number of Districts	Number of Bi-Racial Districts	Number of Desegregated Districts	Per Cent of Bi-Racial Districts Desegregated
Resistant**	3,043	2,283	270	11.8
Compliance***	3,186	775	702	90.6
Total	6,229	3,058	972	31.8

*Source: STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION IN THE SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November, 1962), p. 3. For later data on a state-by-state basis, see appendix.

**Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

***Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

It can be seen that little more than one out of ten of the bi-racial districts in the eleven resistant states have been desegregated, while slightly more than nine out of ten have been desegregated in the compliant states. Moreover, it should be noted, of the 270 desegregated districts in the resistant states, 176 are in Texas alone.

Because a district is desegregated, it does not follow that all Negroes and whites in the district go to school together, for, as previously noted, a single child in school with children of a

different race makes an entire district desegregated. Table 2 summarizes the extent of actual integration in the desegregated districts, pointing out how many Negroes were in schools with whites in those districts. It can be seen that in the resistant states only 2% of all the Negro children in the desegregated school districts were actually attending school with whites.[11] Or, stated another way, 98% of the Negroes in desegregated districts in the resistant states went to segregated, all-Negro schools.

TABLE 2

NEGRO PUPILS IN DESEGREGATED PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN SCHOOL WITH WHITES IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, NOVEMBER, 1962*

States	Negro Pupils in Desegregated School Districts		
	Total Number	Number in School with Whites	Per Cent in School with Whites
Resistant**	624,825	12,217	2.0
Compliant***	443,853	243,150	54.8
Total	1,068,678	255,367	23.9

*Source: STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION IN THE SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November, 1962), p. 3.

**Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

***Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

[11]It is of interest to note that in one school district, Nashville, of the 810 Negroes reported as being in schools with whites, 540 of them were in a school with two non-Negroes, a white and a Chinese-American child. [U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, CIVIL RIGHTS USA: PUBLIC SCHOOLS, SOUTHERN STATES, 1962 (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 112, 115.]

A final set of figures indicating the extent of integration in southern public schools shows how many Negroes in all districts, racial and bi-racial, segregated and desegregated, attend school with whites. Table 3 presents those figures for the fall of 1962.

TABLE 3

NEGRO PUPILS IN ALL PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN SCHOOL WITH WHITES IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, NOVEMBER, 1962*

States	Total Number	Number in School with Whites	Per Cent in School with Whites
Resistant**	2,803,882	12,217	0.4
Compliant***	475,549	243,150	51.1
Total	3,279,431	255,367	7.8

*Source: STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION IN THE SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November, 1962), p. 3.

**Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

***Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

This clearly illustrates how exceedingly limited the actual amount of racial integration is in the eleven resistant states. And the caption on the lead article of the December, 1962 issue of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS — "7.8 per cent of Negro Pupils Are in Classes with Whites" — is, therefore, exciting until one reads further to see

that 95.2% of those Negroes in school with whites are from the compliant states (i.e., 243,150 of the total of 255,367 Negroes in school with whites).

Thus, racial integration in public schools is by any standard at token levels in resistant states, where 98% of the Negro pupils in desegregated districts and 99.6% of the Negroes in all school districts are in segregated schools. And thus, the segregated pattern continues to prevail in the eleven resistant states.

SOME COURT RULINGS ON TOKEN INTEGRATION PLANS

How have the numerous plans to keep racial integration at token levels fared in federal courts?"[12] Court rulings on such plans will largely determine how long they may continue as effective instruments for maintaining de facto segregation. But it should be pointed out that there have been many and, at times, diverse court rulings, and that new rulings continue to be made. For this reason, only those cases which appear to be of major importance [redacted] to this subject are selected. The reader should keep in mind that the situation is far more

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[12]Many references will be made in this section to federal courts. Since frequent mention is made of circuit courts by number, it might be helpful to know in which circuits the "resistant" states are located: in the 4th are Virginia, North & South Carolina; in the 5th are Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; in the 6th is Tennessee; and in the 8th is Arkansas.

complex than the cases and rulings cited would indicate.

Pupil Placement Plans

When first adopted, the pupil placement plans proved to be generally acceptable to the courts as plans for desegregation. In a North Carolina case in November 1956, the U. S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit stated: "It is argued that the Pupil Enrollment Act is unconstitutional; but we cannot hold that that statute is unconstitutional upon its face and the question as to whether it has been unconstitutionally applied is not before us, as the administrative remedy which it provides has not been invoked."[13]

Later, in May 1958, a three-judge U. S. District Court ruled that the Alabama placement law was not unconstitutional on its face.[14] The district court ruling was affirmed the same year by the U. S. Supreme Court. But again, as in the North Carolina case, the plantiffs had not sought transfers under the law, and therefore there was no evidence that it was being used in a discriminatory manner.

Lately, however, the federal courts have become increasingly critical of pupil placement laws. This criticism has been directed at the laws in two ways: on their application and on their acceptability as plans for desegregation.

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[13] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 2 (1957), p. 20(Carson v. Warlick).

[14] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 3 (1958),pp. 425-434, 867. (Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education.)

In regard to their application, federal courts have ruled that pupil placement laws are being used in an unconstitutional manner when Negro children are subjected to hurdles not encountered by whites. For example, the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals condemned the application of the assignment plan in Roanoke County, Virginia, in the following ruling:

> A Negro pupil who wishes to free himself from the segregated school in which he has been routinely assigned under the dual racial zoning system must apply for a transfer. Regardless of the applicant's place of residence, the county school officials habitually refer his application to the state board with the recommendation that he be assigned to the Negro school. By the established practice of the state board, a Negro, in order to be admitted to a white school, must not only live closer to that school than to the Negro school, but he must in addition, meet a requirement that is not imposed upon white students seeking transfers, namely, in aptitude and scholastic achievement he is required to be substantially above the median of the class in the white school.... The obvious function of these transfer criteria, which find application in respect to Negro children only, is to place next-to-impossible hurdles in their way as to perpetuate segregation.[15]

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In this same decision, the 4th Circuit Court also undermined

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[15] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 416. (Marsh v. County School Board of Roanoke County.)

the effectiveness of pupil placement plans which required Negro plantiffs to present their cases individually. For this court held that not only the plantiffs but also "those similarly situated in Roanoke County are entitled to injunctive relief from a continuance of this unlawful discrimination."[16]

In a comparable ruling in North Carolina, the 4th Circuit Court ordered the City Board of Education of Durham to stop subjecting pupils seeking transfers to "futile, burdensome or discriminatory administrative procedures."[17] It ruled further, in the same case, that: "So long as the school board allows its practice of racial assignments, the injunctive order should require that it freely and readily grant all requests for transfer or initial assignment to a school attended solely or largely by pupils of the other race."

On the same day (October 12, 1962), this same court ruled that the Caswell County School Board violated the spirit of the North~~ern~~ Carolina Pupil Assignment Law by refusing to transfer Negro children to white schools and by using the Assignment Law "only when dealing with interracial transfer requests."[18]

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[16] Idem.

[17] SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, November 1962, p. 9 (Wheeling v Durham Board of Education; Spaulding v. Durham Board of Education.)

[18] Idem. (Jeffers v. Whitley).

The courts have raised questions too about the acceptability of pupil placement laws as plans for desegregation when schools under these laws continue to be segregated. Late in 1959, both the 5th and 8th Circuits of the U. S. Court of Appeals questioned the validity of these laws as desegregation plans. In a Dade County, Florida case, the 5th Circuit said: "...there is nothing either in the Pupil Assignment Law or the Implementing Resolution clearly inconsistent with a continuing policy of compulsory racial segregation."[19] The 8th Circuit Court stated in a Jefferson County, Arkansas case that the superintendents and officers of the defendant school district and its Board of Directors throughout the three school years in which the pupil placement plan was in effect had:

> ...carried into effect, enforced and maintained a rigid, racial segregation policy in all of its schools which, without exception, permitted no entry of any colored child into its white schools....It is established, too, that the Board intends a continuation of that policy, without any change or modifications and that its professing of the Pupil Enrollment Act of 1956, having been applied and in operation during the years 1957, 1958, and 1959, is but a cover-up to conceal its anti-racial and pro-racial segregation attitude.[20]

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[19] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 4 (1959), p. 861. (Gibson v. Board of Public Instruction of Dade County.)

[20] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 5 (1960), p. 54. (Dove v. Parham.)

The most direct challenge to pupil placement laws in meeting the legal requirements for school desegregation was made in Tennessee in March 1962. The 6th Circuit Court ruled in a Memphis case that "The Pupil Assignment Law might serve some purpose in the administration of a school system, but it will not serve as plan to convert a bi-racial system into a non-racial one."[21] The Court went on to say that the burden for bringing about desegregation was on the shoulders of Negro children and their parents who requested transfers, and that something more was needed to establish non-racial schools.

In August 1962 the 5th Circuit Court in a New Orleans* case emphatically denounced the Louisiana Pupil Placement Law as a plan for desegregation:

> This Court, like the district court, condemns the Pupil Placement Act, when, with a fanfare of trumpets, it is hailed as the instrument for carrying out a desegregation plan while all the time the entire public knows that in fact it is being used to maintain segregation by allowing a little token desegregation....The Act is not an adequate transitory substitute in keeping with the grandualism implicit in the 'deliberate speed' concept. It is not a plan for desegregation at all.[22]

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[21] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 43. (Northcross v. Board of Education of Memphis.)

[22] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 700. (Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board.)

* Single, non racial attendance zones for the first and second grades of the Orleans Parish public schools were approved by a 3-1 vote of the Orleans Parish School Board this spring and will become effective for the next school year.

School Closing, Tuition Grants

The legality of closing public schools in order to avoid desegregation has involved the question of whether or not a state is practicing equal treatment of its citizens if state money is provided for public schooling in some districts but not in others. Prince Edward County, Virginia, is the only school district that has closed its public schools; since the fall of 1959 white children have attended private schools in the county while Negro children have been without formal education. In July 1962 the U. S. District Court declared that such closing was contrary to law:

> The Court holds that the public schools of Prince Edward County may not be closed to avoid the effect of the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court, while the Commonwealth of Virginia permits other public schools to remain open at the expense of the taxpayers. ...The School Board of Prince Edward County is herewith directed to complete plans for the admission of pupils in the elementary and high schools of the county without regard to race or color and to receive and consider applications to this end at the earliest practical date.[23]

This ruling has been appealed to the 4th Circuit Court for a hearing.

In a U. S. District Court ruling on January 3, 1963, Powhatan County, Virginia, not far from Prince Edward County, was ordered to take no action, "directly or indirectly," to close its public schools while other public schools were open in Virginia.[24]

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[23] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, VOL.7(1962),p. 409 (Allen v. County School Board of Prince Edward County.)

[24] Associated Press report in the Lynchburg News, January 4, 1963. (Bell v. Powhatan County School Board.)

School officials were directed to refrain from closing schools either by withholding funds or by failing to appropriate funds.

These two decisions clearly indicate that federal courts will not permit a state to allocate funds to some public schools while others remain closed to avoid desegregation.

The legality of tuition grants, not explicitly tied to desegregation, has not yet been passed on by federal courts. In Virginia the original tuition grant laws provided for the availability of grants only in those areas where schools were desegregated. In 1959 "State and Local Scholarships," as they are officially called, were made available to any student to attend an accredited nonsectarian private school. But in August 1961 a U. S. District Court held that such scholarships could not be granted in Prince Edward County as long as public schools remained closed. In this ruling the judge stated that in granting scholarship stipends the state had contemplated a freedom of choice between public and private schooling. He cited the regulation of the State Board of Education to support the state's intention: "'Scholarships will be available for pupils of legal school age who are eligible to attend the public schools in the county, city or town in which the parent, guardian or such other person standing in loco ~~parents~~ PARENTIS is a bona fida resident.' ...This rule is plain and unequivocal. State scholarships are not available to persons residing in counties that have abandoned

public schools."[25]

Grade-a-Year Plans

Federal courts have usually accepted grade-a-year plans as valid desegregation procedures. However, several considerations have entered into their acceptance. The plan, for example, must be more than just a promise to desegregate. Thus, a proposal in December 1960 by the Chattanooga School Board to desegregate the first three grades of selected schools beginning in 1962-63, with desegregation also to be considered in special programs, was rejected by the U. S. District Court as being too indefinite and not an adequate start.[26]

Another consideration involves the degree of desegregation in neighboring school systems. In two cases, the courts have required that desegregation levels in contiguous areas be made equal. This approach was evident in a case involving Davidson County, Tennessee, where the city of Nashville is located. The County Board of Education submitted a grade-a-year plan four years after the Nashville grade-a-year plan had gone into effect. The U. S. District Court accepted the plan but required that it be speeded up to include the first

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[25] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 6 (1961), p. 754. (Allen v. County School Board of Prince Edward County.)

[26] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 6, (1961), pp. 107-113. (Mapp v. Board of Education of the City of Chattanooga.)

four grades immediately in order to bring desegregation in line with that already in effect in Nashville.[27]

Still another factor conditioning the acceptance of grade-a-year plans has been evidence of the willingness of the school board to move with "good faith," toward compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. This factor can be seen in a decision of the 6th Circuit Court regarding a grade-a-year plan proposed by the Knoxville, Tennessee School Board. The Board had chosen to operate under Tennessee segregation statutes until compelled to do otherwise, and the Court criticized this position in these words:

> The position of the board that it would continue to operate under these unforceable laws [i.e., Tennessee statutes prohibiting the mixture of races in schools] until compelled by law to do otherwise, does not commend itself to the Court for the acceptance of a plan that provides for a minimum degree of desegregation.... We ... believe ... that more grades than contemplated by the board's plan should now be desegregated. In the light of the board's experience with the present plan, it should be enabled to submit an amended plan that will accelerate desegregation and more nearly comply with the mandate of the

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[27] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 34-36. (Maxwell v. the County Board of Education of Davidson County.)

Supreme Court for 'good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date'.[28]

The courts have given different rulings on whether or not the grade-a-year plans may be used simultaneously with the transfer provisions made available under pupil placement laws. The 6th Circuit Court refused transfer requests by pupils in grades other than the ones desegregated by the grade-a-year procedure in both the Davidson County and Knoxville cases cited above.[29] The Court's reasoning was:

> ...we think the Supreme Court contemplated that there would have to be plans for the transition and that some individual rights would have to be subordinated for the good of the many. The smooth working of a plan could be thwarted by a multiplicity of suits by individuals seeking admission to grades not yet reached in the desegregation plan.[30]

On the other hand, the 5th Circuit Court in the Pensacola Florida, case added a grade-a-year plan to an existing plan permitting transfer of Negro pupils into formerly all-white schools.

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[28] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7(1962), pp. 38-39 (Goss v. Board of Education of the City of Knoxville.

[29] See Footnotes 27 and 28 above.

[30] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 39. (Goss v. Board of Education of the City of Knoxville.)

Both the grade-a-year plan and the transfer provisions were allowed to operate at the same time.[31] And in Virginia grade-a-year plans have been added to existing transfer arrangements under the pupil placement act with approval by the federal courts.[32]

Restrictive Transfer Provision

Since grade-a-year plans involve a ~~reassorting~~ rezoning of school districts without regard to race, some white children are often included in the attendance zones of former Negro schools, and are therefore assigned to these schools. As was pointed out earlier, plans for grade-a-year desegregation include a provision granting the right to those children assigned to a school in which their race is in a minority to transfer to schools in which their race is in a majority.

The restrictive transfer provision in the Nashville grade-a-year plan was approved by the 6th Circuit Court in 1959,[33] and it was later approved by the same court in the Knoxville and Davidson County grade-a-year plans in these words:

> We do not think the transfer provision is in and of itself illegal or unconstitutional. It is the use and application of it that may become a violation of constitutional right....We adhere to our former ruling with the admonition to the Board

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[31] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 669-674. (Augustus v. Board of Public Instruction of Escambia County, Florida.

[32] See, for example, Jackson v. School Board of the City of Lynchburg, RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 728-729.

[33] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 4 (1959), pp. 584-603. (Kelley v. Board of Education of the City of Nashville.)

that it cannot use this as a means to perpetuate segregation.[34]

However, the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals took a different portion on the constitutionality of restrictive transfer provisions in the Dallas County, Texas case in December, 1960. It did so in the following way:

...with deference to the views of the 6th Circuit it seems to us that classification according to race for purposes of transfer is hardly less unconstitutional than such classification for purposes of original assignment to a public school.[35]

In a later ruling (August 1962) the 5th Circuit Court made it possible for Negro children to transfer freely from schools in which their race is a majority if the transfer of white students leaves it an all-Negro school. The order stated:

Negro children who attended formerly all-white schools in 1960-61 and 1961-62, and Negro children who have registered for attendance at formerly all-white schools in 1962-63 and subsequent years may not be transferred or assigned to an all-Negro school against their wishes. If the transfer of white students from schools would result in resegregation, the Negro children shall be afforded an opportunity to attend a nearby formerly all-white school without being subjected to tests for transfer under the Pupil Placement Act.[36]

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[34] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 36; also p. 39), (Maxwell v. Board of Education of the City of Knoxville; Goss v. Board of Education of the City of Knoxville.)

[35] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 5 (1960), p. 1052. Boson v. Rippy.

[36] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 702. Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board.)

Thus, this ruling removed, in effect, the restrictive aspect of the transfer provision.

The most direct challenge to the constitutionality of the restrictive transfer provision came in September, 1962, in a ruling by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals in a Charlottesville, Virginia case. In declaring the assignment and transfer provisions of the Charlottesville plan invalid, the Court said:

> It is of no significance that all children, regardless of race are first assigned to the schools in their residential zone and all are permitted to transfer if the assignment requires the child to attend the school where his race is in the minority, if the purpose and effect of the arrangement is to retard integration and retain the segregation of the races. That this purpose and this effect are inherent in the plan can hardly be denied. The School Board is well aware that most of the Negro pupils in Charlottesville reside in the Jefferson zone and that under the operation of the plan white children resident therein will be transferred as a matter of course to the schools in the other zones while the colored children in the Jefferson zone will be denied this priviledge. The seeming equality of the language is delusive, the actual effect of the rule is unequal and discriminatory. It may well be as the evidence in this case indicates that some Negroes as well as whites prefer the schools in which their race predominates; but the wishes of both races can be given effect as far as is practicable not by restricting the right of transfer but by

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a system which eliminates restrictions on the right...[37] Ext

Summary

It is clear from the foregoing rulings that token integration plans are under strong attack in the federal courts. Pupil placement plans, initially accepted as constitutional on their face, are being declared unconstitutional as practiced in some school systems and are being rejected as valid plans for desegregation. School closing is being challenged if other public schools in the state remain open, and tuition grants have been stopped in one county where public schools are closed. Grade-a-year plans are being speeded up, and restrictive transfer provisions that result in resegregation are being questioned. One by one the devices for keeping integration at token levels are being blunted and eliminated by the courts.

Throughout the complex of court rulings runs a clear and consistent thread, namely that school boards must proceed in good faith to develop a single school system, without regard to race, and that they must do this with all deliberate speed. These rulings, therefore, strike at the heart of token integration, which as noted, seeks to maintain a dual system of schools in which the races are, in effect, segregated. Ostensibly the plans for keeping integration at token levels have been devised to try to satisfy the courts. It is quite obvious now that they are not

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[37] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 719. (Dillard v. School Board of the City of Charlottesville.)

~~satisfying the courts~~ doing so, and that the courts are becoming less and less patient with the bad faith implicit in them.

Desegregation as a reality still lies in the future, for it is to be remembered that 99% of the Negro chfldren in the eleven former Confederate states continue to be in all-Negro schools. Just how soon desegregated, non-racial school systems will develop throughout the South depends on several factors. These include the determination of Negro plantiffs to press for equal treatment, the vigor of the federal government in demanding the elimination of discrimination, and the willingness of school boards and communities to act in good faith in compliance with the Supreme Court decision. It is with this last-mentioned factor that we shall next deal, looking first at some of the costs that resistance to equal treatment has brought and can continue to bring.

COST OF KEEPING INTEGRATION AT TOKEN LEVELS

If school boards and communities in the eleven resistant states continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly. The preceding section has shown that federal courts are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels.[38] Of course the closing of all schools in a state would be the ultimate in costs and one that no state has yet shown the willingness to pay. But to continue resistance to its dead end will also be costly--in money, in time, in effort, and in disruption of schools and communities. Apparently, some segregationsits are willing for their states and communities to pay any price to try to keep a bi-racial school system. And some politicians and school officials believe that it is necessary to offer every possible resistance so that segregationists will be more willing to accept integration when it does come. Regardless of these feelings

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[38] It will be recalled that "massive resistance" in Virginia finally reached a point where to have followed it further would have resulted in the closing of schools throughout the state. (See Benjamin Muse, VIRGINIA's MASSIVE RESISTANCE (Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1961) Most of the states have abandoned massive resistance and substituted token integration. It appears as though time is now running out on token integration.

about resistance, however, it is well for all concerned to realize the enormous price that is exacted for such resistance.

While no precise cataloging of the costs of maintaining token integration can be made, illustrative costs can be cited. For one of these, we may look at estimates of the expenditures on litigation contesting desegregation. The Southern Educational Reporting Service has stated that a total of 293 court cases on school segregation, desegregation, and related issues had been filed in state and federal courts by November 1962.[39] If we take the estimate of Gordon M. Tiffany, first staff director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, that such cases average in cost about $15,000 each, we reach the figure of $4,395,000 as a total cost. Such litigation has virtually ceased in the compliant states and the District of Columbia, which have had 70 of the cases. The eleven resistant states have had the remaining 223 cases, with the states of Arkansas, Texas, and Virginia accounting for over one half of them. States like Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina have had comparatively few cases of litigation, but they are fast approaching the time when they will have many if they try to maintain *de facto* segregated school systems.[40]

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[39] STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION IN THE SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November, 1962), p.4.

[40] It is of interest to note that the Attorney General of Alabama has asked a legislative finance committee for money "to fight desegregation suits and other federal actions." (Reported in the Birmingham Post-Herald, January 30, 1963, p. 1.) Evidently, Alabama is anticipating heavy expense in court cases.

Another cost is that involved in the drawing up and passing of legislation designed to avoid full compliance with the Supreme Court rulings. Legislatures of the sixteen states have passed a total of 379 new laws designed to prevent, restrict, or control school desegregation, according to a November 1962 report of the Southern Educational Reporting Service.[41] The drafting, debating, and passing of such legislation, much of which has been declared unconstitutional by federal courts, have taken an enormous amount of time, effort, talent, and money. While few of these costs can be measured directly, it can be noted, by way of illustration, that the state of Louisiana held five "Extraordinary Sessions" during 1960 and 1961 to deal with legislation designed to maintain segregation. Appropriations for these extra sessions amounted to $934,000.[42] In order to see just what sort of legislation was passed at these sessions and what the result was, we may refer to comments on the extra sessions by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit. After observing that the Orleans School Board itself had attempted to act in good faith in complying with court orders to desegregation the schools, the Court had the following to say about the state legislature:

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[41]See Footnote 39 above.

[42]From tabulations by William C. Harvard, Chairman of the Department of Government, of Louisiana State University.

The Louisiana legislature did not remain idle. The Governor of the state called five consecutive extra sessions of the legislature (unprecedented in Louisiana) for the purpose of preventing the Board from proceeding with the desegregation program. Among other actions, the legislature seized the funds of the Orleans Parish School Board, forbade banks to lend money to the Board, removed as fiscal agent for the state the Bank which had honored payroll checks issued by the School Board, ordered a school holiday on November 14, addressed out of office four of the five members of the Board, then on two occasions created a new School Board for Orleans Parish, still later addressed out of office the Superintendent of Schools in Orleans Parish, and dismissed the Board's attorney. The federal courts declared these and a large bundle of related acts unconstitutional.[43]

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Another cost in the maintenance of token integration has been the awarding of tuition grants. Virginia has given more of these grants than any other state. During five years of operation, an estimated 38,000 grants have been made, totaling over seven and three quarters million dollars.[44] A newspaper survey has shown that, ironically, only a minority of students receiving grants

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[43] RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 696. (Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board.)

[44] Computed from reports in SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, November, 1960, p. 7 and February, 1962, p. 14; RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, September 2, 1962, p. 1.

have used them to avoid integrated schools.[45] Most of the grants have gone to children who were actually in segregated schools and who wished to attend private schools, or to children who were already in private schools.

Virginia's experience with tuition grants was repeated in Georgia, where the State School Board found that 1,457 of the 1,756 applicants for grants were already in private schools. According to Dr. Claud Purcell, Georgia Superintendent of Education, the total paid this year for tuition grants amounted to $215,987. As a result of these disclosures, the Georgia legislature amended the tuition grant law during its 1963 session. Under terms of the amendments, most recipients of tuition grants apparently will cease to receive them after this year.

Louisiana has also adopted a tuition grant law. Again, the cost to the state for such grants has been high: state officials reported in January 1963 that $850,216 was spent on grants-in aid to private school pupils during the first four months of the 1962-63 school year. School grants were expected to go to the parents of some 7,000 pupils in 42 private, nonsectarian schools after mid-year registrations.

Still other costs, less tangible but perhaps more significant, have to do with the handicapping of school administrators in

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[45] RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, September 2, 1962, p. 1.

improving the quality of education in the public schools. With so much time, energy, and money spent in keeping certain children out of certain schools, less time, effort, and money have been available for strengthening the educational program itself. Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of the Washington, D. C. public schools, has pointed out how much more effectively the approach to the education of children as children (not as white and Negro children in separate schools) can be made when the issue of desegregation is settled. Hansen says:

> The design for instruction in American education deserves close examination. In the District of Columbia much has been done to overcome mistaken notions about methods of instruction and the relationship of curriculum to the learner. What has been done should not be directly related to desegregation, though ... it seems clearer now than it did five years ago that desegregation prepared the ground for a total attack upon the improvement of instruction. In the changing design of organization for instruction here, the issues are drawn, not on who should be taught where, but on philosophical principles of education, methods, techniques, and choice of content.[46]

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The resources spent by the resistant states in a vain attempt to keep segregation might have been used to improve the standards of their schools. For example, a number of their high schools remain unaccredited. Table 4 gives a comparison of the accreditation status

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[46]Carl F. Hansen, ADDENDUM: A FIVE-YEAR REPORT ON DESEGREGATION IN THE WASHINGTON, D. C. SCHOOLS (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1960), pp. 30-32.

South is paying a great price in not developing its human resources to as full a degree as it might.

Another cost of token integration is the keeping of the race issue alive, the catering to racial prejudice, the giving of false hope to segregationists who are led to believe that de facto segregation can be maintained. In moving from segregation to desegregation it has been demonstrated repeatedly that when state and local officials act in resolute firmness there has not been violence or serious opposition in carrying out the mandate of the courts -- as in Atlanta, Nashville, Memphis, and Lynchburg, Virginia. But when state and local officials have repeatedly warned that there will be trouble and that people will not permit the change, there has been trouble -- as in Little Rock and New Orleans.[48] This latter approach results in what scoiologists term "self-fulfilling prophecies," for such an approach encourages extreme segregationists to cause trouble, thus making the prediction come true. There is no attempt here to minimize the difficulty of change in the area of race relations where so many people have been conditioned to accept segregation as the proper way of life. Movement toward the elimination of segregation in

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[48]The sharp contrast between the acceptance of the first Negro at Clemson College in South Carolina and the resistance accorded James Meredith at the University of Mississippi highlights the part that attitudes of state and school officials play in whether or not violence or peaceful transition takes place.

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public education is difficult. The point is that it is made far more difficult and disruptive when officials try to avoid compliance with court orders, either by outright resistance or by more subtle token integration.

Closely related to this last point is the cost that comes from the damage done to the concept of justice in American Democracy. It was almost nine years ago that the highest court in the land concluded that "...in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Yet, after this long a time segregation in public schools in the resistant states holds for 99.8% of the Negro children. And a large factor in keeping schools segregated has been the determination of white leaders, first through massive resistance and now through token integration, to thwart the ruling of the Supreme Court. Just what the effect of this blocking of justice has on Negroes seeking to assert their constitutional rights can be easily imagined. Carl T. Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, has expressed the frustrations felt by many Americans. Rowan writes:

When one considers the heart of the court's argument in outlawing segregated schools and then considers how little really has been done to eradicate the fundamental injustice, it becomes obvious that these token integration schemes are affronts to our concept of justice.

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Anyone who has lived in the South, as I have, or has even visited there for a reasonable time, has seen the great mass of Negro youngsters who are handicapped because their parents has been ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-educated, and ill-treated. It is obvious that without the great liberating force of education, these youngsters will be also-rans in the great American game called the Pursuit of Happiness....

After almost nine years it seems to me that Americans should ask themselves whether we intend to retain a judical system of undoubted integrity, or whether we are prepared to accept change only as it comes under the pressure of sit-ins and protest demonstrations -- only as it flows out of violence and near anarchy....

But we will get no genuine movement until the leaders of our 'token integration' communities realize the price they shall have to pay, in self-esteem and civic development, for their perpetuation of an injustice and sham.[49]

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FEARS ASSOCIATED WITH SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Objections to school integration are fundamentally based on emotion, conditioned in large measure by living in racially segregated communities. Yet, these emotions are, from time to time, backed by "reasons" founded on beliefs of what will happen if schools desegregate. While one does not change an emotion

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[49]Carl T. Rowan, "The Travesty of Integration: Halfhearted Compliance Frustrates the Law of the Land," SATURDAY EVENING POST, January 19, 1963., pp. 6, 8.

by questioning the accuracy of the beliefs asserted in support of it, factual data can weaken the arguments or can, at least, make them shift to other grounds. And, it is to be noted, that the constitutional rights of Americans do not depend on what people think may happen if situations denying those rights are changed. The courts have not allowed unconstitutional practices to continue, no matter how long they have been followed or how much people fear changing them. At the same time it might be helpful to point out fallacies in the assumptions of those who fear the desegregation of schools. We shall look at fallacies in two of those assumptions.

Academic Standards

One has to do with the effect on academic standards and on the performance of white students in integrated schools. Dire consequences have been predicted for the quality of education under desegregation. However, there is no factual support for this prediction. One source of direct challenge comes from superintendents of school systems in which desegretation has taken place. These superintendents have consistently testified that academic standards have not suffered following desegregation, and some have said that they have actually improved. For example, in March 1959, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights held a conference on education in Nashville, Tennessee. Of the twelve administrators who dealt with the question of the effect of desegregation on academic standards in their school systems not one said that the standards had been lowered or the progress of students

harmed.[50] Let us look at the testimony from this conference both from a superintendent whose system had had very little integration and from one where extensive integration had taken place. Mr. W. H. Oliver, Superintendent of the Nashville Schools, which at that time had desegregated only its first two grades, stated "...I haven't noticed any effect one way or another on the educational success of the children, either white or colored, where they are together."[51] Dr. John H. Fischer, Superintendent of the Baltimore, Maryland public schools in which 57% of the pupils were attending integrated schools at the time, testified:

> We are frequently asked what effect integration has had upon academic standards. The answer is that academic standards are not changed in any school merely by the presence of a second race. The requirements for an honor's diploma or for a passing grade on an examination are not altered by integration. The tests of successful performance in courses in the skilled trades are the same whether the trade is being learned by a white boy or a colored boy. A child's standing on a nationally standardized reading test is determined not by his race but by his ability and background... There is no doubt at all that Negro children are receiving better educational opportunities in Baltimore now than they did under

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[50] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, MARCH 1959 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1959). /Summarized in DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, Report No. L-17, March 14, 1960, Southern Regional Council/

[51] Ibid., p. 92.

segregation. The opportunities of white children have been in no way diminished. Indeed, they have been increased, not as a result of desegregation, but by our general effort to improve our offerings for all children over the past 5 years.[52]

Besides testimony of those best in a position to observe the effect of racial integration on academic study, there are statistical reports on academic achievement under desegregation. Again, we find general consensus that integration has not lowered the academic achievement of either white or Negro students. As examples, let us see the reports on a system with little integration and ones with a high amount of integration. In the Austin (Texas) Independent School District, Negroes composed fewer than 7% of the pupils in the two ninth grades compared in Table 5. It can be seen that no significant changes occurred in the median scores on reading and arithmetic achievement tests following integration.

TABLE 5

ACHIEVEMENT TESTS MEDIANS AT NINTH GRADE LEVEL IN TWO SCHOOLS IN AUSTIN, TEXAS, BEFORE AND AFTER INTEGRATION

Type of School and Number of Negro Pupils in Each	Median Scores on California Reading and Arithmetic Achievement Tests			
	Two Years Before Integration (1955-56)		Second Year After Integration (1958-59)	
	Reading	Arithmetic	Reading	Arithmetic
Generally low Socioeconomic Background of Pupils; 20 Negroes among 300 Pupils, as an Average	7.5	7.7	7.7	8.3
Widely Diversified Socioeconomic Background of Pupils; 15 Negroes among 275 Pupils, as an Average	9.5	9.5	9.6	9.7

Source: Office of the Superintendent, Austin Independent School District.

[52] Ibid., p. 149.

In Lousiville achievement tests were given to pupils in the second, sixth, and eighth grades for the year prior to integration (1955-56), and the results of these tests were compared with those given in the same grades the year following integration (1957-58), when 78.2% of all pupils were in integrated schools. Even with such rapid integration, it was found that academic standards were not hurt; indeed, substantial gains were shown in scholastic achievement, with Negroes making greater gains than whites. The following is a conclusion of the study:

> Perhaps the safest generalization that can be drawn from the study is that for the period of time considered, integration need not adversely affect the scholastic achievement of white pupils and it can favorable affect that of the Negro pupil. The study, therefore, offers re-assurance to those who fear that the immediate effect of integration must automatically lower the level of achievement.[53]

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A follow-up study of achievement in the third year of integration in the Louisville schools (1959-60), when the percentage of children in integrated schools had risen to 85.6 per cent, reached the following conclusion:

> At the end of the three-year period following integration results were even more encouraging. Louisville pupils at the third, fourth and fifth grade levels were exactly on the national

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[53] Frank H. Stallings, "Changes in Academic Achievement since Integration in the Louisville Public Schools," in SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION, GATLINBURG, TENNESSEE, March, 1960, by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 149.

norms. At the 6th grade level they were 2 months ahead of the national norms. While the eighth grade pupils were still behind national norms the figures show that progress was being made."[54]

A comparison of median achievements in the Washington, D. C. schools made during the second year of integration (1955-56) with those made during the fifth year of integration (1958-59) shows that a gain was made in every subject tested at every grade level where the tests were given.[55] Furthermore, academic achievement rose at the same time as the ~~proportion~~ proportion of Negro students rapidly increased in the nation's capitol. Not only were the median scores increased, but the test scores of the honors group and college preparatory group were increased as well. The study comments: "This clarifies two points: Integration has not retarded the advancement of high ability students, Negro or white and educational standards in the District public schools when examined in relation to students' preparation and ability for learning, are high."[56]

It is safe ~~to~~, therefore, to conclude that academic achievement levels need not be ~~lowe~~ lowered when schools are integrated. Testimony of school superintendents and comparisons of test scores before and

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[54] Ibid., p. 150

[55] Hansen, op. cit., p. 21.

[56] Idem.

after desegregation reveal that integration has not had an adverse effect on the average achievement of white or Negro pupils, nor has it had an adverse effect on the achievement of the most gifted of either race.

Social Adjustment

Another type of fear has to do with the social adjustment of pupils in integrated schools. Concern has been expressed that Negroes and whites will be unable to get along in the same school, that the strains of integrated schooling will be too great for many Negro and white children, and that moral standards will be lowered by interracial contact. Again, we find no evidence to support such fears.

That there have been problems of adjustment to integrated schooling by white and Negro pupils is not denied. The change in a segregated system practiced for such a long time, particularly when parental reactions are carried over into their children, cannot help but make for strain. But there is clear evidence that school children have been able to accommodate themselves to the new situation. Such evidence is found in a study of 20 Negro and 20 white children in desegregated schools of Atlanta and New Orleans.[57] The author, a child psychiatrist, has conducted intensive

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[57] Robert Coles, "Children Under Desegregation: A Preliminary Psychiatric Report," (Prepared for the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, 1962).

interviews once a week with each child over the period of one year and has also talked with the parents of the children. These are some of the conclusions about the white children studied:

> None of the children seem have suffered any medical or psychiatric damage during the past year. Regardless of their views they have all continued in school and graduated or been promoted. Apart from the usual colds and an occasional laceration from football, there were no medical problems; and no breakdown in ability to work and study and get along with friends and teachers could be noted. Their parents described their general physical and mental status as 'normal' or 'o.k.' at the end of the year just as they had at the beginning of the year. The Negro children had not caused illness of body or mind observable to either themselves, their friends, their family, or a physician and psychiatrist.[58]

As for the Negro children, the author points out that their participation in newly integrated schools has been "stressful but not incapacitating." In spite of the tension, fear, and anxiety with which they were often surrounded, these Negro children have been promoted and graduated.

> ...and this is a reflection upon themselves and the nature of the stress. They draw upon reserves of home and friends and hobbies. They receive hurtful looks and words, and some of them

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[58] Ibid., p. 15.

have walked through angry crowds outside and silent reproach or noisy jeers inside. However, they also spend long house at work in school, and they may receive friendship there, too. Indeed, so long as the school continues to function, most of their time will be spent in learning and studying. ...One Negro boy in Atlanta summarized the feelings of most when he said, 'It was rough at times but I learned a lot and met some nice people, and I think they got to know us a little better and we got to know them, too.[59]

The conduct of extra-curricular school activities within integrated schools has been reported on from time to time by school officials. Again, these reports have revealed little basis for belief that integration necessarily disrupts these activities. While different schools have handled these activities differently the following statement in 1959 by Dr. John H. Fischer, who was then the Superintendent of Baltimore public Schools, shows how an adjustment by an interracial student body can be made in a city which has most of its children in integrated schools. Dr. Fischer has stated, in regard to school activities:

In our senior high schools Negro students now participate in all sports. Although in the early years there was some apprehension about the advisability of interracial competition, particularly in contact sports, the problem no longer causes

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[59] Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

any concern ... All our traditional social activities have continued in the newly integrated schools just as they were carried on prior to 1954. The conduct of the boys and girls usually reflects the pattern of the community as a whole. Students dance with their own dates or with the members of the small parties in which they come to the dances. This means that boys and girls ordinarily associate socially with others of their own race.

In school clubs and other similar activities racial differences create no problems. In voluntary activities outside the school, there is relatively little integration. Most children choose their personal friends from among members of their own race, as is true in the community generally, not many close friendships involving home visiting are formed across racial lines.[60]

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In his five-year report on desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools, Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent, reveals an actual decrease in the juvenile delinquency rate for the District. He cites the District of Columbia Commissioners' 1959 report on the state of the nation's capital to the Congress of the United States which gives the following delinquency rates for children 5 to 17: "For non-white children a decline from 37.1 cases per thousand in 1954 to 21.2 cases in 1958. For white children, 15.3 cases per thousand in 1954, to 15.2 cases in 1958." The Superintendent adds, "The schools do not claim credit for this development.

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[60] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, MARCH, 1959, pp. 149-150.

But one conclusion is clear: Desegregation has not resulted in an increase in the rate of juvenile delinquency."[61]

Problems of adjustment are involved when segregated schools become integrated, and one would be naive to think otherwise. However, we have illustrated that these problems can be met without undue disruption. The fears usually expressed by those opposed to integration have been found to be unwarranted.

RACISM: THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM

Underlying the fears of integration and the consequent attempt to keep it at token levels are attitudes and beliefs that can be designated as "racism." Racism revolves around the conviction that a person's race is a very important, if not the most important, thing about him. A person is, first of all, a member of a race, and only after this categorization is made clear does he become a separate and unique individual. Furthermore, this categorization by race becomes the basis for differential treatment, for a part of racism is the belief in the inferiority of some races and the superiority of others.[62] Racism is the cornerstone of compulsory racial segregation--its rationale and its justification. And racial segregation, in turn, nourishes and promotes racism, for it provides the conditions for unequal treatment and educates that racial differentiation is of paramount importance.

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[61] Hansen, op. cit., p. 26.

[62] There are Negro racist groups in America, just as there are white. Of course these groups differ as to which race is considered inferior. For the white supremacists it is the Negro; for the black supremacists (e.g., the Black Muslims) it is the white.

Those who are convinced of the fundamental importance of a person's race as a determinant of his character, intellegence, and behavior may well be sincere in their belief and consequent support of the pattern of forced segregation. But sincerity is not necessarily related to accuracy, and the beliefs that make up racism are not supported by scientific investigation of race.

Scientists agree that all members of mankind belong to the same species. There is less agreement, however, on many races or divisions the species is composed of, although most recognize three major ones. Granted that biological designations of race are possible, although difficult, the question follows as to whether the genes which determine racial characteristics (color of skin, form of hair, shape of nose, etc.) determine anything else about the person or are invariably found in combination with other genes that do. In the opinion of the great majority of scientists there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that behavior, character, or the capacity to learn have anything to do with race directly. Among the statements and conclusions by scientists on race differences, we shall cite only two.[63] One group of fourteen internationally known geneticists and physical

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[63] Other summaries and references can be found in: "Intelligence of the American Negro," RESEARCH REPORTS, Vol. 3, November, 1956 (published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith); R. M. Dreger and K. S. Miller, "Comparative Psychological Studies of Negroes and Whites in the United States," PSYCHOLOGICAL BULLETIN, 57 (1960), pp. 361-402; any reliable anthropological text, e.g., Ralph Beals and Harry Hoijer, AN INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY, Second Edition, (New York: Macmillan, 1959).

anthropologists from six nations have drafted a statement saying that their studies provide no basis for assuming that intellectual, emotional, and cultural differences among men are a function of race.[64] In part, their statement reads: "Available scientific knowledge provides no basis for beliefing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development....Vast social changes have occurred that have not been connected in any way with changes in racial type. Historical and sociological studies thus support the view that genetic differences are of little significance in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of men."[65]

The Council of the American Anthropological Association, composed of 192 Fellows of the Association, unanimously adopted the following resolution in November, 1961:

> The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites. and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races

[64] UNESCO, RACE AND SCIENCE (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1961), pp. 502-506.

[65] Ibid., pp. 505-506.

possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization.[66]

The statements of the scientists cited above do not imply that races are "equal" in innate ability, for such a view would mean that race, per se, in some way determines the "equality." The implication is that race, as such, is not relevant to innate capacities of the individual for the development of character and intelligence. Likewise, these statements do not mean that those adhering to them are "environmentalists," as is sometimes charge. Anthropologists, genetists, and others who are students of race recognize, of course, the fundamental role of heredity in behavior. The point is that there is no basis for believing that race itself determines inheritance beyond those physical characteristics that themselves are used to categorize races.

Racists admit that wide ranges of difference appear among members of the same race and that members of both the Negro and white races fall into the highest and lowest percentiles in achievement and ability tests. But the racists claim that a member of a race must be judged by the "average" of the race to which he has been assigned, again reflecting belief in the all-important place of race. Such a claim does not make sense to the person following the views of the scientists quoted above, namely that one's race does not determine innate capacities to learn and

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[66]Reprinted in REPORT L-29 of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, December 4, 1961.

to act. Thus, one may deal with an individual in terms of his own abilities and character and not in terms of an abstract "average" of a category of mankind. There is no soundly supported basis for prejudging individuals, lumping them into categories, and artifically curtailing their opportunity. Americans can be treated as individuals rather than as members of races, and they can be given equal opportunity as individuals to develop their abilities, without fear of any consequences known to science.

TOWARD TRUE DEMOCRACY IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The democratic ideal of the worth of the individual cannot be realized while racism is nourished and enforced through compulsory segregation, in outright form or through token integration. Since racism is an emotionally conditioned set of attitudes and beliefs, it is difficult to challenge through scientific findings that question its logic. A necessary condition for overcoming it to any great extent is to eliminate the pattern of compulsory segregation itself.

In a study cited earlier, Dr. Coles, reported how several of the white segregationist children in integrated schools in Atlanta and in New Orleans changed their attitudes toward Negroes. They attributed the change to their experience at school, "...to noticing and getting to know a particular Negro child, to thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school,

to responding to their friends and their ideas and examples and influence."[67] Not all of the white segregationists changed their attitudes, indicating that desegregation in itself was not a sufficient condition for altering prejudice. However, there was enough change to indicate that emotional change can and does happen under new kinds of contact, contacts that are almost impossible under rigid segregation. The following excerpts from a taped interview with a white senior in one of the Atlanta schools toward the end of the first year of desegregation indicates how such change occurred in one case:

> I've changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends....I sneered a few times the first few weeks, but I just couldn't keep it up, and I felt kind of bad and kind of sorry for them. I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. ... I wondered how I'd have felt if I were in their shoes... Next thing I knew I was quiet when some of my friends were calling them all the old names....I felt I never again would look at them the way I did last September and before....I can't really describe any time or episode....No. it was just a kind of gradual feeling.[68]

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[67]Coles, op. cit., p. 23.

[68]Ibid., p. 24.

"Token Integration"

The Supreme Court, in support of its 1954 ruling, stated that to separate Negro children in grade and high schools from others of similar age because of race alone "...generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." It might be added that such separation also affects white children by making it difficult for them to accept Negro children as persons like themselves. Token integration perpetuates separation of the great majority of white and Negro children so that they have difficulty in getting to know each other as persons. Yet, experience with genuine desegregation in public schools where children are treated as children (not as Negro or white children) shows that one need not be afraid of implementing the democratic ideal. Again, we refer to Dr. Fischer's report on the outcome of desegregation in the Baltimore public schools as an indication of what can happen:

In general, our experience in Baltimore has demonstrated conclusively that children of both races can attend school together, can learn together, and can develop positive, friendly, effective relationships.

We have found that children can be taught quite will by teachers who are not members of their own race. Teaching competence is not related to race, but to the teacher's personality, his own education and cultural background, and his ability to understand young people.

We have learned that, after a period of adjustment to an unaccustomed situation, children, teachers, and parents have found

that having representatives of both races in the student body and in the faculty in no way diminishes the effectiveness of the school.

We believe that our experience supports the generalization that school integration can be successful if the policies and procedures by which it is carried forward are simple, firm, fair, flexible, clearly stated, consistently applied.

After five years, it appears that no small part of the success of the effort in Baltimore was due to the determination of the school board to move promptly and to act, as the board once said, 'without fear and without subterfuge'.[69]

Token integration operates on the bases of fear and subterfuge, fear of integration inself and subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive. While difficult problems can arise as communities change a bi-racial school system into a non-racial one, compliant states have demonstrated that this change can be made creatively and successfully. On the other hand, to act in fear and duplicity leads to clashes with the federal courts, disruption of schools, encouragement of prejudiced reactions, and the waste of energy, talent, and money. Communities can proceed to develop a single school system in which race is not a criterion of assignment with confidence that both education and democracy will be strengthened by such a move.

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[69] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, MARCH, 1959, p. 150.

"Token Integration"

APPENDIX

STATUS OF SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Total Number of Districts	Number of Bi-racial Districts	Number of Desegregated Districts	Negroes in Schools With Whites	Percentage of Bi-racial Districts Desegregated
		ALABAMA		
114	114	0	0	00.0
		ARKANSAS		
417	228	12	251	5.3
		DELAWARE		
87	87*	87	9,460	100.0
		DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA		
		(Constitutes a single desegregated school district)		
1	1	1	87,749	100.0
		FLORIDA		
67	67	10	1,168	14.9
		GEORGIA		
198	182	1	44	.54
		KENTUCKY		
206	167	150	24,347	89.8
		LOUISIANA		
67	67	1	107	1.5
		MARYLAND		
24	23*	23	68,711	100.0
		MISSISSIPPI		
150	150	0	0	00.0
		MISSOURI		
1,633	Est. 214	Est. 203	35,000	Est. 94.9

APPENDIX -- Continued

Total Number of Districts	Number of Bi-racial Districts	Number of Desegregated Districts	Negroes in Schools With Whites	Percentage of Bi-racial Districts Desegregated
		NORTH CAROLINA		
173	173	18	919	10.4
		OKLAHOMA		
1,180	240	195	10,555	81.3
		SOUTH CAROLINA		
108	108	0	0	00.0
		TENNESSEE		
154	143	26	1,823	18.2
		TEXAS		
1,461	919	176	6,700	19.2
		VIRGINIA		
134	132	31	1,230	23.5
		WEST VIRGINIA		
55	43	43	15,500	100.0

Source: Statistical Summary
Southern Education Reporting Service,
November, 1962 and later information
from Southern School News

* In Delaware, only 33 school districts actually have Negroes attending classes with whites. The other 54 are desegregated in policy only. In Maryland, of 23 desegregated districts, three are desegregated in policy only.

STATUS OF SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Total Number of Districts	Number of Bi-racial Districts	Number of Desegregated Districts	Percentage of Bi-racial Districts Segregated
		Alabama	
114	114	0	00.0
		Arkansas	
417	228	12	5.3
		Delaware	
87	87	87	100.0
		District of Columbia (constitutes a single desegregated school district)	
1	1	1	100.0
		Florida	
67	67	10	14.9
		Georgia	
198	182	1	.54
		Kentucky	
206	167	150	89.8
		Louisiana	
67	67	1	1.5
		Maryland	
24	23	23	100.0
		Mississippi	
150	150	0	00.0
		Missouri	
1,633	Est. 214	Est. 203	Est. 94.9
		North Carolina	
173	173	16	9.2
		Oklahoma	
1,180	240	195	81.3

Status of Segregation-Desegregation
in Southern and Border School Districts

Total Number of Districts	Number of Bi-racial Districts	Number of Desegregated Districts	Percentage of Bi-racial Districts Segregated
		South Carolina	
108	108	0	00.0
		Tennessee	
154	143	25	17.5
		Texas	
1,461	919	174	18.9
		Virginia	
134	132	31	23.5
		West Virginia	
55	43	43	100.0

Source: Statistical Summary,
Southern Education Reporting Service,
November, 1962

Morris Abram

MEMORANDUM ON TOPEKA TRIP

Purpose of the Trip:

I was requested to visit Topeka and environs to determine the following:

(1) The background of and reasons for the adoption of the resolution by the Board of Education of Topeka on September 3, 1953 proposing to terminate the practice of segregation in the elementary school grades of Topeka.

(2) The steps subsequently undertaken by the Board of Education of Topeka to put in practice the terms of the resolution.

(3) The political and sociological effects of the resolution and/or action taken pursuant to it.

(4) The status of the Topeka segregation case pending in the Supreme Court as affected by the resolution and/or subsequent practice pursuant to it in Topeka.

Background of the visit:

Prior to going to Topeka I contacted Alexander F. Miller of the Southern Anti-Defamation League office to see if he had contacts in the area and Mr. Miller, together with Oscar Cohen of the National ADL office put me in touch with Mr. Joseph Cohen, a prominent lawyer with good standing in Republican political circles in Kansas City, Kansas. Mr. Cohen contacted Raymond Brinson of Topeka and asked Mr. Brinson to render me every possible assistance.

Raymond Brinson is a defendants' attorney in Topeka and a longtime resident there. In 1946 he ran for attorney general of the state on the Democratic ticket and Brinson's partner, Charles Rooney, was the Democratic candidate for governor of Kansas in 1952. Brinson's contacts in Topeka were splendid and not only did he put me in touch with every person I wished to see, but accompanied me on the interviews and added his thoughtful comments and local insight.

Topeka background as seen by Raymond Brinson:

Topeka is a city of approximately 100,000 persons, about 15% of whom are Negroes. Though there has been a civil rights statute on the books of Kansas since the 1800's, the practices and the traditions of the state do not now in many respects keep faith with this legislative declaration. Kansas is described as a largely agricultural and devoutly conservative polity. Industry is still suspect and there is a rather strong feeling against "foreigners." The Topeka press is conservative and not disposed to take leadership in social innovations.

Apart from the arrangements in education, segregation in Topeka is maintained in business employment, hotels, restaurants and shows, though there has been some breach in the practice in the better hotels at least in

the feeding of Negroes in groups which include whites. The parochial schools are non-segregated and Brinman did not remember when this was otherwise. Public educational facilities in Topeka have been segregated for all classes up to the high school level, but the high schools are integrated.

Nevertheless, Kansas considers itself a mid-western state and rejects any insinuations that its background is in any respect Southern.

Topeka votes Republican almost inevitably. The leading Negroes are also Republicans, including those active in the NAACP. However, the school board posts are filled in elections in which party politics are not discussed or considered. Thus it happens that the President of the Board of Education, J. A. Dickinson, is a Democrat.

It was Brinman's opinion that the decision to desegregate the Topeka elementary schools was the result of a change in the composition of the Board of Education over approximately a two year period. The change occurred as a result of elections in which the segregation issue was never mentioned. The Board of Education consists of six persons elected for four year terms with three individuals elected every two years. Two and a half years ago an election was won over three Board of Education posts and the issue then was the administration of Mr. McFarland, the then Superintendent of Schools. The three candidates opposing McFarland won the election and one of these candidates, J. A. Dickinson, at that time went on the Board though he was not then made the President of the Board. The three new Board members who assumed office two years ago apparently had views about segregation differing from those of the displaced members, but no effect was given to their views and no issue arose within the Board on this question until recently. Meanwhile the segregation case Brown et al v. Board of Education 98 Fed. Sup. 797 was decided August 3, 1951 and was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States subsequently on appeal.

Meanwhile, in the late summer of 1953, the three old Board members of the Board of Education came up for re-election and were opposed by the "reform" element and were defeated. The three candidates elected in 1953 took office in August, 1953 and thus all six posts on the Board of Education are now held by persons not in office when the segregation suit originally arose.

J. A. Dickinson was made President of the Board of Education. Thereafter the resolution of September 3, 1953 was adopted by a vote of 5 to 1 in the Board. Meanwhile the Superintendent of Schools had been replaced and the present Superintendent is thoroughly sympathetic to the purposes expressed in the anti-segregation resolution. There is, however, no evidence that the former Superintendent was in favor of segregation.

Interview with Peter Caldwell, Attorney for the Topeka Board of Education:

Caldwell, now attorney for the Board of Education, has had a long background in municipal legal affairs and is reputed a skillful lawyer on public questions. He is a man approximately fifty years old and obviously unsympathetic to segregation. It is Caldwell's judgment that the Board of Education seriously intends to de-segregate the elementary schools of Topeka. He says that even the old Board, while unwilling to initiate a

de-segregation program, did not have any deep interest in defending the law suit filed by the NAACP. It is true the Board hired an attorney to defend the case and paid him $7500.00 to do so, but it seems that this procedure was adopted only because the Board did not wish to rock the boat or make any innovations. Caldwell says that in his opinion even the old Board "didn't want to argue the case and preferred to leave this to the attorney general." The attorney general himself had a great reluctance to come into the case and did so, according to Caldwell, only on the theory that the segregation law under attack was technically valid. Caldwell pointed out that the reluctance on the part of the attorney general drew a percuriam request from the Supreme Court (November 24, 1952) that the state present its views in oral argument or in lieu thereof to advise the court whether the state's default should be construed as a concession of the statute's invalidity.

Caldwell does not believe that the Board is at all interested in pursuing the case in the Supreme Court. He has not himself been instructed by the Board with respect to the stand he should take, but believes that the Board's further participation will be limited to answering questions 4 and 5 posed in the Court's memorandum issued on June 8th.

Caldwell said that the general opinion of the Board in the spring of 1953 was that an order would be forthcoming from the Supreme Court abolishing segregation in Topeka and for that reason the Board gave notice dismissing eight colored teachers from employment beginning the fall term 1953. (Apparently the reason for this action was that the Board considered it impractical to place colored teachers over white children and foreseeing the end of segregation anticipated that there would be a reduced number of children in the all Negro schools.) This action of the Board dismissing eight teachers was rescinded when the court's decision was not forthcoming in June.

Caldwell pointed out that Wichita, Kansas, had abolished segregation in the elementary schools, but that because of the location of the Negro neighborhoods in concentrated communities the Wichita situation was quite different from that in Topeka. In Topeka there are essentially Negro neighborhoods, but there are sprinklings of small Negro communities in or near essentially white neighborhoods.

<u>Interview with J. A. Dickinson, President of the Topeka Board of Education:</u>

J. A. Dickinson is a man about 40-45 years of age -- a plaintiffs' lawyer who is pleased that he is free of dependence on corporate clientele. He points out that he does not have any large clients but many small ones and that no one client nor any several are of sufficient importance to exercise business pressure on him. He expressed sympathy with certain people in Topeka who, as he put it, were "under the gun of customers or clients whose continued favorable opinion was a matter of financial concern." Dickinson pointed out that he had been elected to the Board two years ago without reference to his views on segregation, but that from the very beginning he went quietly about a program of getting rid of segregation in the Topeka public schools, stating that for two years he had tried to get a resolution to that effect passed, but conditions were not favorable until his group of two other like minded Board members was joined by the three

newly elected in the late summer of 1953. However, even on the old Board Dickinson says he prevented any action being taken in the case while it lay in the Supreme Court for three or four months. When Dickinson took office in 1951 the suit had already been filed and tried in the District Court. He did not feel, however, that a majority of the old Board was emotionally involved in the case and frankly said that Lester Goodell who was employed and paid a $7500.00 fee to defend the case received this check, which he though unnecessarily high, "as a political payoff." Inasmuch as from August 1951 to August 1953 the old and the new elements of the Board were split evenly, at Dickinson's suggestion the Board had agreed practical rules for fair conduct of the Board's business. The most important rule was that no matter of policy would be decided unless all the Board were present. Dickinson says that this resulted in the segregation issue for the most part lying dormant though it was in the back of most of the Board members' minds. Dickinson is very proud of the resolution of September 3rd and says that the text was his handiwork and, while it consists of only one sentence, it was the result of much thought. The vote in the Board on the resolution was 5-1. Dickinson has much sympathy for Mike Oberhelman who voted nay to the resolution because Oberhelman, as Dickinson puts it, is "an officer in the bank and he gets an awful lot of gaff from his mossback customers. Mike wants to do right, is opposed to segregation but has simply got to keep on good terms with the old guard." Dickinson says that Oberhelman explained his vote of nay by saying that he was not opposed to the policy of the resolution, but felt that some program should be developed for its implementation before the resolution itself was voted on.

When asked whether the Board is actually serious about getting rid of segregation, Dickinson said "you bet your life. We are going to get rid of it. We want no part of it. We are not going to take all the steps today or tomorrow but segregation is going." He hopes the United States Supreme Court will order segregation abolished and will enter a judgment to that effect, but giving the school boards some time to actually comply with the decree. He feels strongly that no special master should be appointed but that the supervision of the decree will be left to the District Court judges. His reasons for this view are that the courts will have the respect of the public and are traditional institutions. On the other hand he believes that a special master will be in an almost impossible position and could not enjoy the same respect as the court judges. So far the Board has de-segregated two schools which are in the better areas of town and the Negro communities adjacent are small. Dickinson is proud, however, that in the 5th grade attended by his daughter there are two Negro children. I asked him whether there had been any reaction from his child and he said, "No, but there better not be any bad reaction because if there is I will turn her over my knee and spank her bottom. However, no child of mine would have any such ideas." There have been no incidents and no problems yet in connection with the de-segregation of the two schools. About thirty Negroes are believed to have been introduced into the two white schools which have been opened to Negroes. The policy of the administration is to permit Negroes who live in the area served by the two white schools which have been de-segregated to continue to attend all Negro schools, but the transportation service which has formerly been provided for these children has been discontinued. In other words, the Board is encouraging the Negro children to attend the de-segregated white schools.

Dickinson says that this method of tackling the problem will be eventually employed in all cases, namely that when a white school is declared open to Negroes, transportation will be denied Negro children living in the white school district area.

One of the problems which is plaguing Dickinson and the Board is that which arose in the spring of 1953 when in anticipation of a de-segregation decision from the Court the Board gave dismissal notices to eight Negro teachers. Dickinson does not believe that white parents will accept immediately the introduction of Negro teachers over white school children. This he regards as the most serious question of all. Dickinson believes that it is very wrong to discriminate against Negro teachers and yet, in his opinion, there are real practical obstacles to the course of conduct which he thinks is American and proper. He has given this matter much attention and the following are his conclusions:

The Board and the school administration should begin the integration of Negro teachdrs at the high school level. Dickinson contemplates the employment of some really topnotch teachers of Mathematics and Latin or some other departmental subject and expected complaints could be met by the observation that no child would be under a Negro teacher all day. Dickinson thinks that this answer would be acceptable. Meanwhile, his idea would be to introduce, again a first class Negro teacher, in one of the integrated kindergartens. He points out that kindergarten is in some ways associated with custodial care rather than education and that there is a tradition of Negro nurses and maids in Topeka. Thus, from both the high school and kindergarten ends of the educational process Dickinson would move towards gradual integration of Negro teachers throughout the system as their qualifications and experience dictated. He thinks this process will be slow, but he believes that the integration of Negro teachers can eventually be accomplished.

Dickinson said "the problems presented by our de-segregation program are so much less than people think." He says it's true that he has had one abusive phone call and several people have told him they wouldn't have voted fro him had they known his views on segregation. He does not think, however, that his stand on this question would, all other factors being equal, prevent his re-election to the Board.

As for the future of the case in the Supreme Court, he would like to have the Board file a pleading in the Supreme Court to the effect that the case is moot in all respects except that the Board is interested in several of the questions (4 and 5) on which the Court has asked for a response. When it was pointed out that the case probably is not technically moot because at least nine of the child plaintiffs would not normally attend the schools which have been de-segregated, Dickinson says he realizes this but that what he really means is that as far as the Board is concerned they are perfectly willing for a de-segregation decision to be announced. However, he very definitely is opposed to a decision which grants immediate relief and does not afford the time for de-segregation to be accomplished.

Dickinson says that the attorney general, Harold Ratzer, wishes he did not have to commit himself in any way in these cases. I asked Dickinson whether the local papers had cooperated in his campaign to de-segregate the schools. He said he tried to get them to cooperate in a program of gradual de-segregation without publicity, but the papers rejected this proposal. He points out the papers have, since the decision was announced, made no editorial comment whatever. He says the Board has received very little, if any, help from the preachers, nor have there been any citizens groups who have taken a public stand on the question. I asked Dickinson if he could, as a politician, estimate how Topeka would have voted on the text of the resolution passed by the Board. He said it was hard to answer the question, but his tentative opinion was that the motion would have prevailed if the issue had been properly explained to the people. I asked Dickinson if he had any immediate further plans for de-segregating individual schools. He says that his next approach in this direction will be to close down McKinley School in North Topeka. This school has only thirty colored children. When he gets rid of it he will admit these thirty children to two white schools in the general neighborhood. The excuse for the closing down of the school will be economy and on that ground it is clearly justified. After the area has built up (it suffered heavily in the flood of 1951), he will reopen the school as an integrated operation. In other words, he intends to proceed on an ad hoc basis and very carefully towards an undoubted intention of general de-segregation of teachers and students.

Interview with Elisha Scott:

Elisha Scott is a Negro lawyer about sixty-five years of age and famed throughout the area for his emotion-packed defenses of Negro defendants in criminal cases. Scott practices in a dilapidated building. His offices are in a rather dilapidated condition, but I understand he has been quite successful. His firm consists of himself and two sons, Charles and John, and during the interview both sons came in to the father's office and participated. Scott was the chief local NAACP lawyer in the case, but gives to his son Charles all the credit for the work on appeal and refers to him all requests for technical information. Scott has a definite opinion about the case, however, and was very vocal on all aspects of the case. I asked him whether he thought the Board was sincere in the announced de-segregation policy. He exclaimed "Heavens, yes. The trouble is this Board is going too far too fast. I'm against segregation. I'm against it as much as any many, but you have got to realize you can't have de-segregation without education and education takes time." He further said he had no doubt the Supreme Court is going to wipe out segregation in the common school cases, but he warned that the decision is a two edged sword. The reason for this view is in his opinion "This (Topeka Board) is not going to hire Negro teachers at first. These Negro teachers have got to live. I kind of half way believe in the education process in this field. Time and prayer will work things out. They have worked for me during my entire life. The time is not ripe. The Board has gone too fast." I asked whether he had this opinion of the matter when he filed the cases and he instantly replied: "I didn't start these cases. The National NAACP office did."

Charles did not seem to agree with his father's view that the

matters were going too far too fast and this seemed to be also the opinion of John Scott. One sensed that there was almost a division of the two generations involved.

On the technical side, Charles Scott said that he did not think the attorney general of Kansas will put up any fight at all in the Supreme Court except as the Court pushes him to take a stand. Scott did not think that the action of the Topeka Board would render the question moot. He said that in the first place, in addition to questioning the action of the Board of Education, the case challenges the constitutionality of the statute and that challenge stands irrespective of the action of the Board. I asked Scott to get the proceedings in the case in order that we could go over the list of plaintiffs and determine how many of them had been affected by the de-segregation of the two white schools in the beginning of this school term. We discovered that only two out of the thirteen plaintiffs were so affected.

Interview with Charles Rooney:

Charles Rooney, partner of Raymond Briman, is a lawyer approximately fifty-five years of age and was candidate for governor on the Democratic ticket in 1952. He lost to his opponent by 100,000 votes while Eisenhower carried the state by 300,000 majority. Rooney thinks that the de-segregation problem will work all right but says that he doubts seriously whether the Negroes themselves, particularly the teachers, are going to like the idea once they understand its full implications.

Interview with Governor Alfred M. Landon:

I understood Governor Landon had put some money behind the NAACP case and also that he had put some money in litigation several years before to test the legality of the operation of a segregated elementary school in a city which is not designated first class. (Segregation in the elementary schools is permitted under the statutes only in first class cities in Kansas). Also, the Governor is quite active in Kansas politics and is undoubtedly the leading citizen of the town. I found Governor Landon entirely willing to discuss this and all other public matters and the conference lasted almost two hours. Landon is in favor of the de-segregation of course, and does not believe it will cause any trouble or difficulty. He doubts seriously that there has been any contact other than perfunctory between the attorney general of Kansas and the law officers of the other affected states. He thinks that the northern states have been highly hypocritical on the whole race question. As he puts it, the North is too willing to tell the South how to solve its race problem without first cleaning its own house." He has no idea what decision the Supreme Court will render but he doesn't think that the Kansas situation will be much affected one way or the other because school segregation in Kansas is on its way out. He strongly objects to a FEPC because of its compulsory provisions and says that in some respects the problem of a FEP law is illustrated by some of the after effects which are going to be experienced in de-segregating the schools in Topeka. These after effects may be harsh

on Negroes presently employed in the segregated economy. He enjoyed telling the story of a Negro friend who operates a large cement concern employing four hundred workers -- all Negroes. His friend all of a sudden realized, the Governor says, that an FEPC law would force him to fire some of his Negroes and hire whites. The Governor has a rather low opinion of the present national administration and doubts whether it has much direction or policy. This includes policy in the civil rights field.

Tom L. Kiene:

William Howland, head of Atlanta Bureau of Time and Life magazines wrote Tom L. Kiene of the Topeka State Journal and asked him to give me any help I might need. I talked to Mr. Kiene on the telephone as we could not get together in person and checked with him the views I had learned from the other interviews and he readily agreed with the following conclusions:

(1) The Board was sincere in its de-segregation policy and would in time integrate schools and teachers.

(2) The integration of the schools had, as far as it had proceeded, been accomplished without any difficulty and no difficulty is anticipated.

(3) There is a problem in the integration of teachers and Negro teachers are apt to suffer some loss of employment in the transition.

(4) The papers had given no editorial support to the de-segregation policy. This Mr. Kiene contributed to a reluctance of the papers "to stir things up." He was not sure that the policy involved in this respect was correct.

(5) He does not think that the Board undertook any of its action out of a desire to moot the issues in the case.

(6) The attorney general of Kansas would like to have as little as possible to do with the case and any participation of that office will hereafter be strictly limited.

I attach to this memorandum a copy of the minutes of the Board of Education of Topeka covering their meeting of September 3, 1953, and containing the de-segregation resolution.

From Board of Education Minutes, September 3, 1953

Mr. Dickinson moved that the following resolution concerning segregation be made a policy of the Topeka Board of Education:

(Resolution) Be it resolved that it is the policy of the Topeka Board of Education to terminate the maintenance of segregation in the elementary grades as rapidly as is practicable.

July 1961

POPULATION OF THE

UNITED STATES

	% Non-white
1900	12.1
1910	11.1
1920	10.3
1930	10.2
1940	10.2
1950	10.5
1960	11.4

Non-whites are about 11% of the nation's population, and, as shown on the adjoining table, are 10% of its work force in 1961. Yet non-whites are only:

4% of the nation's professional and technical workers

2% of its managers

5% of its clerical workers

2% of its sales people

5% of its craftsmen

In only one of the above categories--clerical--has there been much change since 1948.

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY % WHITE AND % NONWHITE FOR THE UNITED STATES 1948 and 1961

	1948		1961	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total employed	90.6%	9.4	89.9%	10.1%
Professional, technical & kindred workers	96.3	3.7	96.0	4.1
Farmers & farm managers	89.4	10.6	92.3	7.8
Managers, officials, & proprietors (except farm)	98.1	1.9	97.9	2.1
Clerical & kindred workers	97.5	2.5	94.8	5.2
Salesworkers	98.1	1.9	97.8	2.1
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	96.3	3.7	95.2	4.8
Operatives & kindred workers	90.4	9.6	88.1	11.9
Private household workers	47.5	52.5	56.4	43.6
Service workers (except private household)	79.6	20.4	79.8	20.2
Farm laborers & foremen	84.2	15.8	76.7	23.3
Laborers (escept farm & mine)	76.4	23.6	73.6	26.4

Source: Current Population Survey - unpublished data

The next table shows change in occupational distribution from 1948-1961.

- More non-whites are now in professional and technical employment, but more whites also have entered these fields.

- In the categories of managers, officials, etc.; sales workers; and craftsmen, foremen, etc.; the gain by non-whites has been slight.

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND COLOR FOR THE UNITED STATES 1948 and 1961

	1948		1961	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	7.5	2.7	12.7	4.8
Farmers and farm managers	7.9	9.0	4.2	3.2
Managers, officials, and proprietors (except farm)	11.8	2.2	12.0	2.3
Clerical and kindred workers	13.5	3.4	15.9	7.8
Sales workers	6.7	1.2	7.3	1.4
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	14.8	5.6	13.5	6.1
Operatives and kindred workers	21.0	21.4	17.0	20.4
Private household workers	1.6	17.3	2.2	15.0
Service workers (except private household)	6.3	15.7	8.5	19.1
Farm laborers and foremen	4.1	7.4	2.6	7.1
Laborers (except farm and mine)	4.7	14.1	4.1	12.9

Source: Current Population Survey - unpublished data

Some of the figures in the facing table are especially interesting:

- Approximately the same proportions of whites and non-whites are engaged in agriculture, leaving equal proportions of both races for other employment.

- Non-white college men face employment prospects comparable to those of women of both races: clerical work is the principal opportunity for those not going into the professions. For white college men, clerical work is relatively unimportant.

- There are few opportunities for non-whites in sales.

- Better than 1 of 5 white men with no high school training nevertheless become craftsmen or foremen; far fewer non-whites of the same educational level develop such skills. One-fourth of the white men with some high school training become skilled workers; only 1/8 of the non-whites do.

- About the same proportion of whites and non-whites without high school training are employed as service workers. When whites achieve some high school training, they move rapidly away from these jobs; they absorb many non-whites of all educational levels.

- Domestic employment continues to be a principal outlet for non-white women of all educational levels.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 18 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND COLOR, MARCH 1959

	White			Nonwhite		
	Less than High School	High School 1-4 years	Some College	Less than High School	High School 1-4 years	Some College
Total: Male	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Professional, technical † kindred workers	1.2	4.7	40.6	.5	1.5	40.7
Farmers & farm managers	13.2	5.6	2.2	8.4	2.3	-
Managers, officials & proprietors, except farm	10.4	14.8	22.0	2.0	2.0	4.7
Clerical & kindred workers	3.0	8.9	8.3	1.4	9.2	15.7
Sales workers	2.8	6.8	10.3	.3	1.4	3.7
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	22.2	25.1	7.7	7.5	12.3	10.3
Operatives & kindred workers	25.1	21.9	4.8	23.6	28.2	5.3
Private household workers	.1	*	.1	.3	.3	-
Service workers, except private household	7.4	5.6	2.4	10.3	19.3	14.0
Farm laborers & foremen	4.8	1.3	.5	12.0	3.8	.7
Laborers, except farm and mine	9.8	5.3	1.2	33.6	19.7	5.0
Total: Female	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Professional, technical & kindred workers	1.0	6.2	52.8	.2	2.9	52.2
Farmers & farm managers	1.9	.3	.2	.5	-	-
Managers, officials & proprietors, except farm	6.0	6.1	5.9	3.1	1.4	2.4
Clerican & kindred workers	8.2	43.6	28.0	.9	12.4	17.0
Sales workers	7.7	9.2	5.2	.8	1.3	2.8
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	1.7	1.0	.3	.2	.9	-
Operatives & kindred workers	30.9	14.8	1.8	13.0	15.8	5.5
Private household workers	13.6	3.0	.7	53.6	29.4	10,3
Service workers, except private household	22.1	13.5	4.4	21.6	33.5	9.9
Farm laborers & foremen	6.1	1.9	.8	5.6	1.5	-
Laborers except farm & mine	.8	.3	-	.6	1.0	-

Source: Special Labor Force Report No. 1

* Less than .05%

For both 1954 and April 1961, the unemployment rate for non-whites was higher than that for whites in <u>every occupational category</u>.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF SELECTED OCCUPATIONS BY COLOR

FOR THE UNITED STATES 1954 and 1961

	Annual Average 1954		April 1961	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total experienced civilian labor force	4.2%	7.9%	5.7%	11.9%
Professional, technical & kindred workers			1.7	2.1
Farmers and farm managers			.2	0
Managers, officials, proprietors (except farm)			2.1	7.2
Clerical & kindred workers)	2.9	6.1	4.3	9.4
Sales workers)			4.3	3.1
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	3.7	11.6	7.3	15.3
Operatives & kindred workers	6.2	10.3	10.0	12.6
Private household workers	3.2	6.7	4.2	8.8
Service workers (except private household)	4.5	6.8	5.9	12.4
Farm laborers & foremen	3.9	5.3	5.7	10.8
Laborers (except farm & mine)	7.9	11.7	16.1	20.6

Source: 1954, Current Population Reports. P. 50, No. 66

Source: 1961, Current Population Survey - Unpublished data

From 1939 to 1959, the income of white workers increased about 4½ times; that of non-white workers, about 6 times.

Progress in narrowing the gap between white and non-white income was fairly rapid between 1939-1951. Since then, the gap has grown.

MEDIAN MONEY WAGE OR SALARY INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE MALE WORKERS WITH WAGE OR SALARY INCOME: 1939 to 1959

Year	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of white
1939	$1,112	$ 460	41
1950	2,982	1,828	61
1951	3,345	2,060	62
1952	3,507	2,038	58
1953	3,760	2,233	59
1954	3,754	2,131	57
1955	3,986	2,342	59
1956	4,260	2,396	56
1957	4,260	2,436	56
1958	4,569	2,652	58
1959	4,902	2,844	58

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957, and various issues of Current Population Reports, Series P-60.

When measured by <u>family</u> income, non-whites are even less well off. The preceding table shows for 1959 that non-white salaries and wages were nearly 3/5 as high as those of whites. In the same year, total family income of non-whites was only about ½ that of whites.

MEDIAN MONEY INCOME OF FAMILIES, [1] BY COLOR FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1947-1959

Year	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of white
1947	$3,157	$1,614	51
1948	3,310	1,768	53
1949	3,232	1,650	51
1950	3,445	1,869	54
1951	3,859	2,032	53
1952	4,114	2,338	57
1953	4,392	2,461	56
1954	4,339	2,410	56
1955	4,605	2,549	55
1956	4,993	2,628	53
1957	5,166	2,764	54
1958	5,300	2,711	51
1959	5,643	2,917	52

1. Groups of two or more related persons residing together.
Source: Current Population Reports, P. 60, No. 35.

14.

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS BY TOTAL MONEY INCOME, (before taxes), BY COLOR FOR THE U. S. 1949-59

	White		Non-white	
	1949	1959	1949	1959
Under $2,000	35.6%	19.5%	70.6%	45.4%
$2,000 - $2,999	17.8	9.4	17.0	14.6
$3,000 - $3,999	18.1	9.9	7.4	12.1
$4,000 - $4,999	10.9	11.0	2.4	10.1
$5,000 - $5,999	7.0	12.2	1.3	5.9
$6,000 - $6,999	3.8	10.0	.7	3.9
$7,000 - $9,999	4.2	16.9	.5	6.3
$10,000 and over	2.6	10.4	.1	1.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Sources. 1949: U. S. Statistical Abstract (derived)
1959: Current Population Reports P. 60, No. 35 (derived)

Note: This table refers to money income only, and does not include any payment in kind - e. g. food and lodging, especially important on farms.

Although the relative increase of schooling has been greater for non-whites than whites, the gap between them slightly increased from 1940-1959.

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED

BY PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER

	Male		Female	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
April 1940	8.7	5.4	8.8	6.1
March 1959	11.1	7.6	11.6	8.4
Increase 1940-1959	2.4	2.2	2.8	2.3

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce as quoted in Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States

ILLITERACY[1] OF POPULATION[2] IN THE UNITED STATES

1870 - 1959

	Percent Illiterate	
	White	Nonwhite
1870	11.5	79.9
1880	9.4	70.0
1890	7.7	56.8
1900	6.2	44.5
1910	5.0	30.5
1920	4.0	23.0
1930	3.0	16.4
1940	2.0	11.5
1947	1.8	11.0
1952	1.8	10.2
1959	1.6	7.5

In 1959, of the non-white population over 25 years of age, 23.5% had less than five years of elementary school; of the white population, the percent was 6.4.

1. Unable to both read and write in any language.
2. 1870-1940 for population 10 years old and over; 1947-1959 for population 14 years old and over.

SOURCE: Current Population Reports. P.20, No. 99

School attendance within the age group 7-24 is about as high for non-whites as for whites; however, examination of the figures on the next page indicates a greater drop-out rate for non-whites in the high school ages. In contrast to 1940, there was in 1959 practically no difference in the 7-13 age bracket, and greatly reduced difference in the ages from 14-19: this means that non-whites newly entering the labor market will be better trained than in the recent past.

PERCENT OF WHITES AND NON-WHITES ENROLLED IN SCHOOL BY AGE FOR THE UNITED STATES 1940-1959

	April 1940		October 1959	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total 7-24	59.7%	55.3%	74.9%	72.3%
7-13	95.5	91.2	99.5	99.0
14-17	80.7	68.2	90.8	85.3
18-19	29.8	21.1	37.3	33.6
20-24	6.9	3.8	13.4	8.5

Eleven percent of the nation's population is non-white. Non-whites occupy only 9% of the total housing of the country, occupy 29% of the dilapidated housing, and 17% of the housing occupied by non-whites is classified as dilapidated. This means that almost 1 of every 5 non-whites lives in a dilapidated structure.

CONDITION OF HOUSING UNITES IN UNITED STATES BY COLOR OF OCCUPANTS 1950-60

	1950		1960	
Dilapidated Housing	(000)	Percent	(000)	Percent
White	3,262	72.0	2,139	70.7
Non-white	1,273	28.0	886	29.3
Total	4,535	100	3,025	100
Total Housing				
White	42,269	91.6	53,170	91.2
Non-white	3,868	8.4	5,153	8.8
Total	46,137	100	58,323	100
Percent of Housing Dilapidated				
White		7.7		4.0
Non-white		32.9		17.2
Total		9.8		5.2

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census - Press Releases March 1961

One of the brightest indices is the growth in home ownership by non-whites, which proportionately has greatly exceeded that of whites.

PERCENT OF OWNER-OCCUPIED HOUSING, BY COLOR FOR THE U. S. 1890-1960

Year	White	Non-white
1890	51.5%	19.0%
1900	49.7	23.6
1910	n/a	n/a
1920	48.1	23.9
1930	50.2	25.2
1940	45.7	23.6
1950	57.0	34.9
1960	64.4	38.3

HOUSING 1960

	White	Non-white	Total
Owner occupied	30,821,869	1,974,218	32,796,087
Rented	17,046,534	3,178,440	20,224,974
Total	47,868,403	5,152,658	53,021,061

Note: n/a - not available

Source: Censuses of Housing

EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH, BY COLOR, U. S.

Year	White	Non-white	Difference
1900	47.6 years	33.0 years	14.6 years
1910	50.3	35.6	14.7
1920	54.9	45.3	9.6
1930	61.4	48.1	13.3
1940	64.2	53.1	11.1
1950	69.1	60.8	8.3
1958	70.3	63.0	7.3

DEATH RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION, BY COLOR, U. S.

Year	White	Non-white	Difference
1900	17.0	25.0	8.0
1910	14.5	21.7	7.2
1920	12.6	17.7	5.1
1930	10.8	16.3	5.5
1940	10.4	13.8	3.4
1950	9.5	11.2	1.7
1959	9.4	9.9	.5

Negro families spend more of their income on clothing and housing than do white families.

AVERAGE EXPENDITURES OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY COLOR, FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1955

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION

	Average Expenditure of Households	
	White	Negro
Food, beverages and tobacco	29%	29%
Clothing and accessories	12	19
Medical and Personal care	5	5
Home operation and improvement	19	23
Home furnishings and equipment	9	8
Recreation and recreation equipment	5	3
Automotive	14	12
Other goods and services	7	1
All goods and services	100%	100%

Source: "Life" Study of Consumer Expenditures

--- Robt B. Jr. - Trust Co. of Ga. - delivered by hand
5-19-61
(JF)

May 19, 1961

Mr. Troutman:

We are assembling facts and will have a completed job not later than--and hopefully earlier than--the first of June. I picked a couple of items on education for you to sample. My idea is to use just two or three items for each subject (though these may not be the final choices on the Education subject).

Is the approach all right? Presentation clear? Would you prefer figures being rounded off? Are the explanatory notes desirable, or would you prefer just figures?

I would be grateful if you would call when convenient and let me have your reaction.

EDUCATION

A. This table shows the level of schooling of non-white Americans, contrasted with that of all Americans.

		Total			Non-white		
		1957	1950	1940	1957	1950	1940
Percentage of all persons 25 years of age or older who have completed:	4 or more years of college	7.5	6.0	4.6	2.8	2.2	1.5
	Some college but less than 4 years	7.3	7.2	5.4	3.1	2.9	1.9
	High school, but no college	26.0	20.2	14.1	11.9	8.1	4.4
	Some high school, but less than 4 years	17.7	16.9	15.0	16.5	13.0	8.5

Source: D. J. Bogue, The Population of the United States (1959) p.343.

B. The table above demonstrates two points: 1) The educational level of non-whites is much lower than that of whites; e.g. only about 6% of the non-whites over 25 in 1957 had any college training, whereas white enrollment was high enough to bring the national figure nearly to 15%. 2) There has been very little or no narrowing of the gap since 1940; e.g., in that year 10% of the population over 25 as a whole and 3.4% of the non-whites had been to college.

On the other hand, the table below shows that nearly as many non-whites as whites are now enrolled in school, and that there has been a distinct narrowing of this gap since 1940.

	Percentage of persons enrolled in school							
	White				Non-white			
Age	1959	1957	1950	1940	1959	1957	1950	1940
5-24		75.2	60.9	58.3		71.9	58.4	53.4
7-19		90.0	83.5	79.9		87.7	79.6	73.3

Source: D. J. Bogue, The Population of the United States (1959) p. 332.

(similar presentation for Income, Housing, Health, Fertility, Spending, etc.)

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EDUCATION

A. This table shows the level of schooling of non-white Americans, contrasted with that of all Americans.

		Total			Non-white		
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	High school, but no college	26.0	20.2	14.1	11.9	8.1	4.4
	Some high school, but less than 4 years	17.7	16.9	15.0	16.5	13.0	8.5

Source: D. J. Bogue, The Population of the United States (1959) p. 343.

B. The table above demonstrates two points: 1) The educational level of non-whites is much lower than that of whites; e.g. only about 6% of the non-whites over 25 in 1957 had any college training, whereas white enrollment was high enough to bring the national figure nearly to 15%. 2) There has been very little or no narrowing of the gap since 1940; e. g., in that year 10% of the population over 25 as a whole and 3.4% of the non-whites had been to college.

On the other hand, the table below shows that nearly as many non-whites as whites are now enrolled in school, and that there has been a distinct narrowing of this gap since 1940.

	Percentage of persons enrolled in school							
	White				Non-white			
Age	1959	1957	1950	1940	1959	1957	1950	1940
5-24		75.2	60.9	58.3		71.9	58.4	53.4
7-19		90.0	83.5	79.9		87.7	79.6	73.3

Source: D. J. Bogue, The Population of the United States (1959) p. 332.

(similar presentation for Income, Housing, Health, Fertility, Spending, etc.)

24

Median Income of Families by Years of School Completed, by Color for the United States 1958

	White	Non white	Non white as Percent of white
Total	$5,300	$2,711	51.2%
Elementary school - total	$3,951	$2,245	56.8%
Less than 8 years	$3,140	$1,969	62.7%
8 years	$4,487	$3,167	70.6
High School - total	$5,525	$3,530	63.9%
1-3 years	$5,226	$3,288	62.9%
4 years	$5,742	$3,929	68.4%
College - total	$7,373	$5,654	76.7%
Median years of school completed	11.3	8.2	72.6%

Source Current Population Reports P60- No 33

9 - 2245
1 - 5654
25769
4576

1 - 3951
9 - 7373
7332
7332

39

Median Income of Persons 14 years & over by Years of School Completed, by Color and Sex for the United States 1958

	Male			Female		
	White	Nonwhite	Nonwhite as percent of white	White	Non White	Non white as percent of white
Total	$3,976	$1,981	49.8%	$1,279	$750	58.6%
Elementary school - total	$2,664	$1,585	59.5%	$839	$705	84.0%
Less than 8 years	$2,076	$1,447	69.7%	$765	$663	86.7%
8 years	$3,276	$2,328	71.1%	$924	$863	✓ 93.4%
High school - total	$4,297	$2,534	59.0%	$1,559	$949	60.9%
1-3 years	$3,774	$2,224	58.9%	$927	$839	90.5%
4 years	$4,654	$2,994	64.3%	$2,095	$1,330	63.5%
College - total	$5,810	$3,679	63.3%	$2,394	$2,365	✓ 98.8%
Median years of school completed	11.1	8.2	73.9%	11.5	8.9	77.4%

Source: Current Population Reports P. 60 - No 32

NEGRO FARM OWNERSHIP

The accompanying tableson farm operators and the NEW SOUTH articles "Southern Farmers Move Ahead in Land Ownership" and "Changes in the Cotton South" illustrate the major changes that are taking place in Southern agriculture.

The increasing number of Negro farm owners, accompanied by a decreasing number of Negro farm tenants and croppers, is the main trend that indicates progress being made by the Southern Negro in agriculture.

Note, however, that while one out of four farmers in the South is Negro, Negroes operate only one out of twelve acres of farm land, valued at one twelth the value of farm real estate. Other statistics show that the size of farms operated by Negroes is below the average for all farms and the value of farms operated by Negroes is below the average value of all farms. Thus while the plight of the Negro farmer is improving, his situation is by no means up to that of the white farmer.

In discussing problems of farm tenure with non-professional groups the general practice is to disregard the situation of farm managers and part owners, concentrating on characteristics of the full owner, tenant and croppers--the groups which make up the majority of farm operators.

PERCENTAGE

DISTRIBUTION OF FARM OPERATORS
BY TENURE AND COLOR, AND NUMBER OF FARMS,
SOUTH, 1930-1945

Tenure & color of operator	1945	1940	1935	1930
All farm operators	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
White	76.9	77.4	76.2	72.7
Nonwhite	23.1	22.6	23.8	27.3
Full owners	52.4	44.2	39.2	36.9
White	60.8	51.0	45.7	44.8
Nonwhite	24.2	20.9	18.4	15.9
Part owners	6.7	7.2	6.9	7.0
White	7.5	8.0	7.6	7.8
Nonwhite	4.2	4.6	4.4	4.7
Managers	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
White	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7
Nonwhite	0.1	0.1	*	0.1
Tenants	40.4	48.2	53.5	55.5
White	31.1	40.5	46.1	46.6
Nonwhite	71.5	74.5	77.1	79.3
Croppers	15.5	18.0	20.9	24.1
White	8.0	10.4	13.3	16.4
Nonwhite	40.6	44.0	45.2	44.6
		Thousands		
Number of farms	2,881	3,007	3,422	3,224

*Not available

SOURCE: Proceedings Professional Agricultural Workers Tenth Annual Conference, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. (Jan. 14-17, 1951), "Land Tenure in the Southern Region," p.113

PERCENTAGE
DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN FARMS
BY TENURE AND COLOR OF OPERATOR AND ACRES
OF LAND IN FARMS, SOUTH, 1930-1945

Tenure & color of operator	1945	1940	1935	1930
Total land in farms	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
White	91.9	91.6	90.5	89.0
Nonwhite	8.1	8.4	9.5	11.0
Full owners	47.1	41.4	42.3	42.3
White	48.6	42.8	44.2	44.6
Nonwhite	30.5	26.9	23.9	23.8
Part owners	18.9	17.7	13.5	13.1
White	20.0	18.7	14.4	13.9
Nonwhite	6.5	6.9	5.7	6.5
Managers	7.7	7.6	6.7	8.0
White	8.3	8.3	7.4	8.9
Nonwhite	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.7
Tenants	26.3	33.2	37.5	36.6
White	23.1	30.3	34.1	32.5
Nonwhite	62.2	65.6	69.9	68.9
Croppers	5.0	6.3	7.9	9.2
White	3.1	4.2	5.4	6.4
Nonwhite	26.8	29.2	32.3	31.7
		Million Acres		
Land in farms	378	370	376	343

SOURCE: Proceedings Professional Agricultural Workers Tenth Annual Conference, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. (Jan. 14-17, 1951), "Land Tenure in the Southern Region," p. 114

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VALUE OF LAND
AND BUILDINGS, BY TENURE AND COLOR OF OPERATOR,
AND VALUE OF FARMS, SOUTH, 1930-1945

Tenure and Color of operator	1945	1940	1935	1930
Total value	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
White	91.4	91.4	91.0	88.7
Nonwhite	8.6	8.6	9.0	11.3
Full owners	51.7	47.2	45.8	44.1
White	54.1	49.3	48.2	47.4
Nonwhite	27.0	24.0	21.0	18.9
Part owners	14.7	13.9	11.3	11.0
White	15.5	14.6	11.9	11.7
Nonwhite	6.1	6.1	5.4	5.5
Managers	6.1	5.7	5.8	5.7
White	6.5	6.1	6.3	6.3
Nonwhite	1.1	0.9	0.8	1.0
Tenants	27.5	33.2	37.1	39.2
White	23.9	29.9	33.6	34.7
Nonwhite	65.8	69.0	72.8	74.7
Croppers	6.7	8.0	9.2	11.3
White	4.1	5.2	6.2	7.7
Nonwhite	35.0	37.8	39.5	39.5
		Million Dollars		
Value of farms	13,149	9,716	8,737	12,344

SOURCE: Proceedings Professional Agricultural Workers Tenth Annual Conference, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. (Jan. 14-17, 1951), "Land Tenure in the Southern Region," p. 115

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NEGRO HEALTH

While the health status of Negroes still lags 20% behind that of the rest of the nation, marked improvement has been made in recent years. These improvements, illustrated by the trends in life expectancy, death rates and mortality rates cited below, reflect the Negro's improved economic condition, increased education, and improved health facilities.

From 1939 to 1947 the following changes in Negro health occurred:

Life expectancy	Increase of 7 years (to age 58)
Male death rate	27% decrease
Female death rate	28% decrease
Infant mortality	42% decrease
Maternal mortality	62% decrease
TB death rate	39% decrease
Pneumonia & influenza death rate	65% decrease
Syphilis death rate	48% decrease
Malaria death rate	94% decrease

SOURCE: Louis I. Dublin, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARY
PER UNIT OF INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF,
1945-46 and 1948-49

State	1945-46 White	1945-46 Negro	1948-49 White	1948-49 Negro
Alabama	$1451	$884	$2163	$1778
Arkansas	1163	711	1718	1262
Florida	1862	1278	2935	2535
Mississippi	1165	427	1841	682
North Carolina	1608	1587	2428	2464
Oklahoma	1807	1688	2299	2174
South Carolina	1365	834	2019	1403
United States	$1995		$2846	

Source: U. S. Office of Education, "Statistics of State School Systems 1945-46" and "Statistics of State School Systems 1948-49"

CURRENT EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE
DAILY ATTENDANCE, 1945-46 & 1948-49

State	1945-46 White	1945-46 Negro	1948-49 White	1948-49 Negro
Alabama	$85.46	$37.59	$120.50	$81.83
Arkansas	74.11	34.93	111.15	62.22
Florida	134.76	61.75	188.35	131.67
Mississippi	75.19	14.74	122.74	26.81
North Carolina	86.05	70.36	131.85	115.02
Oklahoma	111.30	118.32	166.31	175.32
South Carolina	100.38	39.64	148.48	69.65
United States	$135.15		$197.65	

Note: Current expenditure includes: administration, instruction, operation and maintenance of plant, transportation of pupils, school health services, extra curricular activities and fixed charges(mainly insurance and contributions to teacher retirement). It does not include interest and capital outlay.

SOURCE: U. S. Office of Education, "Statistics of state School Systems 1945-46" and "Statistics of State School Systems 1948-49"

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Events and Trends in Intergroup Relations

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Intergroup Relations in Review: Recent Trends and Tendencies

About This Issue

At a time when world tensions are mounting and the outcome of the struggle between the free world and the slave world depends so greatly upon who wins the support of disadvantaged peoples of Asia and Africa, intergroup relations in America are as never before a factor in deciding the future. This issue of NAIRO Reporter *is an attempt to gauge where we stand in intergroup relations today.*

Unlike previous issues of NAIRO Reporter, *which have presented articles on various particular subjects, together with brief notes on current happenings, this one seeks to convey an impression of recent trends and developments in the whole field of intergroup relations.*

To this end, we present a series of brief sketches under various subject headings. Departing again from the regular style of presentation, these sketches include evaluation and criticism, and are not confined strictly to factual reporting.

The aim has been to compile in brief, readable, informative form a kind of informal balance sheet of intergroup relations as of the fall of 1951.

Fair Employment Practices

Principal developments in the area of fair employment practices during the past year were: (1) a virtual abandonment of attempts to obtain enactment of a federal FEP law in the present Congress and a shift to demands for a Presidential order establishing a fair employment practice commission; (2) a series of unsuccessful efforts to put FEP laws on state statute books; (3) a spurt, on the other hand, of local FEP ordinances; (4) an increasing recourse to public hearings and cease and desist orders by state FEP commissions.

FEP Stymied in Congress

The composition of the 82nd Congress was clearly not conducive to optimism on the part of FEP advocates, and it early became apparent that the Congress was in the control of a coalition of old-line Republicans and Southern Democrats that would stop at nothing to defeat FEP. Meanwhile, the emergency situation created by international developments resulted in some immediate manpower shortages and threatened many potentially more serious. As long ago as July, 1948, the President by executive order had created a Fair Employment Board to administer the federal procedures assuring equality of employment opportunity and treatment in governmental employment; and on February 2, 1951, he had authorized the Defense and Commerce Departments to police a requirement that all government contracts contain a clause providing that the contractor will not practice employment discrimination. However, no machinery has been established for the enforcement of the latter requirement. The President now was urged by labor, civic and religious leaders to create a fair employment practice commission like that of World War II. (See *NAIRO Reporter,* Vol. I, No. 5.) The White House had not acted at press time.

FEP bills were introduced in seventeen state legislatures during 1951. Only one passed—in Colorado—and the regulatory features of that one apply only to public employment. Efforts to add enforcement powers to existing Wisconsin and

(continued page 2, column 1)

Housing Discrimination

Last summer's rioting in Cicero, Illinois, when a Negro veteran tried to move with his wife into an apartment in the always exclusively white community, has overshadowed virtually all other developments on the housing front. This shocking event and the even more shocking action of the Cook County grand jury which found indictments against the owner of the apartment house, her rental agent and her lawyer on charges of conspiring to injure property are unquestionably symptomatic of deeply fixated prejudices which need to be understood before they can be overcome. But they should not lead to a disregard of the positive developments in recent months in housing discrimination.

New Ordinances

Some of these were reviewed in *NAIRO Reporter* last May (Vol. I, No. 3), where the enactment of ordinances prohibiting discrimination in public and publicly assisted housing projects by a number of major cities was noted. Cincinnati, Ohio and Pasco, Washington, have since adopted similar ordinances; and Los Angeles has expanded applicability of its ordinance to the "use of any land owned by the County."

Federal housing authorities are tending to recognize more and more the responsibility of the federal housing agencies to protect the equal rights of minorities. In a recent Housing and Home Finance Agency Newsletter, it was announced that "FHA is now moving to withdraw its sanctions from racially covenanted properties to insure sales to Negroes by willing sellers in white blocks or neighborhoods and make extensive commitments for the development of projects open to white and Negro tenants or owners." Specific regulations to implement this declaration are being looked for hopefully by proponents of complete equality in housing, while other reforms are being pressed in negotiations with federal housing officials.

The federal housing agencies are studying recommendations of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Hous-

(continued page 2, column 2)

Indiana statutes, essentially educational measures, were unsuccessful.*

In California, the state's attorney general issued a formal opinion that the California Employment Stabilization Commission has power to (1) investigate racial and religious discrimination in employment, (2) inspect records of employers, labor unions and employment agencies in connection with such investigations, and (3) conduct hearings, issue subpoenas and cooperate with other state agencies and community organizations in the conduct of such investigatory activities.

FEP Ordinances

At the end of 1950, FEP ordinances were in effect in twelve cities.† By the time this issue of *NAIRO Reporter* went to press the number had risen to twenty-four. Nine of the communities to adopt FEP this year were in Ohio—Akron, Campbell, Girard, Hubbard, Lowellville, Lorain, Niles, Steubenville, and Warren—making a total of thirteen FEP cities in that state. The other three new FEP ordinances this year were in Farrell, Pa., Sharon, Pa., and Sioux City, Iowa.

Public Hearings

The increase during the past year in the number of public hearings conducted by several state commissions which have regulatory powers is especially noteworthy.‡ In Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York and Oregon, public hearings were held, all of which resulted in the issuance of cease and desist orders. (See *NAIRO Reporter,* Vol. II, No. 1, for a summary.)

Back Pay, Job Reinstatement, Etc.

In addition to a demonstrated readiness to invoke the public hearing process, the several commissions also indicate an increase in the frequency with which they include in their conciliation agreements such provisions as back pay, job rehirings, job reinterviews and reinstatements, and other affirmative provisions. The New York State Commission Against Discrimination in the case of John B. Clark, a Negro Merchant Marine officer, who charged that he had been discharged from his employment by a shipping corporation because of his race, arranged a conciliation agreement whereby the respondent agreed to pay the complainant $4,000 in back pay and to undertake other positive measures to acquaint its supervisory and work force with the provisions of the law.

In Connecticut, pursuant to a policy of requiring employers to give jobs to those against whom they are found to have discriminated, the Connecticut Commission ordered the employment of eighty-one complainants and the re-employment of eight as parts of complaint settlements.

Illustrative of the Massachusetts Commission's experience in the use of the back pay provision in a conciliation agreement was a case wherein the allegations of a railroad laborer that he had been discriminated against on account of his color were sustained. A thirty-eight-day period during which the man might have been employed by the company was used as a basis for the final award, which amounted to $125.

*Eleven states now have FEP laws. The states are Wisconsin, Indiana, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington and Colorado.

†Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Phoenix, Richmond (Cal.), Cleveland, Youngstown, Monesson (Pa.), Gary (Ind.), Struthers (Ohio).

‡COMPLAINTS ALLEGING DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT—JULY 1, 1951

State	*FEP Law Effective*	*Administrative Agency*	*Total No. of Complaints Received*
New York	July 1, 1945	Commission Against Discrimination	1959
New Jersey	July 1, 1945	Div. Against Discrimination, Dept. of Ed.	693
Massachusetts	Aug. 21, 1946	Commission Against Discrimination	675
Connecticut	May 15, 1947	Civil Rights Commission	254
New Mexico	June 10, 1949	Fair Employment Practices Commission	4 (Note a)
Washington	June 19, 1949	Bd. Against Discrimination in Employment	71
Rhode Island	July 1, 1949	Commisison for Fair Employment Practices	29
Oregon	July 18, 1949	Fair Employment Practices Division, Bureau of Labor	43

(Note a): June 1949 to Sept. 1950

Housing (continued)

ing relating to (1) the development of site selection procedures (which would eliminate the real fear that slum clearance might become Negro clearance in many cities); (2) the development of relocation procedures to protect minority families displaced by slum clearance and public housing operations; and (3) the development of procedures for coordination at both federal and local levels of all federal housing programs, including private housing insured by FHA.

Restrictive Covenants Unenforceable

The courts, both state and federal, have reaffirmed the Supreme Court ruling on unenforceability of restrictive covenants and have circumvented various oblique attacks upon that ruling. The National Association of Real Estate Boards last January dropped from its Code of Ethics the prohibition against introducing into a neighborhood a ". . . race which will clearly be detrimental to property values. . . ."

Unfortunately, the prejudices nurtured in the public mind during all the years that segregation was regarded by many educators, government officials, economists, realtors, and banking institutions as the essential requisite to the maintenance of property values have not been erased. Riots such as the shameful one at Cicero are the inevitable result. Attorney General McGrath has set a federal grand jury to sifting the Cicero case. Already the indictments have been dismissed. But the underlying causes of the Cicero violence remain largely unaffected.

Problem Area is Private Housing

In public and publicly assisted housing, the extension of such frontal attacks on segregation as those which have been so successfully made in Newark, N.J., in New York, Philadelphia, Seattle, Pittsburgh and elsewhere hold much promise. But the great emergent problem is how to deal with segregation and other forms of discrimination in housing that is wholly private in ownership. So long as this problem remains unsolved, the prospect of housing equality for the overwhelming majority of our people remains remote; for in the foreseeable future only a relative handful will find homes in projects under government sponsorship or publicly owned.

However, what has been accomplished in the projects mentioned demonstrates that a bold, determined, direct assault upon patterns of segregation can go far toward discrediting the prejudice on which it rests. Such programs carry within themselves the promise of full-scale intervention of governmental authority at all levels to make equality in housing a reality.

Educational Discrimination

While the Southern system of segregated education of Negroes and whites is breaking down at an accelerating pace on the university level under the impact of the Supreme Court decisions, it gives every appearance of becoming more entrenched at the elementary and high school levels.

Hundreds of Negroes attended university classes with whites last year. This fall the Negro enrollment probably was larger and additional institutions let down the barriers. However, resistance remained obdurate in some quarters. In Georgia, an appropriation bill was passed in the 1951 session of the legislature providing for the improvement of segregated Negro public schools; and also providing that if Negroes were admitted to a white school, the school would lose all state funds; and that if any court were to abolish segregation in Georgia, all common school funds for the entire state would be cut off. The latter proviso applies also to state-supported institutions of higher learning in Georgia.

Southern States Resistant

Governor Byrnes of South Carolina and Governor Wright of Mississippi were equally insistent upon maintaining segregation barriers. In other southern states, the Supreme Court rulings were applied reluctantly. Qualified Negro applicants to the University of Virginia Law School had to secure a court order for their admission; in Delaware, Negroes had to demonstrate in a court proceeding that facilities at Dover State College for Negroes were "grossly inferior" to those of the University of Delaware before they could gain admittance. There were court cases, as well, in Maryland, Tennessee, and North Carolina—which resulted, in effect, in affirmation by the lower courts of what the Supreme Court already had stated.

High Court Ruling on Segregation Sought

The NAACP, primary instrumentality in pressing for equal educational facilities in previous years, turned its strategy toward seeking a Supreme Court ruling on the constitutionality of segregation per se. Thus far, the Court has skirted this issue. Lower federal courts in South Carolina and in Kansas have upheld segregation in public schools—provided the facilities actually are equal.

Meanwhile, fair educational practices legislation was extended elsewhere. New York State's law was extended in March of this year to cover business and trade schools. Oregon, in April, made it illegal for "vocational, professional, and trade schools" to discriminate either in admissions or in the type of instruction given, against any person because of his race, color, religion, or national origin. Fair educational practices laws failed of enactment in California and Connecticut.

Effectiveness Uncertain

In states which already had fair educational practices laws—New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts—the administrators were mainly concerned with educating the public concerning their rights under this form of legislation. But individuals were slow in bringing complaints and administrators, where empowered to do so, were reluctant to make inquiries into situations in which discrimination was suspected to exist. Moreover, it was difficult to determine how effective these laws were in reducing discrimination.

Interest and concern by educational leaders in discrimination in higher education was evidenced by their participation in a number of conferences. The American Council on Education, with the cooperation of the Anti-Defamation League, conducted a two-day session in Chicago on November 3, 1950, attended by 175 educators from about 75 colleges and universities in the midwestern area. Members of the Mountain States Committee on Discriminations in Higher Education met on March 6, 1951, while a National Student Conference on Discrimination in Higher Education convened on March 29, 1951, at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. At all these conferences, discrimination was deplored and plans laid to eliminate it.

Fraternities Dropping Discrimination

There was a continued movement among fraternities to lower racial and religious barriers to membership. Several campus chapters surrendered their charters, either voluntarily or under threat of punitive action by university authorities. Some national charters were amended. The liberalizing movement was sparked by undergraduates, with alumni tending to defend existing exclusionist criteria.

Discrimination in Armed Forces

Equality of treatment of all races in the armed forces, as ordered by President Truman in July, 1948 (see *NAIRO Reporter,* Vol. I, No. 4), has not yet been achieved but some strides have been taken recently by the various services toward racial integration.

Air Force and Navy Records

The Air Force has made the greatest advances. In March, 1951, the *Air Force Times* disclosed that 95% of all Negroes in the Air Force were assigned to mixed units. Airmen in general are assigned in accordance with their ability without regard to their race or religion. However, Negroes comprise only 0.6% of the officers and 5.6% of the enlisted men. It would appear that the small number of Negro personnel is due to some flaw in the recruitment process.

In the Navy and Marine Corps, as a Navy spokesman announced last March, "We have no segregation but we haven't hit the millennium yet." This may be regarded as a press relations euphemism for the fact that, while Negroes are integrated, the Navy has only 19 Negro officers and about 3% Negro enlisted personnel, more than 50% of whom are still in the steward's branch.

Army Practices

Of all the service branches, the Army has the highest percentage of Negro personnel. (11.7% of Army enlisted personnel and 2.1% of the officer complement are Negroes.) Some Negro soldiers are in completely integrated units, others in completely segregated units. In March, the Army announced that its training centers were racially integrated, although "racial integrity" has been maintained "in some" combat units. Current assignment practice still makes it probable that once a Negro recruit has gone through the integrated training centers he will be assigned to an all-Negro unit.

Last spring another aspect of Army discrimination was disclosed by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel. After an on-the-scene investigation, Mr. Marshall reported that Negro

soldiers were discriminated against in court-martial proceedings in Korea. Sentences were subsequently reduced in some cases, appeals are pending in others; and following the disclosures and the breakdown of segregation which has since taken place, the general situation has bettered.

Segregation Ending in Far East

General MacArthur at the time disclaimed responsibility for the segregation of Negro troops in Korea, declaring that he used troops as the War Department supplied them, whether in integrated or segregated units. However, after he was relieved the Army reported that experience had shown that Negro soldiers in combat "serve more effectively in integrated units." It was then announced that all segregation in the entire Far East Command would be eliminated within six months. Authority to issue similar orders rests with all area commanders.

Two Congressional items merit mention. In April, a provision to grant all draftees the right to request service in a unit composed only of members of their own race was defeated, after the Senate in March had turned down a proposal to amend the military training bill to make it a federal offense to commit an act of assault or mob violence against a uniformed member of the Armed Forces.

Public Accommodations and Transportation

Although at least twenty-four states have statutes prohibiting either discrimination in places of public accommodation or discriminatory advertising by such places or both, the laws are as often breached as observed, and authorities are reluctant to prosecute violators because public sentiment is widely regarded as being on their side rather than on the side of the law.

Innovations in Administration

The most significant recent trend in this connection has been the vesting of responsibility for enforcing non-discrimination laws in administrative agencies like FEP commissions. (See the article in this issue on Official Human Relations Agencies.)

This new administrative machinery is proving useful. In New Jersey, the Division Against Discrimination received 108 formal complaints of discrimination in places of public accommodation in the first twenty-seven months of its operation in this area.* In Connecticut, the State Commission on Civil Rights received over 79 complaints in the same general area in two years. (This number includes complaints against discrimination in public housing.) In Massachusetts, the Commission Against Discrimination received or processed 24 matters under the public accommodations and age provisions of its law up to November 30, 1950.

Progress in Border States

Segregation of races in places of public accommodation is still the established pattern in the South, but some progress may be reported, particularly in the border states. Maryland repealed a law enacted in 1904, which required segregation of races by railroad and steamboat companies. The Baltimore Park Board, on October 6, 1951, designated 24 athletic facilities for interracial use and ended segregation on the city's four golf courses. In a widely publicized decision, the Municipal Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia held valid and enforceable the long dormant Civil Rights Act originally passed in 1873 by the Legislative Assembly for the District of Columbia which made it a violation of law to refuse to serve "any well-behaved and respectable person" in restaurants, eating houses and similar establishments (D.C. *v.* Thompson Company, Inc.). The doctrine, established in 1946 by the United States Supreme Court, that racial segregation in interstate transportation constitutes an undue burden on interstate commerce and herefore violates the United States Constitution was adhered to and extended by federal courts (Chance *v.* Lambeth, 186 F 2d 879; Solomon *v.* Pennsylvania Railway Co., 96 F Supp. 709).

Referendum Lost in Portland

The only important setback in the drive for equality in public accommodations was not due to actions by legislatures or court decision but to a referendum. The city council of Portland, Oregon early in 1950 had overwhelmingly adopted a city ordinance guaranteeing equality of access to places of public accommodation without discrimination. Thereafter, opponents of the measure—consisting largely of tavern keepers and a few restaurant and hotel owners—formed a group to prevent the ordinance from taking effect. They succeeded in obtaining twice the number of signatures necessary for a petition requiring the city council to suspend the operation of the ordinance pending a city-wide referendum. At the November, 1950 elections, the ordinance was defeated by a margin of 76,000 to 61,000 after a campaign in which every possible appeal to latent prejudice was resorted to by opponents of the ordinance. A countervailing educational campaign by supporters of the ordinance failed to achieve its purpose. This experience once more underscores the importance of securing public support as a condition of acceptance and enforcement of civil rights measures.

Recourse to Licensing Agencies

Brief mention should be made of a novel attack on discriminatory treatment of restaurant patrons in New York City. There, as the result of an incident involving Josephine Baker, internationally known Negro entertainer, recourse has been had to state and city licensing agencies to seek revocation of the liquor and restaurant licenses of the famous Stork Club on the ground of breach of the civil rights laws.

Interreligious Relations

The torrent of emotion touched off by the President's (apparently abortive) appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican has afforded new insight into the depth of tension that still marks the relationship among the major religious communions. Opposition to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican has been heavily played up in the press; and in a way which makes it not always possible for the ordinary reader to differentiate between opposition reflect-

*See especially the account in *NAIRO Reporter*, Vol. II, No. 1, of the Hightstown N.J. swimming pool case.

ing an emotional animus toward Catholics and that reflecting real difference of basic conviction.

Conflict vs. Cooperation

Conflict always gets a better press than cooperation; it is more dramatic, and, consequently, by the usual standards, more newsworthy. The acrimony and the tendency to impute false motives which have characterized the public debate among religious groups on federal aid to schools and on released time programs have revealed the extent of the job that remains for the intergroup educator.

On the other hand, however, the disappearance of much of the old religious liberalism and of that easy tolerance which grew out of the idea that religious differences are unimportant, has given rise to a tendency for interreligious cooperation to be placed on a more sure foundation—that of the belief in the dignity of man which is at the heart of all our differing religious traditions.

In addition, the very crisis in world affairs which has made man seek for resources beyond himself has deepened a sense of common danger that makes it imperative for men of faith to stand together. In a growing number of communities throughout the nation, religious leaders are finding it increasingly possible and desirable to work together. Outside of the Protestant ecumenical movement, this cooperation is, for the most part, civic rather than religious. In community chests, in social service agencies, in the Red Cross, in civil defense groups, leaders of the groups have served side by side. In recent years this civic cooperation has had wider scope.

Working Together for Civil Rights

Catholic, Protestant and Jewish organizations and leaders have worked together for civil rights. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in America joined with the Synagogue Council of America in appealing to President Truman, along with civic and labor groups, for an Executive Order establishing an FEPC (see first article in this issue). The Catholic Church has been conspicuously progressive in its position on racial segregation in the South, both in regard to worship and in regard to parochial school admissions policies.

In CROP, the Christian Rural Overseas Program, in LARA, Licensed Agents for Relief in Asia, and in CRALOG, Council of Relief Agencies Licensed to Operate in Germany, religious agencies have worked together in harmony. Similarly, the resettlement programs in this country have brought the agencies of the different religions together. Christian and Jewish groups have taken the leadership in the immigration and resettlement of more than 200,000 displaced people and refugees. In almost all programs of this kind, the principle of good social work has been observed—service on the basis of need without regard to religion or race.

Clergy of All Faiths Urge Cooperation

Prominent clergymen of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faith are members of the Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Maurice S. Sheehy, Catholic Co-Chairman of the Commission, wrote an article recently opposing Catholic isolationism, and calling upon his Catholic colleagues to be catholic, with a small "c". The article had widespread circulation and favorable reaction. Similarly, Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo and Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Protestant and Jewish Co-Chairmen, are constantly presenting the case for cooperation and goodwill to leaders within their own groups. The various members of the Commission have reported a growing interest within their own denominations in intergroup education programs. A leader of one of the most conservative of Protestant denominations says that while his fellow-churchmen vigilantly refuse cooperation that involves religious compromise, many of them welcome opportunities to escape an isolationism which they deplore.

The National Conference of Catholic Charities meeting in Detroit this Fall invited a Lutheran leader and an official of the National Council of Churches to address the gathering. Both leaders emphasized the need for common effort.

On another level, the practice of issuing common statements on issues of moral concern, begun with the Pattern of Peace in 1943, has continued. Last year the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Federal Council of Churches and the Synagogue Council jointly declared that the so-called Stockholm Petition was "spurious" and deceptive.

Church Bodies for Intergroup Relations

All of the major religious groups have increasingly developed channels of their own to deal directly with the problems of intergroup relations. The National Council of the Churches of Christ has continually strengthened its Department of Race and Cultural Relations and recently the Division of Christian Education of that body has added a special committee on intergroup relations. The Catholic Interracial Councils report an annual growth in numbers and in influence and the Catholic Committee of the South has faced problems of racial segregation and discrimination with courage and clarity. The Synagogue bodies express themselves through special committees, and both they and the Jewish defense agencies have evidenced broad concern in better human relations not only religious but racial as well.

Religious Textbook Reform

One of the fruits of these efforts to improve intergroup attitudes within particular religious groups is the marked change that has taken place in Protestant religious educational literature. A study initiated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, but carried on now for a number of years by the American Jewish Committee, reveals much less tendency on the part of the writers of religious texts to indulge in stereotypes or to treat unfairly members of racial or religious groups.

Official Human Relations Agencies

Perhaps the most important recent development in official municipal and state human relations agencies lies in their widening responsibilities for the enforcement of all anti-discrimination legislation.

In Cleveland the Community Relations Board, in existence under ordinance for many years, was given the responsibility of administering the new Cleveland FEP law adopted January 30, 1950. The soon-to-be-established Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations will have even wider jurisdiction.

Under the newly-adopted City Charter of Philadelphia, this new Commission "shall administer all laws prohibiting discrimination against persons because of race, religion or national origin, and shall exercise the powers and perform the duties heretofore exercised and performed by the Philadelphia FEP Commission." The Chicago Commission on Human Relations recently has undertaken the enforcement of the limited Chicago FEP ordinance (1945) and is also developing organizations at the local community level which will deal with the problems of human relations in given neighborhoods.

State Commissions

At the state level, the Connecticut Interracial Commission has now been established as the Connecticut State Commission on Civil Rights and its jurisdiction enlarged from FEP law enforcement only to enforcement of the Nondiscrimination Housing Act, and the civil rights laws concerning places of public accommodations, as well. The Division of Discrimination of the New Jersey Department of Education likewise has been designated to handle all complaints of discrimination in places of public accommodations, as well as educational discrimination and employment discrimination.

The Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination also has moved beyond administration of the state FEP law (which now includes a provision prohibiting discrimination in employment because of age). It now has the responsibility of administering the newly strengthened legislative act (enacted August 1950) which governs public accommodations, and also the law regarding discrimination in housing.

Mayors' and Governors' Committees

The number and status of official Mayor's and Governor's committees on human relations also continue to grow. The Mayor of Waukegan, Illinois has just appointed a Mayor's Committee. A Municipal Commission on Group Relations has been established by ordinance in Paterson, New Jersey and a full time Executive Director has been appointed. In January 1951, the City of Denver, Colorado placed its Mayor's Committee under ordinance with increased budget and gave it a new name "The Denver Commission on Human Relations." Within the past two years, Racine, Wisconsin and Portland, Oregon have established permanent commissions on intergroup relations, but have yet to give them a budget and staff.

The 1951 session of the Illinois Legislature substantially increased the budget of the Illinois Interracial Commission and renamed it the "Illinois Commission on Human Relations." The Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Human Rights has received additional budget and staff. Both the Illinois and Wisconsin commissions have been given widened responsibilities with regard to places of public accommodation.

Human Relations in Education

Discernible trends during the past year or so include an encouraging spread of school system workshops as a method of in-service training. Such workshops were introduced, for example, in Akron, New York City, and Jersey City. Summer Session Workshops continue to be a popular development in the intergroup field. Some schools and their enrollments last summer include New York University (162 enrolled), San Francisco State College (60), Rutgers (58), Catholic University (30), Harvard (30), Teachers College (31), University of Miami (54).

Human Relations Centers

Departments of intergroup relations, or Human Relations Centers continue to develop. The most important of the latter developments, perhaps, was that at the University of Pennsylvania, under the leadership of Dr. Martin Chworowsky. Without exception, the Centers in the various colleges report increases in student enrollment with each succeeding semester. This is a measure of the growing interest in this field of education.

Attack on Education

Perhaps the most serious threat to good intergroup relations so far as education is concerned has been the attacks on public education by extreme conservative groups. The Pasadena story is now well-known. Englewood, New Jersey, White Plains, New York and numerous other communities have had to contend with this type of reaction. Educational administrators were so alarmed that at their Atlantic City meeting in the late spring, they passed a resolution designed to alert the country to this threat. Allen Zoll has been one of the prime movers in this effort at discrediting public education.

Also worthy of mention is the attack on academic freedom in the schools and colleges. At the present time the University of Ohio faculty is fighting a "gag rule" which threatens to extinguish the light of academic freedom. Not only must speakers be screened by the president, but questionnaires for research purposes must also have the approval of his office.

Labor and Intergroup Relations

A marked increase of intergroup relations activities sponsored and initiated by organized labor has been evident during the past year. Quietly, a gradual breakdown of discriminatory practices is taking place in the internal structure of the unions. A sense of urgency has stepped up the pace and the opposition has been reduced to a hard core.

Most significant of these undramatized practical programs now being initiated by the trade unions is the breaking down of barriers to equal job opportunities, the sponsoring of rank and file education programs and the mobilization of support for civil rights legislation.

Minorities Benefited

It seems probable that more jobs for minorities have been opened up as a result of union action for equal job opportunities than by state or local FEPC. Large sections of American industry that practiced discrimination in hiring or upgrading prior to unionization have been brought into line by union pressure. Moreover, a few "lily-white" unions made radical departures from their past exclusionary policies, for the most part in compliance with state FEP laws. The AFL Machinists, the non-operating Railway Brotherhoods and the Seafarer's International union are among the unions in this category. In contrast to this are several die-hard craft unions that remain untouched by conscience or by law. Even now, in Hartford, Connecticut, the AFL Electrical Workers' Union is going into

court to fight an order from the State Interracial Commission to admit qualified Negroes to membership.

Institutes, workshops, classroom sessions, and training courses led by a competent group of labor educators are increasingly emphasizing intergroup relations to the rank and file. Day to day programs are being sponsored by Internationals, state federations and local unions. Approximately twenty Internationals now have Fair Practices Departments or Committees. Outstanding among these is the Civil Rights Department of the CIO Steelworkers Union which was established about two years ago. Thirty-four Regional Clinics on Human Relations have been planned by the Department of which approximately ten have already been held. When completed, three to four thousand secondary leaders of the union will have received training in handling problems of discrimination and prejudice in the shop. For more than five years the CIO Auto Workers Union has been carrying on a similar program. At their last convention the UAW announced that the number of local union Fair Practices Committees had more than doubled in the past year. Other unions, notably the Carpenters, AFL Auto Workers and the AFL Meat Cutters, are beginning to produce their own films and educational materials for use in this area. Last year the CIO Packinghouse Workers, sponsored an important research study with Fisk University designed to determine the extent and methods of handling integration in their local unions.

FEP Campaigns

No report of labor's intergroup relations program would be complete without a brief reference to the heightening of trade union participation in legislative campaigns, particularly in Ohio, where observers agree, nine FEP Ordinances were passed this year almost exclusively in response to labor backing.

These practical programs reflect the growing trend on the part of organized labor to wage its own program in behalf of better human relations.

The United Nations

While the failure of the United Nations Organization to realize the vast hopes placed in it at its inception six years ago has occasioned disappointment, its activities in the social, economic and cultural areas, which are of particular interest to community relations agencies, merit a more optimistic appraisal. The present article will comment on three areas of the UN's work in the economic and social field: the Covenant on Human Rights, the Genocide Convention, and UNESCO.

Human Rights

The program to promote respect for human rights, a keystone of the UN, was initiated in 1947 when the Commission on Human Rights projected the adoption by the UN of an International Bill of Rights. On December 10, 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—a broad statement of principles to which the signatory nations morally obligate themselves—was adopted. A legally binding Covenant on Human Rights and a scheme for implementation of this Covenant are now in the drafting stages and have been several times considered and reconsidered in the Commission, Economic and Social Council, and the General Assembly. Although many differences of viewpoint have been reconciled, major issues remain as obstacles to completion of the Covenant:

(1) Whether the Covenant should be limited to articles dealing mainly with the traditional civil and political rights or whether it should also include economic, social and cultural rights, as is done to some extent in the Declaration of Human Rights.

(2) Whether the right of complaint or petition for violations of the Covenant should be accorded to individuals or private organizations, or be limited to states.

Some who can find only disillusionment about the UN in this record forget that we are here concerned with an enterprise intended to meet not an immediate crisis or situation, but to set up standards of international behavior for generations to come, and that it is infinitely more important to build solidly than to move swiftly.

Genocide Convention

The Genocide Convention which came into force on January 12, 1951, after 20 nations had submitted their ratification, for the first time in history makes an international crime of genocide—defined as the destruction of national, ethnic, racial or religious groups.

To date, only France, of the major powers has become a party to this Convention. Despite the leading role played by American representatives in the UN in developing the Convention, and despite the supporting activity in this country on the part of private organizations, the Convention still rests in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Southern members of Congress and certain elements of the press and legal profession are stubbornly opposed to the Convention, on the ground that the Convention is a device for taking many matters of civil rights out of state control through the use of the federal treaty power.

Many groups in the country concerned with furthering the goals of international protection of human rights are becoming fearful that unless Congress acts favorably on the Genocide Convention, there is little likelihood that it will ever consider seriously the more far-reaching Covenant. Therefore, the ratification of the Genocide Convention, apart from its intrinsic merits, is a vital goal whose achievement may not be delayed.

UNESCO

Turning to UNESCO, the specific projects which it has undertaken are too numerous even to list. Of particular interest to community relations agencies are the studies and researches into the problem of discrimination and minorities which UNESCO has undertaken. Its activities in this field are summarized in a September, 1951, report to the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. These activities are grouped under three headings: a) propagation of scientific data concerning the racial question and, in particular, of the "Statement on Race" prepared by a committee of experts in 1949; b) investigations undertaken with a view to making positive contributions to the solution of problems connected with discrimination against ethnic and cultural groups, and c) studies of problems relating to the cultural assimilation of immigrants.

Under (a), is included the publication in many languages of an impressive series of pamphlets under the general heading of *The Race Question in Modern Science*. In pursuance of a resolution adopted at the sixth session of its General Confer-

ence last summer, UNESCO has projected a series of pilot investigations in six countries to be carried on in collaboration with scientific institutions and scholars, to analyze the practical methods used in various countries to reduce tensions engendered by the existence of ethnic and cultural minorities, and to appraise the results achieved. UNESCO has also under way studies on the social and cultural aspects of migration, including the cultural assimilation of immigrants. Finally, in the fields of education, UNESCO has been conducting activities designed to develop suggestions on ways of introducing the Declaration of Human Rights into school curricula, including organizing seminars for teachers, and publishing a volume which will be a kind of anthology of the most important documents in the history of the struggle for human rights.

Even this superficial review of one facet of UNESCO's program indicates how close it is in conception to the programs and philosophies of community relations agencies in this country. Indeed, it would not be incorrect to describe UNESCO as a UN community relations agency.

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Managing Editor

SAMUEL SPIEGLER

Human Relations in the Mass Media

From the special viewpoint of the intergroup relations worker, one of the most striking developments in recent years in the whole field of communication—including literature, the theatre, motion pictures, radio and television—has been a lifting of the taboo on open discussion of prejudice and discrimination.

Since *Focus* and *Gentleman's Agreement* proved that such subjects can be made into best sellers, there has been a growing volume of fiction based on or dealing in sub-plots with many aspects of discriminatory treatment of minorities in our country and with the human drama which it produces. Popular magazines, like the *Ladies Home Journal, Life, Colliers,* have carried articles as well as stories on such intergroup relations themes. And, as any televiewer or radio listener can testify, the loud speakers and the video screens almost every day carry the message of tolerance, understanding, and amity among men of all races and creeds.

Indeed, it is the wide acceptance of such material as the normal stuff of entertainment and information that strikes the reflective observer as so noteworthy.

Sponsors and broadcasters alike have been cooperative in disseminating the message. Spot announcements, exploiting such stage and screen personalities as Loretta Young, Groucho Marx, Lionel Barrymore, Broderick Crawford, among many others, have become standard fare. Such popular television shows as the Milton Berle Show, Captain Video, Magic Cottage often feature intergroup relations content.

Despite some controversies—as in the case of *Oliver Twist* and the *Amos and Andy* program—the role of the entertainment media in the realm of human relationships must be regarded as an increasingly positive one. And most heartening of all is the evidence of a trend toward more and more honest and fearless facing up to the issues in human relations by serious writers and producers in literary and entertainment media.

[Ed. note: a fuller treatment of this field is planned in a forthcoming issue.]

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December 3, 1951

Mr. Ernest Campbell
The College of Wooster
Wooster, Ohio

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Very many thanks for the copy of the talk and the $2.69.

I think the talk quite good and have handed it over to our research girl, who is compiling a report for the Tuskegee Year Book on race relations in the South.

Here is our latest issue of New South, with a good speech from South Carolina.

Why don't you join the Council? Then you will get our things right along.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE COLLEGE OF WOOSTER
WOOSTER, OHIO

Nov. 12, 1951

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your packet of materials, in payment for which my check for $2.69 is enclosed. The materials were very helpful. In the chance you might be interested, I am enclosing a copy of the poorly organized speech that resulted; you will be able to detect the very frequent use of your materials.

Last fall I made the mistake (?) of complaining to a Hattiesburg, Miss. judge about his use of the term "nigger" in his charge to the grand jury. The judge saw the state senator, the senator saw the dean and president, and I received no contract from Mississippi Southern College for this year. So I'm out of the South for the present! But my heart remains there, and I feel there whatever contribution I have to make to racial understanding will best be made. So I maintain a keen interest in your admirable organization.

Very truly yours,
Ernest Campbell

It is hard, perhaps impossible, for anyone to report dispassionately and evaluatively on the subject of race relations. There was a time, no more, when we thought that being a resident of an area north of the Mason-Dixon line was an automatic qualification for objective observation, but now we know that all too frequently there is in such instances either a prejudice against prejudice or a failure to understand the nature and complexity of the folkways and mores of the Southern region. Likewise, the Southerner likes to maintain that "I know the situation and the Negro better than anybody else because I've experienced it, and hence I know best how to size up what needs to be done." Yet we know that this "knowledge" is so selected and so out-of-focus that it must be viewed as quite incomplete.

As for myself, about all I can say is that my heart's in the right place. I am a Southerner in exile, in a sense run out because I could not tolerate a steady diet of its frequent narrowness, yet firmly convinced that my"life-calling" will somehow lie in working in, through, and with the South in finding what Dr. Rupert Vance has called "The South's future for the Nation".

My task tonight is to try to review and assess recent changes in the pattern of race relations in the South. May I before beginning express this conviction: That those who are emotionally concerned, and who of us is not, must guard against the tendency to interpret the improvements as being more significant than they really are, and the regressions as being more disheartening than they really are. For the South is infinitely complex! It is rapidly changing, and rapid social change is never smooth and

even. The change is confusing, and terribly hard to interpret in context.

Writing in the July 15 1951 issue of The New York Times magazine, Lillian Smith, whose books Strange Fruit and Killers of The Dream many of you are doubtless familiar with, a native Southerner and resident of north Georgia, concludes that "Ten years from today racial segregation as a legal way of life will be gone from Dixie. Although signs will still be nailed in a few people's minds and hearts, the signs over doors - those words 'White' and 'Colored' that have cheapened Democracy throughout the world - will be down." This is a startling and quite an optimistic prediction. Her evidence may be summarized briefly, and it is fairly impressive: 1) "hundreds of Negro students are enrolled in Southern white colleges and universities"; 2) the "abolition of restrictions in dining cars"; 3) Negro policemen on nearly every city police force; 4)Negro trained nurses more fully integrated into the national association of graduate nurses with their full rights as to equal salaries, etc.; 5) "The masks are off the Ku Klux Klan" in several states; 6) more than 750,000 Negroes voted in recent elections and indications are 1,500,000 will vote in 1952; 7) many Southern libraries have opened their research departments to Negro scholars; 8)unsegregated audiences are more and more; 9)the problem of race justice is "more and more on the conscience of the South".

Now I do not agree with Miss Smith. I could city many evidences other than those she cites and still not agree with her. But to be fair to her, let me hasten to note that she admits the evidences she mentions are "only holes in the Dam". Her stated basic justi-

fication for her opening conclusion is that old taboos, which depended on non-questioning attitudes, fear and silence, are now being openly questioned and doubted and hence must inevitably crumble. Her implicit justification is the assumption that once the forces of non-segregation have been started, once the social change has been set in process, nothing can prevail against it. Also implicit is the belief that the evidences on the other side of the ledger, some of which I hope to mention later, are to be marked off as nothing more than, as V. O. Key Jr. states as regards the Dixiecrat movement of 1948, "the last gasp of a dying South". And finally, there is the assumption that the folkways of racial separation are really not a part of the basic fabric of Southern culture.

Let me begin by trying to paint an optimistic while at the same time a realistic picture, so far as it goes, of recent developments in the South. I shall concentrate on educational, religious, and political developments.

In the educational field there is indeed much evidence of activity and challenge: In Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Texas, Maryland, Arkansas, and Louisiana, seven of the ~~18~~ 13 Southern states, at least one Negro is enrolled in "white" undergraduate and/or graduate schools. In the other six states, legal suits, the results of which are virtually foreordained, are either in process or likely to be instituted at any time. In two states (both numbered among the six states in which at present no Negroes are enrolled in "white" colleges) suits demanding admission of Negroes into the white public school system are in process. In South Carolina, a three-man Federal judge tribunal in a split decision refused to concede that

segregation is in and of itself discrimination, and the decision is being appealed. In Georgia, suit is being brought against the Atlanta public school system on substantially the same grounds. The wheels of justice grind slowly and no decision has been reached here. In all of the southern states substantial steps have been taken toward the equalization of salaries and facilities, especially the former, but only one southern state, North Carolina, can make claim that educational opportunity even approximates equality. (And I might mention parenthetically that at times these "equalization appropriations" are not so good as they sound. For example, the Mississippi legislature two years ago appropriated several millions of dollars to bring Negro teacher salaries up to par. What was neglected in the resultant favorable publicity was the fact that this was a special appropriation, made for only two years, with no guarantee whatever that this would become a permanent feature of the state's educational administration, and the use of the funds was left to the discretion of county superintendents.) Many local instances can be found where Negro school facilities are much better than the local white facilities, and it is a paradoxical fact that in Mississippi the average number of years of schooling is higher for Negro than for white teachers.

It would be worthwhile for us to briefly review the recent history of legislation regarding educational opportunity. This history begins in 1938 with the famous Gaines vs. Missouri case, in which the Supreme Court ruled that Gaines, a Negro, was not receiving equal graduate school educational opportunity and hence must be admitted to the University of Missouri law school. It did not rule at that time that segregation is in and of itself a violation of the equal protection

under law clause of the 14th amendment, and hence did nothing to challenge the legal standing granted the "separate but equal" concept by the Plessy vs. Ferguson case of 1893. Since 1938, court cases until the last couple of years have aimed at achieving equality regardless of how it was arrived at.

Following the Gaines decision, the Southern states have evidenced varying degrees of willingness to "set their hous in order". As a matter of fact, only one state, Arkansas, has admitted Negroes to its graduate facilities without the necessity of litigation, although both Kentucky and North Carolina has gone somewhat beyond the letter of the decisions. This adamantness has forced Negroes in each state to press legal charges in order to gain admission to white schools. This has been concentrated on the graduate level. Supreme Court rulings on two additional cases will be mentioned here. In the first, Hermann Sweatt, a Negro, applied for admission in 1946 to the University of Texas law school and, though otherwise qualified, was refused because of his race. A state trial court recognized that his right to a legal education was impaired, and gave the state six months in which to supply equal facilities. A law school for Negroes was set up, but Sweatt refused to register. At a resultant hearing, the trial court ruled that the opportunity now presented was "substantially equivalent" and so denied his appeal. In its ruling, the U. S. Supreme Court took what may be considered a first step toward questioning the "separate but equal" doctrine, when it ruled "The University of Texas Law School possesses to a far greater degree those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school. Such qualities...include reputation

of the faculty, experience of the administration, position and influence of the alumni, standing in the community, and prestige." In other words, they here established a precedent of questioning whether equality can be measued in terms of physical facilities and number of faculty. In this same case, the court refused to rule on broader constitutional issues by remarking that "...this court will decide constitutional questions only when necessary to the disposition of the case at hand, and that such decisions will be drawn as narrowly as possible."

The second case is somewhat different. The state of Oklahoma, following a Supreme Court ruling of 1948, had admitted Negroes to the university but had followed a practice of separating Negro students from whites in classrooms, libraries, and the cafeteria. One of them, G. W. McLaurin, filed suit; hence in this case, the Supreme Court faced the question, May a state, having admitted a student to graduate instruction in its state university, afford him different treatment solely because of his race? McLaurin had at first been required to sit apart in an anteroom adjoining the classroom, to sit at a designated desk on the mezzamine floor of the library, and to eat at a designated table and at a different time in the cafeteria. Following the suit, but prior to the Supreme Court ruling, these were amended so that he was given a seat <u>in</u> the classroom in a row specified for colored students, assigned a table on the main floor in the library, and permitted to eat at the same time though at a special table. The Supreme Court ruled that this differential treatment was, indeed, discrimination.

There are two significant portions of their ruling to which I should like to call your attention. The first comes <u>very close</u> to admitting that segregation is in itself evidence of discrimination

when the ruling records, "...the State...sets McLaurin apart from the other students. The result is that appellant is handicapped in his pursuit of effective graduate instruction. Such restrictions impair and inhibit his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession."

The second deals with the Court's view of the relation of law to the question of personal preference and prejudice: "It may be argued that appellant will be in no better position when these restrictions are removed, for he may still be set apart from his fellow students. There is a vast difference - a Constitutional difference - between restrictions imposed by the state which prohibit the intellectual commingling of students, and the refusal of individuals to commingle when the state presents no such bar. The removal of the state restrictions will not necessarily abate individual and group predilections, prejudices, and choices. But at the very least, the state will not be depriving appellant of the opportunity to secure acceptance by his fellow students on his own merits."

Now that is essentially the picture on college and university training; over half the states have or have had at least one Negro student regularly enrolled, mainly on the graduate level. It is here that I want to take issue with one of Miss Smith's assumptions - that once this process has begun, there is no turning back but rather acceleration. First, let me mention that states in which litigation has not begun (Arkansas excepted) have not moved to voluntarily fall in line with Supreme Court rulings (other than to arrange a program of regional education, which is based on segregation); they seem to

to be biding their time, whether in vain or not we cannot be very certain. Second, those universities which at least one Negro now attends have not seemed over-anxious to "fling their doors wide open" to Negro students; it begins to appear that, barring specific Supreme Court rulings, any save a very few Negroes who wish admission must be willing to go to the time, trouble, and great expense of bringing suit. Third, and perhaps most important, those states in which Negroes have been admitted have not accepted non-segregation as inevitable and desirable, but rather seem to be continuing the idea of trying to improve segregated educational opportunities. Again barring a specific Supreme Court ruling, one of two, or both, things may result contrary to Miss Smith's prediction: 1)recent agitation may see the Negro with greatly improved educational opportunity (it can hardly help but, one way or the other, should current Negro energies continue) but on a segregated basis; 2)the various states may admit a few Negroes to white schools in order to create the impression of compliance with the law, and hope that their stubbornness will discourage the beginning of a whole new round of legal activities. All told, a South in which most whites and most Negroes receive any part of their education together seems a long, long way off - certainly much more than ten years off.

And be it noted again that the Supreme Court has not said that segregation is in and of itself discrimination. This is the source of much confusion. The President's Commission on Civil Rights maintained in 1947 that separate but equal is inherently unattainable, and many have confused this with a Supreme Court ruling/

No holes have as yet appeared in the dam on the high school and elementary school levels. Two legal cases of interest are in process. In both of these, and of importance, the plaintiffs attack the idea that separate can be equal. Also of importance is the fact that in both instances the defense has raised no question as to the rights of Negroes to an equal education. In the first case, Negro residents of rural Clarendon County, South Carolina, asked that the court overrule South Carolina's school segregation law on the grounds that it constituted discrimination. In a split decision, the three U. S. judges, all Southerners, ruled on June 23 1951 that equal facilities must be granted the Negro children of that district but that "How this shall be done is a matter for the school authorities and not for the court"; it further ruledtthat the defendants must file within six months a report showing the action that had been taken to carry out the order; still further, that "...segregation of the races in the public schools, so long as equality of rights is preserved, is a matter of legislative policy for the several states, with which the federal courts are powerless to interfere." The ruling is being appealed, and if the Supreme Court chances to review it we may at long last get something on the question of whether "separate" can possibly be "equal".

On September 19 1950 in Atlanta 200 Negroes filed suit against the Atlanta School Board, the action being a direct attack on the segregated school system. Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, explained the rationale of the suit as follows: "to argue that the suit makes an attack on segregation because the initiators of the suit want Negro children to go to school with white

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children is to miss the point entirely...There is a growing conviction among Negroes that if one racial group makes all the laws and administers them, holds all the power and administers it, and has all the public money and distributes it, it is too much to expect that group to deal as fairly with the weak, minority, non-particating group as it deals with its own." Dr. Mays further raises the question, If the separate but equal doctrine, which has stood for 75 years, is functional, why is it necessary to file suit in the first place? I am quite a few months behind on this case, but the last I heard there was legal bickering as to whether or not the case could be heard.

In short, I cannot believe that the easy optimism of many who are sincerely interested in the welfare of the Negro is completely justified. I shouldthikn the optimism would stem more from the awakening tendency to question and demand than from the concrete achievements to date. Above all, eliminate any notion you may have that a Supreme Court decision today creates a Negro utopia by nightfall.

Concrete data in the religious sphere is not so easily attained as on educational developments. The several denominations have given varied emphases and varied stress to the subject. It may be through these efforts, however, thatmuch of unmeasurable worth will be done. For Southerners are a church-going people, and leadership stemming from the churches can have powerful consequences. Unfortunately, the numerically most powerful church in the region, the Southern Baptists, have as yet done very little toward coming to grips with the problem. Its Social Service Commission, a minor administrative division, does publish a very liberal newssheet entitled Light, but Light is not typical. The Methodist church, the region's second largest, has faced the issue head-on, both in its literature and in sponsoring an annual Race Relations Sunday. But her, a look at the leadership

efforts from the "front offices" without appraising the results as evidenced in the local congregations, would create a misleading and much too optimistic a picture. The reaction that the rapid leadership has stirred up is regrettable. Let me illustrate: Last February, on Race Relations Sunday, not a single Methodist church in Hattiesburg, Miss. took cognizance of the day; something akin to an organized movement against use of the Methodist literature has developed in various parts of the South; and there is a widespread tendency to write it off as being the consequence of the "mistake" of joining up with the "Yankee Methodists" - hence it is to be taken with a box of salt.

Yet while all this and much more that is depressing is true, let me hasten to note, in bearing out my point of paradox in the South, the widespread evidences of a willingness to re-examine and to ask what the Church is to do ~~to on/a~~ in a changing South. Southern church women, under the leadership of the YWCA and the Southern Regional Council, have been notably active on the local community level. State-wide church bodies have adopted resolutions called for "fair play" and "first-class citizenship" for the Negro. More ministers have had the courage to raise questions and challenges from the pulpit. The literature has often been aggressive and critical. Many with "hearts in the right place" have found to their surprise that wich tact and forebearance they can say and do many things they had feared to do. For example, on the same Sunday last February that not a single Methodist minister in Hattiesburg touched the subject of race, I went in the pulpit of a rural church pastored by a former Sociology major at Mississippi Southern College, only

ten miles out of Hattiesburg, and spoke frankly and openly. The pastor reports, perhaps only out of courtesy, that the talk was well received; I do know that the people were most kind in their remarks to me. Interracial meetings, while not common, do occur, and Charles S. Johnson reported several years ago that in only one Southern state did white and Negro college youth fail to meet together, usually under the sponsorship of the YM and YWCA. Many of the seminaries are admitting Negroes on a non-segregated basis, and multitudes of meetings face in one fashion or another the question of racial justice. This is all wholesome and promising.

The following statement needs to be made, though I wouldnnot want it to apply to all Southerners; for there are many who fall on either side of this characterization. But at least as regards many, perhaps more in the church than out of it, the following is true: They have been led to think as they have never thought before on the status of the Negro in Southern life. They are ready and willing to admit that all is not well and that by any standard of justice or Christianity the South has been wrong. They are searching for the answer. Yet they are neither emotionally nor mentally prepared to face the full and logical consequences of their deliberations. They wonder what the end is. More specifically, they cannot face the issue as regards the sacred cow SEGREGATION. Much of the hemming and hawing, much of the aimless accusations and seeming irrationality of the Southerner should be interpreted in this context. To vivify this point, let me quote at length from the 1950 Report on Christian Relations of the Alabama Synod of the Presbyterian Church. In many ways it is an admirable and courageous stand, while in other ways it represents

nearsightedness and this seeking to dodge ultimates I have been talking about: "The church approaches the problem on tip-toe, hoping the sleeping giant will not be disturbed. In the words of John Randolph - 'Our policy has been one of wise and masterly inactivity.' There has been a marked improvement in the condition of the Negro in the last decade but the Presbyterian Church has not been nearly so important an instrument as have been the secular agencies...The Negro of the South is thrown into a galling dilemma. We encourage him to be clean but rent him houses with no bath facilities, to be healthy in moldy shacks on unpaved streets; ...to finish his schooling when he has to work to eat; to vote when registrars ask impossible questions; to love his country which shows little affection for him...We arefaced with two inevitables, the Federal Constitution and the Christian conscience. Both dictate that legal segregation shall not last forever. Therefore we may as well admit the removal of legal segregation to be the end toward which we work. Segregation is living on borrowed time...Legal segregation is stigmatic, oppressive. It can, and as a matter of prophecy, will be replaced by segregation by covenant. There will be no more danger of amalgamation or miscegenation than there has been. Natural preferences and antipathies will preserve the identity of the two races...These things we can do today: Work toward all possible accomplishment under the separate but equal doctrine now in effect...The Committee has not tempered this report to achieve a unanimity of opinion."

To those who think of the South in terms of the Bilboes, Rankins, Talmadges, and (unfortunately I must include him) Jimmy Brynes will call this a startling and an encouraging document. And so it is! But it is also a shallow and essentially an evasive one!

On the political and public service scene, the picture is typical - that is, confusing and paradoxical. Its central focus seems to be the desire to maintain public segregation at all costs. While I hate to dignify certain utterances and actions by referring to them, I must mention several. Most recently, a candidate who, like all his opponents, promised the voters that "While I am governor, segregation laws will not be broken down, Supreme Court or no Supreme Court", was elected governor of Mississippi. His predecessor, Fielding Wright, said "We shall insist upon segregation, regardless of the cost or consequences". Governor Talmadge of Georgia, promising that "As long as I am governor, Negroes will not be admitted to white schools", pushed through the 1951 legislature an act providing that no state funds shall go to any publicly supported institutions which admit Negro students - even if they do so by court order. And in South Carolina, Jimmy Byrnes, stating that "We will, if it is possible, live within the law, preserve the public school system, and at the same time maintain segregation. If that is not possible, reluctantly we will abandon the public school system. To do that would be choosing the lesser of two great events, pushed through his legislature an act authorizing the selling or leasing of public school facilities to private individuals or groups in the event segregation should be ordered discontinued. All of these governors, by the way, have admitted that the Negro is entitled to "substantially equal" educational opportunity. And Roy Harris, legislative leader for the Talmadge forces, publicly stated, "There are not enough Federal soldiers or enough Federal bayonets in the U. S. to put (white and Negro students) in the same classroom during the next four years".

This is not all the discouraging happenings. In recent elections in North Carolina, Florida, and Texas the race issue has been raised and liberal candidates have gone down in defeat. Even though the Supreme Court ruled on June 5 1950 that "Where a dining car is available to passengers holding tickets entitling them to use it, each such passenger is equally entitled to its facilities..." (Elmer W. Henderson vs. ICC and SRR), the railroads have been slow to adjust their egulations accordingly and have seemed to agreetthat so long as specific Negroes (or whites) do not demand their legal rights, things will go on as before. Here, there, and yonder hate-sheets have sprung up.

Yet there are healthy developments that to my mind more than counteract these discouraging episodes. Let me mention a few. One year ago, the Southern Regional Council reported that 77 cities in 13 Southern states had 369 uniformed, 41 plainclothes, and 17 policewomen on their police forces. This development evidences a type of ~~pled~~ appeal that may have significant influence in the future; the development has come about not by pleading or talking of "rights" so much as by indicating it's just plain common sense. At least one state (North Carolina) has recently appointed a Negro, Dr. Harold Trigg, to the state board of education. The executive committee of the Southern Regional Council, composed of leading every-day Southern citizens, has called upon the Southern governors to continue this precedent by appointing Negrores to such as boards of health and education, public welfare, prison, park and recreation, licensing, registration, and planning boards. It is to be hoped and, I believe, expected that these things too are "just plain common sense". Several cities have appointed Negro precinct captains. Raleigh and Roanoke,

among others, have appointed Negroes to their school boards. Instances of Negroes running for public office have recently occurred in most of the Southern states and in a few instances their efforts have been successful.e.g. Kentucky has a Negro state legislator, Richmond a city councilman, Winston-Salem and Fayetteville a member of the Board of Aldermen. These are very few, of course, but the future may very well seeaadditions along this line. Heartening yet less tangible is the frequent willingness of white officials to at least give lip-service to "equality of opportunity", specifically applied to Negroes, and the rapidly disappearing inclination to justify racial distinctions in terms of innate superiority and inferiority.

Outside the South, the two most widely publicized areas of political disadvantage for the Negro are the poll tax and lynching: this likely stems from the emphasis given these by the President's Commission on Civil Rights. It behooves us to review briefly what has happened in these areas.

The poll tax remains in six states: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. It requires one to pay for the privilege of voting, but this payment, typically about $1.50, is not a formidable barrier during these prosperous times. Its real significance lies in the discriminatory administration to which it is subject and the corresponding power it gives local courthouse officials. Yet the significance of the poll tax as a means of disfranchisement is declining. In every Southern state Negroes have voted in both local and national elections, and the attempts to declare local party organizations "private clubs" have met with defeat; likewise, the attempted adjustment of limiting registration to a small number of

"safe" Negroes, while it still works in varying instances, is decreasingly effective. There seems little doubt that more Negroes will vote in 1952 than in any previous elections.

The right to a fair and impartial trial is increasingly the right of the Negro. I do not mean to gloss over the inadequacies in making that statement. Most courst will not admit Negro lawyers to practice, and while much to-do has been made over Negroes serving on juries, the typical jury is still all-white. The picture is best on the Federal court level and dirtiest on the local court level. The clear fact remains that no Southern state has given capital punishment to a participant in a lynching mob. But very imprtant steps have been taken. Negroes have served on juries, and Southern whites in the Federal whites have seen the spectacle of a Negro lawyer cross-examining a white man. Local law enforcement officials have almost typically displayed courage in defending Negro prisoners or suspects from angered mobs, though here too flagrant exceptions have occurred. The number of lynchings has declined to virtual non-occurrence, and, more important sociologically, the technique of controlling the Negro's behavior through the implicit or explicit threat of bodily harm or lynching is no longer so effective. While none of the last 15 years has been free of lynchings, neither has any of these years had as many as 10. Both the number of successful and unsuccessful lynchings has dropped to statistical insignificance.

Some, including the Southern Regional Council, make the point that this dwindling number of lynchings is not a reliable index of injustice, and point to the bombing of Negro-owned houses, Negroes needlessly shot "in the course of arrest", more abductions, more floggings, in 1950. While we may grant the possibility that this is

only change rather than progress, I maintain that it is a possibility and not a probability.

There is a background factor underlying most if not all of the changes we have documented. It is of importance. It is the shifting population characteristics of the Negro. While in most of the Southern states the Negro constitutes one-fourth or more of the total population, there is no longer any state in which he constitutes as much as one-half the population, and only two (?) in which he constitutes as much as 40%. Mississippi will serve as an illustration. In 1940 the state's Negro population (really, non-white) was ~~49~~ 49.3% of the total; in 1950 it was 45.5%. In that 10 year span, the white population increased by 82,000, the non-white decreased by 87,000. This wholesale scattering of the Negro, accomplished by migration, has resulted in a dispersal that has lessened tensions and created opportunities not before existent. For example, a state will be less hesitant to grant suffrage if it cannot find even numerical grounds for its contention that "Negroes will take over the government if we let them vote".

Please do not nod your heads in solemn agreement when I make the following statement: I have talked too long. In summarizing, let me make these observations: All over the South there are men and women of good will whose voices and hands are repeatedly raised to challenge the South to re-think its values, to throw off its legacy and apply what they in no manner of hypocrisy have defined as Christianity and democracy. These men and women are the great hope of the South. Essentially they face two great bulwarks. One is the accumulated tradition of hates and fears, of discriminations and prejudice, stemming, as Dr. Howard W. Odum has so vividly indicated, not from the

innate badness or evil of the Southern people but from historical circumstance. The other is the region's stereotyped picture of the Negro, which significantly persists and which is perhaps based more on fact than many of us with "hearts in the right place" like to admit. Though it must be obvious to all of us that the reasons lie in lack of opportunity rather than in lack of capacity, the unfortunate fact is that, for whatever cause, multitudes of southern Negroes do have somewhat close resemblance to the stereotype. It is that that the "do-gooders" do not like to acknowledge (and I run the risk of being labelled "just another Southerner" in acknowledging it), but it is a fact and I believe balance requires we fact it. It is an additional unfortunacy that it is the above type that the typical white South-enere typically contacts, for both numerical reasons and the fact that those Negroes who can afford to isolate themselves from contacts with the white mass. Now I must express the fear that to many of both white and Negro the agitation for more rights and equal treatment has little if any meaning. And many white Southerners, when hearing talks about "equality" and "rights" and "abolition of segregation" and "democracy of race" may be inclined to conjure up his image of the Negro, stare incredulously, and be heard to murmur, "What in the world are they raving about?".

All told, things are promising. But we must not expect achievement by next Wednesday. There are so many areas for promising development, so many possible reactions, so much that law cannot control, so much amazing ingenuity exercised in upholding the status quo, that the sigh "All is well" will not be heard for a long, long time. But the discussion, the painful re-examination, the challenges and the forums,

the increasing number of people who are willing to say unequivocally to their fellow Southerners, "This is wrong - wrong by any decent standards you care to mention - and we must demonstrate our maturity by shouldering our own burden and doing something about it." - these things, plus the legal agitation and the increasing self-responsibility and leadership of and among the Negroes - these things are promising and encouraging.

ORGANIZED LABOR

From: "Progress and Problems in Race Relations in the Southern States," prepared for the NEGRO YEARBOOK, 1952 by the Southern Regional Council.

The labor movement is still another field in which the racial taboos of the older South are giving ground.

Organized labor has in the last dozen years achieved in most of the South at least grudging acceptance. No one is summoning all forces to drive it out of the building trades in the major cities, or off the railways, or out of coal mining, steel, automobile and aricraft assembly, pulp and paper-making, the chemical industry or meat-packing. It has been weak in textiles, in the oil industry, furniture-making, and the garment trades. But through the whole South it numbers over two million members, and in many towns, many trades, and many mills it is a stable force, winning increasing respect and usefulness.

Several of the Southern states are now approaching the point at which a majority of the gainfully employed people will be in industry or commerce, rather than agriculture, and in these new occupations they are subject to trade union jurisdiction. To the increasingly urban Negro population of the South the attitude of the unions toward Negro employment and Negro union membership is of critical importance.

Unions are for all their stated idealism very practical organizations, and they are apt to expend their energy in short-run self-protection. Thus it was basic to the trade unionism of twenty years ago in the South that it was a white man's movement. White carpenters organized to protect themselves as much against Negro carpenters as against the builders; and so with most of the local craft organization. Practically

all the shop crafts--machinists, electricians, boilermakers, and so on--were organized and still continue as white monopolies. State Federations of Labor were white federations of labor. There were exceptions. The Negro plasterers have a long history of separate local unions. So have the brickmasons, and one or two other building trades. And Southern labor conventions were not complete without a handful of Negro delegates, rather humble, who stood as witnesses to a stated ultimate goal of inclusiveness. The practical situation was that the skilled and semiskilled jobs were few, the white people held most of them, and that white people organized to keep them.

It was the principle of organizing everybody in a given mill or industry that gave the Negro a better chance in Southern unionism. And given an industry employing a goodly proportion of Negro people--meat-packing, coal and ore mining, iron and steel, pulp and paper, woodworking, --it made not a great deal of difference whether it was the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations that took on the job. Each would be considerate of Negro interests. Unions would be ineffectual with thirty or forty per cent of the work force kept out because of color, and both races wanted the union. The result was a rapid growth of "mixed unions," beginning about 1934, and continuing with ups and downs ever since.

These unions are now sufficiently mature for their patterns to have set. Several generalizations can be made. In the first place, Negroes get an important share in the union's activity only where they are important in the industrial process. If Negroes are only five per cent of a given work force, and the plant becomes organized, the Negroes may be admitted to the union, but in condescension only. At the other end, if only a few white people work in a process almost entirely Negro,

it is hard to get the white people to come in or to stay in the union. As a rule of thumb, fifteen per cent Negro employment may be the dividing line. In the second place, union membership has not abolished race prejudice. Most white members "draw a line," and most Negro members keep to their side of the line. But the line is 'way and away further along than it used to be. It is accepted almost everywhere that the two races can meet on union business in the same hall. There are still plenty of separate Negro locals, or Negro auxiliaries, struggling along in mills or towns where the white locals do most of the business. But everybody gives status and courtesy to delegates from the Negro local. And separate locals are dying out. The usual pattern is the mixed local, with a common understanding that the Negro members will bunch together in one part of the hall, and the white workers will do the same. But there will nearly always be some from both races that pay no mind to aisles or "back and front," and it is rare to see any objection offered to such unsegregated seating.

In the third place, it is everywhere the rule that Negro union members shall have equal voice and vote. The Negro gains his first opportunity to state his needs before an attentive audience of working people of both races. This opportunity is used, to the full, and fruitfully. And the give and take of such discussion--abounding though it may be in polite but well-understood circumlocutions--breeds mutual respect. Men who have thus thought together in the union hall cannot feel the old bitterness in things outside.

Fourthly, the union furnishes an avenue of Negro advancement, by office-holding in locals, by attendance at city councils, and by taking

part in National and State union affairs. And there is a special comradeship of elected persons, in which the traditional separations are honored mainly in the breach. In this way genuine friendships are built up. And in anyone's sociology, close friendship among leadership people drawn from two groups is a long step toward inter-group understanding.

Fifthly, even the better pattern of the mixed unions has as yet done little to open better levels of employment to Negroes. Here and there can be found a union with a tight non-discrimination clause in its contract with the factory, and occastionally in a test case the union will put up a fight to get a better rating for a Negro member who can undoubtedly do the better work. And in the whole business of grievances and distribution of work, the pressure of the union will be toward greater fairness. But even in well-organized plants Negroes still do the poorer grades of work.

Lastly, the unions have done a good deal to increase Negro political participation and to get public acceptance of it. Most unions have some pretty definite political objectives, and they so seldom see their side get the most votes that they gladly urge the Negro members to take on a citizen's full duty. And they prepare the ground for it. In many a Southern town where the only voting Negroes were a dentist and a couple of preachers, and a high school principal, it was a visit from a union delegation that decided the registrar of voters to open his books at a time and place where Negroes could get their names on them.

These are the patterns, and on the whole they are meeting with agreement from both white and Negro members. At times the most startling paradoxes appear. Any Southern union official who gets around can name

you important mixed locals in which many of the white people belong also to the Ku Klux Klan ! Most locals, in actual practice, proceed in some home-made adaptation of the ringing principles of racial equality which come down from National Headquarters. But most locals, too, are well ahead of interracial arrangements outside, and share among their membership in both races a common pride in their own achievement of a working interracial society.

SECURITY OF THE PERSON IN THE SOUTH

Summary: With the decline of lynching in the South, other forms of extra-legal violence have come to the fore. Mob violence in its traditional aspects has largely been supplanted by acts of murder, brutality and terrorism committed by small groups conspiring secretly, or in some cases, by law enforcement officers themselves. Southern public opinion, however, is showing itself less and less willing to tolerate, much less condone, such acts of violence, whether committed under cover of law or not. The accute need is for modern police systems which will reflect these improved public attitudes in all their operations.

(1) Lynching: The annual report of the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute listed only one lynching for 1951. There were two in 1950, three in 1949 and two in 1948. In comparison, Tuskegee recorded 64 lynchings in 1921, 61 in 1920 and 83 in 1919.

Lynchings have not only decreased drastically in number in the last thirty years; the pattern of lynching has undergone a transformation. The traditional lynch mob, publicly hunting and torturing its victims, has been replaced by a smaller group that plans and kills quietly. With the technical definition of lynching requiring three or more participants, it becomes increasingly hard to distinguish between bonafide lynchings and "just murders."

Down through the years the number of lynchings per years came to be used as an index of the status of racial tensions. This is no longer the case. With public opinion frowning on old-fashioned lynching violence and law officers taking action against lynching participants, the number of lynchings has declined to the point of near disappearance. But the number

of floggings, shootings in the "course of arrest," police brutality and particularly, bombings, has increased tremendously. The lawlessness of the lynch mob has been diverted to new forms of interracial violence.

(2) Bomb Violence: Since the close of World War II the bomb and the dynamite stick have come to the forefront as instruments of violence. Records of the Southern Office of the Anti-Defamation League--admittedly incomplete--show that 59 bombings have occurred in just six Southern states since Jan., 1950. Many others took place between 1946 and 1950. Yet to date there is no record that any of the terrorists setting off these blasts have been convicted, and only in a few instances have the guilty persons been apprehended.

The great majority of these bombings have been concentrated in Southern cities whe e Negro housing is still pitifully inadequate and Negro families are attempting to buy and build in neighborhoods formerly offupied by whites. Dallas, for example, has had 13 such bombings; Birmingham, 10; Atlanta and Chatanooga several each. Left-over white housing, vacated as more and more families push out toward the suberbs, is generally the only housing available to the urban Negro. But the first sign of Negro occupancy in "white" neighborhoods often results in a period of suspicion and tension, ultimately climaxed by bombing of the Negro's new home.

Recognizing the extent to which the housing shortage in the South is germane to the problem of bomb violence, a conference of Southern human relations agencies, called together by the Southern Regional Council this spring, urged civic-minded individuals and groups to join in the following efforts: (1) Organize local fact-finding committees to survey housing needs; (2) Give minority groups representation on planning bodies; (3) Give support to efforts to develop expansion areas for those inadequately housed; (4) Foster recognition of the fact that Negroes can pay decent prices for

decent housing and that the presence of Negro residents does not in itself destroy "property" values; (5) Urge public officials to provide for public housing and slum clearance; (6) Explore special federal and private credit devices to enable private housing to expand; and (7) Keep informed on municipal housing standards. Also concerned with the present lethargy of law enforcement agencies in bombing cases, the group called for insistence on prompt and impartial police handling of housing tensions.

While most of the Southern bombings have been related to housing pressures, some can be traced to other tensions. Notable exceptions include the Mims, Fla. bombing which resulted in the death of Harry T. Moore and his wife; the series of Miami bombings of synagogues; and the blasting of a Negro polling station in Jacksonville, Fla. in May of this year.

(3) Police Brutality: During the past year hardly any Southern state has been free of incidents involving alleged police brutality. In August a federal court in Macon, Ga. indicted a sheriff, his deputy and a state highway patrolman on charges of jailing and beating a Negro man and woman in violation of their civil rights. About the same time a Roanoke, Va. lawyer filed suit against four members of the Lynchburg police department, charging false arrest, unlawful imprisonment, assault and battery of a 19-year-old Lynchburg youth. Not long after, a 25-man deputized posse killed an excaped Negro prisoner suspected of rape near Chiply, Fla. Nor have Southerners concerned with justice forgotten the shooting of the two suspects in the Groveland, Fla. rape case by Sheriff McCall last November.

Police violence of any sort, but expecially police violence against Negroes is most difficult to prove. The police officer's word usually carries more weight in a courtroom than that of the plain citizen, and witnesses are reluctant to testify against policemen. There are, of course, situations when police officers must use force to protect themselves and

others.

The special difficulties of curbing police violence against Negroes, plus the general indifference of the white community, have produced a rather tolerant attitude toward this form of legalized crime. Eventually the tolerance may backfire. White people in Birmingham, Ala., for example, became victims of an outburst of police brutality toward the end of 1951. Negroes in Birmingham had been protesting police violence since 1948--indeed, Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World, reported that 26 Negroes were killed by city police between 1948 and 1951--but not a singlepoliceman had been indicted for unjustifiable homicide.

Improved police training is an obvious need in securing individual safety for the Southern Negro. Training designed to professionalize police forces, to develop in the policeman an attitude of impartiality of the law above personal prejudice, if widespread, would act as a preventative measure for many of the violences against the person being committed at present.

A major step toward modern police training for the South has already been taken. In 1951 the Southern Police Institute of Louisville, Ky. was organized with the aim of raising professional police standards in the region. Serving the states of Arkansas, Alabama, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia, the Institute offers three 12-week courses per year. Curriculum, as described in an Institute prospectus, includes "a broad course covering not only essentials of police science but also embracing law, administration and sociology." There is a special unit entitled "Socio-legal Problems of the Southern Region" which emphasizes the background of racial tensions and the role

of the police in dealing with tensions.

There are also indications that more Southern police departments will provide training in human relati ns as a part of their regular personnel instruction. This year, for instance, the New Orleans police department prepared a handbook for their human relations training program and recently mailed it to police chiefs throughout the South.

A second important influence in the improvement of police practice is the employment of Negro policemen and policewomen. Regarded as a daring experiment less than 10 years ago, the employment of Negro police is now generally accepted as a practical common sense aid to law enforcement. Latest tabulations show that a total of 571 Negro police are now on forces in 96 Southern cities and 6 counties. In the past two years Negroes have begun to serve as deputy sheriffs, a further indication of the acceptance and effectiveness of Negro police.

Police chiefs attending the annual convention of the International Association of Police Chiefs in Miami last November were unanimous in their praise of Negro police. Miami Chief Walter Headley spoke for many Southern police departments when he declared, "In the seven years since the first of our Negro officers were sworn in crimes of violence in our Negro communities have been reduced about 50%."

(4) Klan Violence: At the close of World War II the South experienced a revival of the Ku Klux Klan somewhat similar to the revival following the first world war. This time, however, the period of growth and enthusiasm for the Klan was short-lived, with public sentiment turning against the Klan within a couple of years.

The present Klan is broken up into three splinter groups in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina. Most of the Klan activity outside the

Carolinas has been confined to public demonstrations and cross-burnings, with scattered and apparently uncoordinated acts of brutality and terrorism.

The fate of the South Carolina Ku Klux and its leader Tom Hamilton made headlines recently. Most determined of all Klan figures, Hamilton vowed he would build such a powerful organization that law forces would not dare touch him. Successful night-flogging raids in Horry County, S. C., particularly near the Myrtle Beach area in 1949 and 1950, encouraged Hamilton to move across the state line and set up a klavern at Fair Bluff, N. C. He also attempted to organize a Klan unit in Charlotte but met with stiff opposition from local authorities, quick passage of an anti-Klan ordinance and general public indignation.

Hamilton initiated a reign of terror and fear in Columbus County, N. C. on the night of Jan. 18, 1951 with the flogging of a Mrs. Evergreen Flowers, who he said was "running around with white men." Later victims were whites, beaten for supposed offenses ranging from excessive drink to non-payment of debts.

In Feb., 1952 the FBI moved in and, using the Lindbergh kidnapping act, started large-scale prosecution. By August Hamilton and 62 of his followers were sentenced to jail terms ranging upward to six years or payment of fines totaling $16,300. As ring-leader, Hamilton got a jail sentence with a maximum penalty of four years. Sentences covered 158 indictments for crimes of violence against citizens of Columbus County.

Prior to the FBI action Sheriff C. E. Stasser of Horry County, S. C. waged a continuous and unsuccessful battle against the South Carolina Association of Klans.

Southern public opinion has of late been strongly opposed to the Klan and its principles. Proof of this is found in the passage of anti-Klan and anti-mask laws in four Southern states and 52 Southern cities. The

new state laws enacted by Alabama, Florida, Georgia and South Carolina have "teeth," as do the anti-Klan laws put on the statute books in Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas during the surge of Ku Kluxism in the 1920's. Tennessee still has a weak anti-Klan measure dating back to Reconstruction days and Arkansas, a weak law passed in 1909. Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia are thus the only Southern states without specific legal devices for stamping out the Klan. Newspapers, church groups and civic organizations have been outspoken against the hooded order and were active in exerting pressure for anti-Klan legislation.

Despite its organizational weakness and loss of prestige, the Klan nevertheless remains influential as a symbol of lawlessness. As such it continues to inspire fear in the hearts of Negroes living within its reach and to bolster violence-minded individuals to take the law into their own hands.

(5) Race and Law Enforcement: The problem of security of the person in the South is therefore largely a problem of acheiving impartial law enforcement, and at the same time strengthening the trend of public sentiment to value individual safety above racial prejudice.

The Southern Regional Council is now in the midst of a southwide effort to get at the core of the problem. In February the Council published a booklet "Race and Law Enforcement: A Guide to Modern Police Practice," designed to familiarize the citizen with modern police standards and with techniques for securing improved police practice in his own community. Copies were distributed to SRC membership and through other human relations agencies in the South with a twofold purpose in mind: to educate public opinion to the need for improved police practice; and to

initiate action programs on the local level.

Currently the Fellowship of the Concerned--an organization of Southern churchwomen headed by Mrs. M. E. Tilly--is in the process of getting churchwomen in each of the Southern counties to visit their sheriff, discuss the police standards outlined in "Race and Law Enforcement" and give the sheriff a copy of the booklet. The Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church is cooperating with SRC and the Fellowship of the Concerned in this project, and to date 128 sheriffs have been interviewed.

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May 28, 1959

Mrs. Charlotte Lewis
Research Associate
Social Sciences Division
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Charlotte:

Would you do us a BIG favor? We have been trying for two months to complete a comprehensive survey of segregation-desegregation practices in waiting rooms. We began the idea with 40 cities in 11 states. To date we have received completed surveys for 19 cities in 5 states! We have pleaded and begged, to no avail. Now we are going ahead after June 8th with what we have on that date, since Andre Hammonds, a student at Atlanta University, is going to begin with us at that time for the summer in the research department, and analyzing these surveys and writing them up will be his first project.

We do not have ANYTHING from Alabama, and we need that to show a contrast between some of the cities that have been more democratic in changing practices and restrictions, such as Nashville, Knoxville, Atlanta, and cities in North Carolina and Virginia. Since so many of you at Tuskegee do travel, and from Montgomery I know and possibly also from Birmingham, you could very likely fill in the information we need without needing to make an investigation. If you do not have information on the bus situation, you can just leave it blank--we certainly do not expect you to make any trips over there just for this but only to fill in information that you know about from experience.

If you can do this, without any extra trouble, we will appreciate it SO much. And we do need it by June 8th. I am enclosing two blanks for the survey, just in case you can do it. If you are real busy just now, and haven't time, it will be quite all right. We won't be any worse off than we are!

Best wishes, and do let me know if you did not get copies of the two last things I wrote about, and I will send them to you if I have to type them from our copies. Sincerely,

Montez Albright

June 4, 1959

Mrs. Burton W. Lewis
Box 847
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Charlotte:

You are a living doll; thank you so much for getting our waiting room survey blanks into the hands to people who will do them for us - we will look forward to receiving Birmingham and Montgomery surveys soon. I do remember Mrs. Euretta Adair of Montgomery.

I received a copy of the Tuskegee petition, and have gotten people here in the office to sign, and it is now on its way to the Unitarian Church here. Is there a deadline on getting it back? If it is all right to keep it another week or two, you need not write; but if it should be returned immediately please drop me a card. I can get additional signatures if I have some more time.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

June 24, 1959

Office of the President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Sir:

One of our good friends here in Atlanta, Mrs. E. A. Wapensky, wrote to the Institute recently seeking the answer to a question which neither our office nor the local colleges were able to answer. She thinks perhaps her letter may have gone astray, and asked us if we would write again for her. In connection with an article that Mrs. Wapensky is writing, she needs to know whether anyone, Negro or white, has ever been executed in Georgia for the rape of a Negro woman.

If you would refer this letter to the appropriate office of the Institute for reply, we would be most grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

MM ✓
MA- file

June 26, 1959

Mrs. B. A. Wapensky
Box 725
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Wapensky:

This comes in reply to your letter of May 26 and that of Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar to the Office of the President dated June 24.

We have searched our records on punishment for rape in Georgia for the years 1933-1952 and find one case of a Negro man, Andrew Dorsey, who was reported by the Atlanta Daily World of August 20, 1949 as having been executed for raping two Negro women, one 13 years old and the other 23 years of age.

Another Negro, Sylvester Andrews of Macon, Georgia, won a five-year battle in 1947, according to the Atlanta Constitution of April 21, 1947 against the death sentence imposed for criminal assault upon a Negro woman in 1942. This case may be followed by reading the following newspapers:

The Macon Telegraph, July 9, 1942
The Macon Telegraph, October 11, 1944
The Atlanta Daily World, June 13, 1946
The Atlanta Constitution, April 21, 1947

The Macon Telegraph of November 17, 1933 reported that Major Goodin, a thirty-year old Negro, was sentenced to die on December 15, 1933 for an attack on a blind 16-year-old Negro girl. This news item stated that an appeal would be filed. We have not had time enough to follow up this case to see if the sentence was actually carried out. With this lead, however, I am sure you can follow through on it yourself.

We would be pleased to have you come to Tuskegee Institute and use our records, should you desire further research on the matter of punishment for rape, and hope that the information we are sending will prove helpful.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman)
Director

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THE CHURCH SPEAKS ON RACE

The Church Speaks on Race

draws together recent statements on race of the General Convention and the Lambeth Conference, as well as materials from other sources which speak with the authority of law or high moral persuasiveness to members of the Episcopal Church. It well may serve not only as a basis for individual churchmen to re-examine their own convictions about race and the problems of discrimination and segregation facing Americans today, but as a background for study by parishes and community groups anxious to give positive Christian leadership beset with tension and recrimination. Christians have a special obligation to give such leadership, for as the recent Lambeth Conference put it, "it is one of the primary tasks of the Church not so much to resolve tensions, as by the power of Christ through whom man is reconciled to God . . . to reconcile man to man, and race to race. In Christ the Church is to transform all tensions from being fruitful for evil to being fruitful for good."

The Book of Common Prayer

provides for the worship of the Church and articulates its basic faith as received from Holy Scripture. Typical of the concern which this book of worship directs that Churchmen should show to all men is the response to the question What is my duty toward my neighbor? *in The Offices of Instruction:*

My duty towards my neighbour is to love him as myself and to do to all men as I would they should do unto me: to love, honour, and succour my father and mother: to honour and obey the civil authority: to submit myself to all my governours, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters: to order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters: to hurt nobody by word or deed: to be true and just in all my dealings: to bear no malice nor hatred in my heart: to keep my hands from picking and stealing, and my tongue from evil speaking, lying, and slandering: to keep my body in temperance, soberness, and chastity: not to covet nor desire other men's goods; but to learn and labor truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call me.

The Constitution & Canons

of the Church are binding upon the communicants, congregations, and dioceses of the Episcopal Church. The Canon is clear on the right of communicants to transfer to another charge regardless of race or color:

CANON 16, SECTION 1.a A communicant or baptized member in good standing removing from one parish or congregation to another shall be entitled to receive and shall procure from the rector or minister of that parish or congregation of his or her last enrollment, or if there be no rector or minister, from one of the wardens, a certificate addressed to the rector or minister of the parish or congregation to which the removal is desired, stating that he or she is duly registered or enrolled as a communicant or baptized member in the parish or congregation from which he or she desires to be transferred, and the rector or minister or warden of the parish or congregation to which such communicant or baptized member may remove shall enroll him or her as a communicant or baptized member when such certificate is presented.

General Convention

Under the Constitution and Canons of the Church the government of the Episcopal Church resides in the General Convention. In this bicameral legislature, each diocese is represented in the House of Bishops by its episcopate and in the House of Deputies by its clerical and lay delegates. Resolutions adopted by General Convention are authoritative for every diocese.

1952

IN *1952, stating that* "we believe that the nature and destiny of man by virtue of his creation, redemption, and calling, and man's activities in family, State, and culture establish limits beyond

which a government cannot with impunity go," AND "that respect for an observance of human rights constitutes an essential cornerstone for building a world society where peace and justice can prevail; and the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in many parts of the world both degrade man and jeopardize world peace," *the Convention resolved that its members:*

Encourage and support full participation by the United States in international action through the United Nations to the end that observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all men may be promoted, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Use every reasonable means to overcome long-standing discriminatory practices in our own land, and, particularly in these days when we seek to oppose the threat of totalitarianism from without, to guard against our own use of the methods which we condemn in others.

The same General Convention stated that:

Almost every country today, including the United States, is guilty in greater or less degree of mass racial or color discrimination (and resolved) that we consistently oppose and combat discrimination based on color or race in every form, both within the Church and without, in this country and internationally.

The Convention also resolved that:

This Convention affirm its conviction that no branch of the Christian Church should rest content while any injustices in racial relations obtain in parishes, schools, and agencies under her control or in association with her; and that it urge every member of the Church to labor unceasingly for the elimination of such injustices.

1955

To all the clergy and people of this Church that they accept and support this ruling of the Supreme Court, and, that by opening channels of Christian conference and communication between the races concerned in each diocese and community, they anticipate constructively the local implementation of this ruling as the law of the land, and further that we make our own the statement of the Anglican Congress that "in the work of the Church we should welcome people of any race at any service

conducted by a priest or layman of any ethnic origin, and bring them into the full fellowship of the congregation and its organization."

1958

RESOLVED That the 59th General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church takes note of the bombing of the temple of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation of Atlanta, Ga., and expresses its regret and sorrow to the members of its congregation.

All acts of violence and irresponsible and wanton destruction are abhorrent and totally indefensible in the eyes of Christ and His Church.

WHEREAS, The Church has generally taught as part of the Christian ethic, the obligation of Christians to obey the Civil Law under which they live; and

Whereas, It has generally been clear that the right of civil disobedience and of revolution should be undertaken by Christians only for the gravest reasons of conscience and as a last resort; and

Whereas, The Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of this land; and

Whereas, The Supreme Court is the ultimate interpreter of the Constitution; and

Whereas, Those who are in disagreement with Federal and Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution have the legal recourse of amendment of the Constitution; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Church call upon its members to face seriously their obligation to conform to Federal and Supreme Court Orders in regard to giving to all students equal access to our public schools.

WHEREAS, We believe in the natural dignity and value of every man, of whatever color or race, as created in the image of God and as one for whom Christ died, that discrimination by reason of color or race between men has as its root human sin; that the Church must confess its own sin in this area; and

Whereas, We acknowledge that there are no easy answers to the problems created by the effort to apply these convictions to special and local situations, particularly in times of cultural and

social change, and that the composite thoughts of Churchmen in conference or convention may or may not be the will of God because we all stand under the judgment of God and not finally under the judgments of fallible men; and also that, despite honest differences of opinion, we are bound together, through our union in Christ and His fellowship of love, to seek God's will; therefore be it

Resolved, That we call first upon our fellow Churchmen by God's grace to cleanse themselves of all spirit of racial discrimination; and then upon all persons, especially the members of our Church, to work together, in charity and forbearance, towards the establishment, without racial discrimination, of full opportunities in fields such as education, housing, employment and public accommodations.

National Council

Between Conventions, the work of the National Church is carried on by the National Council. Statements by this Council are for the guidance of the General Church.

1943

WITH *the formation of the Bi-racial Committee, a set of* Guiding Principles *was adopted for the use of the Episcopal Church. Listed in condensed form, they are:*

1. Fellowship is essential to Christian worship.

2. Fellowship is essential in Church administration.

3. High standards must be maintained in every area of the Church's work for all persons.

4. Desegregation must be the goal for all church institutions and agencies.

5. It is both the function and the task of the Church to set spiritual and moral goals for society, and to bear witness to their validity by the witness of her own life.

1954

In its resolution in regard to race relations, National Council commended Some Guiding Principles *to the Church. In brief they are:*

1. All races are responsible for seeking and applying a Christian solution to their mutual problems, regardless of initial responsibility.

2. Leaders of all races are concerned and have a vital and necessary contribution to make. . . . Responsible and representative leaders of all races should be included from the outset in the councils which seek to effect desegregation.

3. Individual churchmen have an obligation to seek constructive contacts and to create and utilize channels for discussion and co-operation in the community.

4. Every Churchman is clearly called to work unceasingly to create and foster genuine Christian fellowship between races in his own congregation and church school, in hospitals, homes, and institutions, and in every aspect of the Church's life.

5. Parents have a special opportunity and responsibility to set an example for their children...

6. Each Episcopal Church can give vital leadership by making it clear that all Churchmen are invited into full life and fellowship of the Church, including its services of worship, parish organizations, diocesan activities, church-sponsored schools and institutions. Each parish and mission has a primary responsibility for this leadership.

7. Each parish church and mission faces its old obligation with new force and urgency . . . to seek diligently for every unchurched person in its neighborhood, to bring the Good News of Jesus Christ to such persons, and to welcome them into the fellowship of that church or mission.

1956

WITH *the statement that* "much is lost in seeking answers to problems of human relations when committees are not representative of all races and attitudes on both sides of the question involved," *National Council in 1956 adopted a resolution recommending* "that the dioceses of the Church be encouraged to create inter-racial committees to consider problems of human relations on the community, congregational, and diocesan levels."

Pastoral Letters

The House of Bishops at its meetings may issue Pastoral Letters which by Canon must be read to every congregation in the Church on some occasion of public worship on the Lord's Day within thirty days after the clergyman receives his copy. Such Pastoral Letters are for the guidance and general edification of the Church. Pertinent excerpts from the Pastoral Letters *follow:*

1940

THE Christian Gospel proclaims the eternal worth and dignity of every human soul. . . . The Gospel, by its very nature, abhors all regimentation, all totalitarian schemes of mass control, all claims of class or racial superiority, and all economic injustices, because they deny the sacredness of human personality.

The Church must stand boldly for freedom of conscience, of speech and of worship. In the Christian religion is found for all men everywhere, the hope of social progress, the conquest of poverty, disease and of every condition that makes for moral failure and degradation. . . .

1943

OUR Church must prepare . . . to witness to a warsick world . . . by confessing now her corporate sins which are grievous and, in part, responsible for the darkness that covers the earth . . . class distinctions that are anything but brotherly and racial discriminations that are anything but just. These are some of the things that have crept into the life of our day. We confess that they are sin, trusting that He who is faithful and just will forgive us our sins. . . .

1945

BUT no international union can be effective for lasting peace unless it is based on eternal principles of justice and infused with a spirit of mutual trust and goodwill. . . . It is impossible to abolish the differences between nations, races, and individuals. These differences without a principle of unity are chaos; but these differences animated by the Spirit of Christ, are richness. . . .

1946

WHILE opposing resolutely injustice to minorities, we must strive to give a positive demonstration personally, and by groups, to the fact that Christians, at least, act toward all men as brothers under the one heavenly father. . . .

1955

WE are summoned as Christians to recognize the judgments of God, which are the disclosures of the contradictions between our human ways and His design for His people. . . . Before God and men we can make no case for contempt and assumptions of racial superiority. . . . For these there is no answer but repentance. . . .

1956

WE can remember that our own racial divisions and misunderstandings at home are part of the same sad story of division which we see on the international scene.

Since the world is one, what we do at home with our divisions and misunderstandings is reflected for our own good or ill among the nations of the earth. It is the will of God that every member of the Church exercise his reconciling ministry in the community in which he lives, that every member seek to create fellowship by breaking down the barriers and suspicions that divide us. . . .

1958

WE write to you on the subject of unity and reconciliation . . . with a great sense of urgency, not to tell you what to do in your specific situations, but rather to share with you five great truths that will help us all act more truly wherever we may be.

The first point dealt with the need for meeting between representatives of groups between which there is conflict and tension.

Our own Episcopal Church has within its fellowship rich and poor, white and Negro, Orientals, Indians, and Latin Americans. Meet and know your brethren in Christ.

The second truth, the Sacredness of Law, dealt with the Biblical doctrine of the authority of secular power.

(The Law) restrains our selfishness and wildness, and, while it cannot change our hearts, it does provide the indispensable outer framework for our unity.

The third truth was the active Judgment of God on our divisions.

God's judgment is the response of a just God to the offenses of mankind against His living will. . . .

We must remember that the majority of mankind belong to the colored races, and that the American racial problem is discussed the world over. . . . If America continues to lose friends as others become convinced that we do not mean what we say about justice and equality, the reason will be obvious. The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. These judgments are the plain cost we pay in God's universe for not practicing what we preach, and for not being ready to grant to others the opportunity and equality we cherish for ourselves.

The fourth point dealt with our Christian duty to think rationally and not emotionally about issues that divide men.

If we build on emotion, the end is conflict. . . .

The final truth had to do with our Christian commitment as members of God's Church to the redeeming and reconciling love of Christ and fellowship in the Holy Spirit:

This Spirit raises us above self to see God's will and plan for all men. It is the Spirit of humility, of inclusiveness, and of love ever warring against our hard hearts.

The Bishops concluded this Letter by saying:

If we suffer in that endeavor, count it always a privilege to suffer for God and His truth. Care for your souls, brethren, amid the passions and prejudices of our day, and remember that truth alone is strong.

Lambeth Conference

Every ten years the Bishops of the Anglican Communion at the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury meet at Lambeth Palace for conference on matters of common concern. In the Anglican Church this Conference is of paramount influence in matters of faith and doctrine. The results of the Lambeth Conference are not binding on any of the independent Churches represented, but are rather for their guidance.

1948

THE Conference is convinced that discrimination between men on the grounds of race alone is inconsistent with the principles of Christ's religion. We urge that in every land men of every race should be encouraged to develop in accordance with their abilities; and that this involves fairness of opportunity in trades and professions, in facilities for travelling and in the provision of housing, in education at all stages, and in schemes of social welfare. Every Churchman should be assured of a cordial welcome in any church of our Communion, and no one should be ineligible for any position in the Church by reason of his race or color.—*Resolution #43*

1958

THE Conference affirms its belief in the natural dignity and value of every man, of whatever color or race, as created in the image of God. In the light of this belief the Conference affirms that neither race nor color is in itself a barrier to any aspect of that life in family and community for which God created all men. It therefore condemns discrimination of any kind on the grounds of race or color alone.

The Conference would urge that in multi-racial societies members of all races shall be allowed:

A fair and just share in the government of their country;

A fair and just share in the control, development and rewards of the natural resources of their country, including advancement to the highest level of attainment;

The right to associate freely in worship, in education, in industry, in recreation, and in all other departments of the common life. – *Resolution #110*

See also Lambeth Conference Report #4, Sec. 2, pp. 128-130.

Anglican Congress

At intervals midway between each Lambeth Conference, an Anglican Congress is held (of which the one in 1954 was the first). Bishops, priests, and laymen serving as delegates to this meeting represent all the Churches in the Anglican Communion. The resolutions of the Anglican Congress are not binding but are rather for the guidance of the independent Churches represented.

WE reaffirm the statement on race relations of the Lamberth Conference of 1948, and are penitent for our failure to put it into full effect. We urge members of the Church to continue to witness strongly and wisely against all forms of discrimination, to work in each land for justice in racial relations, and to teach the full implications of our faith with regard to race. Those living in multi-racial areas must put Christian principles into practice by improving social relations between people of different color. In the work of the Church we should welcome people of any race at any service conducted by a priest or layman of any ethnic origin, and bring them into the full fellowship of the congregation and its organizations.

Full texts of the statements and resolutions quoted are to be found in the reports and annals of the authorities quoted. They may be obtained from the minister of any congregation, the diocesan office or from The National Council, 281 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N.Y.

Additional statements, resolutions, and examples regarding the Church's policy in regard to race relations can be found in the pamphlet Bridge Building in Race Relations, *(The National Council, 50 cents).*

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
281 Park Avenue South
New York 10, N. Y.
1959

Price $6.50 per 100 copies
Single copies 10 cents each

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THE BALLOT BOX

In this Election Year

Represents

"CITIZENSHIP - FREE AND RESPONSIBLE"

Citizenship Committee
of
THE UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
of GEORGIA
635 WEST PEACHTREE STREET, N.W.,
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

I.

WILL YOUR CHILDREN BE IN A

PUBLIC SCHOOL

THIS FALL ?

THAT DEPENDS ON WHETHER YOU

AND OTHER GEORGIA CITIZENS

UNDERSTAND THE FACTS

AND SPEAK OUT FOR

COMPLIANCE WITH THE

U. S. CONSTITUTION.

II.

COURT RULINGS INDICATE:

THAT THE "LAW OF THE LAND,"

ESTABLISHED BY THE

1954 SUPREME COURT DECISION,

BASED ON THE

UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION -

GAINS INCREASING WEIGHT

AND FINALITY

THROUGH COURT TESTS SUCH AS

IN ARKANSAS (LITTLE ROCK) AND VIRGINIA.

III.

AS CHURCH WOMEN WE BELIEVE that:

- God's plan is for every human being to be aided to develop to his maximum capacity.
- The Public School and University system of Georgia are the most effective means of providing education for all our children.
- Such education is essential for survival and development of our Democracy.

✓ Under present state laws, IT IS LIKELY OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS WILL BE CLOSED.

The Alabama and Virginia Court decrees seem to indicate that there will be a CHOICE BETWEEN EITHER CLOSING PUBLIC SCHOOLS ALTOGETHER, or ACCEPTING SOME CONTROLLED DESEGREGATION that recognizes the wisdom of meeting different community needs of procedure.

IF PUBLIC SCHOOLS CLOSE IN GEORGIA:

State laws provide tuition grants to be paid to individuals for private segregated schools. This could be declared illegal.

Georgia raises about $204 million dollars each year from state and local sources. That, divided among Georgia's one million school children, would mean about $200 for each child, - which is about 1/3 needed for accredited private education, - IF such is available.

This estimated $600 (3 x $200) does not include building or equipment allowance. And, ALL our public school buildings in use NOW, are not even enough for our growing population.

What would happen to family budgets and children's education when parents of two, three, or more children were faced with an additional $400 for each child?

Tuition grants cannot be spent in sectarian schools.

According to the Arkansas Gazette, March 1959, the financial report of the Board of Trustees of Little Rock New Baptist High School showed: cost to Baptists per month, $8,500 to provide 25 1/2 units of state accredited program to 370 youngsters. Income from monthly tuition - fees of $20 a month - , and from donations, brought in $6,500. There was a monthly deficit of $2,000. This does not account for the $3,500 on a special purchase of furniture and equipment.

"Abandonment of our present school system would do 3 things: arrest the economic development of the last two decades; undermine our present economic strength; and cause the abandonment of its otherwise bright opportunities for a continued economic growth." Jim Montgomery, Business Editor, Atlanta Constitution.

Is this to be our FUTURE and our children's ?

May 12, 1960

Mr. Lambert Davis, Director
The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Davis:

We regret that you won't be able to go ahead with Race and Region. We could not, however, commit ourselves far enough to help with your very real problem.

I am afraid that I must have misunderstood you regarding the Nicholls' book. My impression of our telephone conversation was that you were to let us know, after you had a chance to do some figuring, whether a bulk order from us would permit you to lower the list price; then we were to consider whether the terms were possible within our resources. When I didn't hear from you, I assumed that you had decided the idea was not feasible. I am sorry that we lost touch, and I am sure it must have been my error. We have a high opinion of the book. Whether in view of some recent undertakings we could make any substantial purchase I doubt. Personally, I would like to see at least some of our key people get the book. Could you quote us the prices in lots of, say, 25, 50, 100, and 200? I am, however, not quite clear at this date what form of "special interest" on our part you have in mind, and would be glad to hear further from you.

As to Mr. Dabbs, the SRC staff is fortunate in having an active President, whom you ought always to feel free to consult. Your recent letter addressed to him in Atlanta was

not forwarded because we were expecting him here. And I suppose that more or less administrative or program matters might be addressed directly to us. But I am sure that Mr. Dabbs will always be glad to hear from you, and that he can many time supply advice that is uniquely good.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

The _____ people, and I suppose most of the white people, if I can use a blanket statement, are not what you call "integrationists" or "nigger lovers" and so forth, but this community has gone through too many experiences, and they know that there is no changing of the times, and there is no turning back of the clock, so this is what we have to do and so let's do it in the most ~~graceful~~ tasteful way that we can, and in the most painless way that we can.

Yeah, that's right, the Citizen's Council can hardly get a good rally going. Occasionally it can get a few people out

INTERVIEWER:

I understand they had a rally the other day at City Hall and it dissolved because they didn't have but two or three people out.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, this is most interesting. And, also, they were going to have a kick-off campaign on the 23rd of August to get all the, or at least 66,000 un-registered white people,&&&&. So they were going to be down there and have a rally at 8:30 that Monday morning. Of course, our lines were there t&&& too. Now, in that line there were 8 &&& white people. The firemen and police were there, the Mayor was there, and,of course, we were there. So they didn't shove, and I didn't expect anybody to shove because these people don't need(?) anybody, really.

INTERVIEWER:

They were going to rally weren't they?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, they were going to have a rally &&& out there at City Hall, &&They&&didn't&have&but&8&white&people&in&the &&& but nobody showed up. So there were 8 white people in the line, and George Seaman(?), I believe, of the White Citizens Council,went down the line and told these white people that they wanted to get together and form an integrated line, and so forth, to bring them before TV. So they pulled the 8 white people out of the&line&&&at&a&time&and&they&drew&a&knife&on&them& line they could find, and they grabbed a ninth one. They started walking her toward the camera which was right there, audio-visually, you see, and Richard _____ had his speaker there. Then, this elderly lady said, "Mister where you all taking me, I'm not white I'M colored."

He didn't know this, of course, But he looked at the lady and said this is a decoy until we..... We are going to register our people across the river. That is the first time this man, the registrar, had said publicly, to my knowledge, that anybody who wanted to could register across in Algiers --

INTERVIEWER:

A sub-station?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, a sub-station. This was not general information, you see, this thing here put out by the League of Women Voters -- you notice on here....

INTERVIEWER:

Is there any legitimate reason why he could not have accepted the League's help? The League's deputies?

INTERVIEWER:

No, there is no legitimate reason. We offered them money, and we said we'll pay for the people.

INTERVIEWER:

They don't have any Negro registrars?

INTERVIEWEE:

No, none whatsoever. So things are changing now for the Negro and for the white, for both of the candidates, now.

INTERVIEWER:

And even more so in some council races, I imagine, where you elect by ward.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, indeed, and the Negro political leadership now can either be on its last leg or first leg. The important thing, Create thing now, is that the Negro leadership must these jobs. If the Negro leaders commit themselves as candidates, and there are no jobs, the present black establishment is dead.

INTERVIEWER:

This is the principle thing you all insist upon in the mayor's race.

INTERVIEWEE:

Most assuredly.

INTERVIEWER:

Will it be a quiet promise, or will you make it public?

INTERVIEWEE:

No, indeed. No, no. There may be some quiet promises, but there must be definite commitments. s

INTERVIEWER:

Will they do it with the Negro leaders, or will they have to do it out in public where all the Citizens Council folks can see them?

INTERVIEWEE:

This needs to be done in public now when you have only two counties. What's going to happen is that those counties, and what we are talking about - the Negro community - is that you go to those counties and ask them those same things. What needs to be done is to outline what the Negro wants and say, "Now look Mr. Mayor, this is what we want." Now look Mr. Councilman, this is what we want."

INTERVIEWER:

They've got to be specific like so many jobs, and such and such a thing?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, I think'll we'll be specific as well as general.

INTERVIEWER:

You think you can do this publicly now, and the candidate who isn't satisfied with what you do is not going to beat you over the head with it?

INTERVIEWEE:

That's right. I really feel this. This is going to be very carefully done now. For example, we want city attorneys, Negroes, in the city attorneys offices.

INTERVIEWER:

What other places are you aiming for?

INTERVIEWEE:

Specifically, we want Negro deputy sheriffs to work in the Constable's office, and so forth. ~~Briefly,~~ we

Specifically,

want Negroes working in clerical positions at City Hall, you know, and right on down the line with Negroes turning on the lights on neighborhood playgrounds. We know that Negroes must have jobs not only in City Hall, but right around here on the streets - responsible jobs, you see. So the image has to be built where Negroes at any cost can feel that he can get a job like somebody on the economic bracket is able to get a job.

INTERVIEWER:

Now do you think in this sense there's a patronage organization is forming here?

INTERVIEWEE:

I would say this that the Democratic Party has already united itself in the state on what we call the Congressional level. It's integrated now and there is no question but that Negroes will be delegates to the next Democratic Convention. We have a handful of Republicans over the state.

INTERVIEWER:

Is this Somebody's Name doing?

INTERVIEWEE:

No, this really grew out of the National Convention...The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party situation. So this is really where this thing comes from.

INTERVIEWER:

Are they trying to head off a FDP?

INTERVIEWEE:

Right.

INTERVIEWER:

Locally when your position asking for certain numbers of jobs in these departments, and so on, do you anticipate that the Negro organization, whatever it may be, will be in the position in effect of being a patronage dispenser, or will it....?

INTERVIEWEE:

No. I mean what you will have... the patronage will be handled by the local Negro political organizations - to name some of them - I mention the old PTDL headed by Rev. Davis. There's another organization called the United Voters League headed by by a man here named Ellis Hull. There's another political organization called CCIV, I believe it's called.

That organization is headed by Chief Henry of Local 1419. Another thing that happens, whenever there's an election there are always these ad hoc - I call them - Negro groups that come about. I know one year we had 11 counties that was running for governor, and by George, if they could carry the 11 different Negro organizations - each one supporting their governor, you see. But the main ones - these would be the main patronage handlers.

INTERVIEWER:

These would be the ones that the Mayor would call on to say who do you want to be put in such and such a job?

INTERVIEWEE:

There's no question about it.

INTERVIEWER:

This is the pattern of New Orleans politics. It doesn't work quite this way in Atlanta, say. But this is a city where you said there is a collection of little interest.

INTERVIEWEE:

Right.

INTERVIEWER:

Well, now, that brings us into the question of who runs New Orleans. Is this just a consensus kind of an arrangement? Do you just want to get into the consensus or...?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, nobody really runs New Orleans. It depends, I'd say, on the issue. If you have a crisis in education, then whoever is most concerned with the issue are the people who really can make the decisions. So that there is no spokesman -- like the Mayor doesn't run the town. I know this for a fact.

INTERVIEWER:

Was there a change in the works by way of a alliance of groups? For example, I think first of say the Northside Atlanta, plus the Negro community of Atlanta being a formidable political combination all these years. Is anything of this kind in the making here or is there always going to be this kind of jockeying of dozens and dozens of little political groups?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, I think this. As soon as the Negro electorate reaches an

appreciable figure that this is going to kill the little groups.

INTERVIEWER:

You mean in the Negro community.

INTERVIEWEE:

In the Negro community. But there will be.... I'm rather certain that in time that the major Negro political groups are going to merge with the major white political groups. This is almost inevitable. It will have to be if it is going to be done on a national scale or state-wide scale.

INTERVIEWER:

Is there Republican-Democratic opposition in city politics?

INTERVIEWEE:

Very little Republican. I think there are 10,000 Republicans in the entire state.

INTERVIEWER:

Nobody runs by party label, then?

INTERVIEWEE:

Occasionally. The Republicans are running three or four people, I noticed in the paper in these general elections. They are going to have a primary at the same time of the Democratic Primary.

INTERVIEWER:

Is this a Democratic Primary?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yeah, this is the Democratic Primary. You see the Primary election -- the first one is held on November 6, and then there will be a run-off election on December 11. In May, during the general election, everybody votes, you see.

INTERVIEWER:

To get beneath the structure now, beneath politics, you suggested that unless the jobs are produced, and so on, that whatever leadership may exist in the Negro community is going to be imperiled. To what extent is this true, and who's going to imperil it with what?

INTERVIEWEE:

I would think that the people themselves will rise up. The young university students, the college professors, and a few of the people around town who have not before become involved in

anything are going to stand up and demand it.

INTERVIEWER:

Would you say the lower economic strata?

INTERVIEWEE:

No, I would say the higher -- the lower -- but the higher too. I think that this would simply open the door for someone elese to step in and take a position of leadership.

INTERVIEWER:

You don't see that the Negro political leaders in New Orleans are imperiled by a very militant lower-income, slum-type?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, they could be. I said this to the clergymen yesterday. I made a little off-the-cuff speech that we drive around town as clergymen, in comfortable air-conditioned automobiles, we are well-dressed, and so forth, and like the guy on the street who can't get anything he feels he wants -- he lives on the outskirts of hope, as President Johnson stated, he is going to get pretty tired after a while.

INTERVIEWER:

You don't see any stirrings along this line, at this point do you?

INTERVIEWEE:

There are rumblings. And the most important thing that has taken place in this registration drive is that most of those men down there are ministers.

INTERVIEWER:

The ones organizing?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, This drive is headed by the ministers.

INTERVIEWER:

And people are turning out around their churches too, aren't they?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. This is what we ask them to do. Get your own members out.

INTER

INTERVIEWER:

Well are they getting the people out of the bottom -- out of the slums?

INTERVIEWEE:

Oh, yeah. Definitely. We're touching them.

INTERVIEWER:

Through the churches?

INTERVIEWEE:

Through the churches, yes.

INTERVIEWER:

I don't see how you could through the churches.

INTERVIEWEE:

Well we have lots of ways -- churches mean many things here in this community. But, we go into the bar rooms, we go anywhere. We have relationships with other groups in the community. We just simply spearheading, you see. But, you can hear rumblings now from people standing in the lines -- they say things like, "I haven't seen my pastor around," "I haven't seen your pastor." "Where is Reverend so and so?" And they're tired of giving all this anniversary money to Reverend so and so, and he isn't doing anything but preaching about the world by and by, and this kind of crap. Folks want the Kingdom of God here and now, you know. They're tired of this shouting business, you see. Folks just don't go to church anymore. I'm on vacation, you know, and I haven't been to church in the last three Sundays. Well, if I have this problem, what about the layman? "What in the heck am I going to church for?" "Who has something to say?" If I have this problem, what about the sincere layman? So, he stays in his"sack"or goes across the lake and goes fishing, or somewhere else on Sunday morning.

INTERVIEWER:

Do you think the church has been revitalized by the voter drive in a way?.

INTERVIEWER:

Most assuredly in this town. Oh, yes. Yes, Yes, Yes. It has been revitalized because if those ministers were not down there, we would not have this thing going here.

INTERVIEWER:

Well, that's interesting, because you have suggested (1) that the cohesion produced by the was produced by the voter drive - and not vice versa; (2) that the churches have been are being revitalized by the voter drive - not vice versa. Now, what would have happened had there not been the voting situation? Would there have been some other more destructive rallying place for sentiment?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, there are many organizations that -- you see --

INTERVIEWER:

I don't mean organizations. I mean what would you be doing if you weren't....

INTERVIEWEE:

If we weren't down there at City Hall?

INTERVIEWER:

This focal point where you can see and place real pressure that could be brought to bear - what wousld have happened?

INTERVIEWEE:

I think that what we would have had would have had some demonstrations, some pressures brought by the NAACP, by the NAACP Youth Council, I think CORE would would have gotten into the act, we have a little group here called the Consumers League.

INTERVIEWER:

Would this have been directed at things in general? You haven't had much picketing, otherwise, or much marching otherwise.

INTERVIEWEE

This is quite true, and the community and the city officials officials officials

And when those folks see that we're down as far as we can go, this is why we have to release information to them - not all at once - but say,"Well yesterday we met with the Mayor." "Three days ago we wired the Justice Department." "This afternoon we'll file a suit with the federal government."

INTERVIEWER:

Do you feel the heat from the frustration of this?

INTERVIEWEE:

Oh, yes. This thing is dangerous.

INTERVIEWER

Were they fussing at you?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, they don't fuss with me as such, but they insistent, so that I am involved. They say, "You've got to do something."

INTERVIEWER:

You've not been put in the position at this point of having not delivered?

INTERVIEWEE:

No. But I try to maneuver this things so that I will have something. Here's what happened one day last week. The ministers down there they were ready! Brother, they were ready! And they were going to take any kind of action. So I convened them at the church, and I let them talk. I let them get it all out - like getting the pus out of a sore. Well, this was my strategy. I knew that after they talked for a while they would sorta come to their senses. Then I told them what we were planning, and what was in the making. I said, "Now, look, there are certain things that I can't tell you, there are certain things in the works that I can't tell you about, but believe me we're all doing something." I said, "What we want to know Reverend, are you doing something."

INTERVIEWER:

So they're feeling the heat too?

INTERVIEWEE:

Oh, yes.

INTERVIEWER:

You mentioned a while ago - aside from jobs - you mentioned the fact that the Police Chief is appointed by the Mayor, and so on.

Are you exacting any pledges from the candidates along these lines? Would you have complaints as far as the police are concerned?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, the usual complaint of police brutality. Now, I haven't heard of anyone exacting anything from the candidates.

INTERVIEWER:

Are they dissatisfied with the Police Chief?

INTERVIEWEE:

No, I think he's as good a police chief as we've ever had. And, yet we do meet with him occasionally and talk with him about these problems

INTERVIEWER:

Do you have any Negro officers?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, we have Negro police here. But, now, this is our beef with the police department in terms of that. We've just been baby-sitters.

INTERVIEWER:

Are they all just in the Negro community?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, basically, they're on night duty in Juvenile Court in the Juvenile Division, or they're working around the housing projects,

INTERVIEWER:

Do they arrest white people?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, they can arrest white people. But they're generally assigned to the predominantly Negro housing projects.

INTERVIEWER:

They're not patrolling traffic?

INTERVIEWEE:

No. We'd like traffic patrolmen , motorcyle patrolmen, and so on.

Up-grading within the framework of the Police Department, you see. But we have not made a real major issue out any demands, so far as I know, and again, I'm speaking as a community leader who happens to be thrown in this position as a result of this voter registration drive. Any other time, I wouldn't be invited to anything, because I'm not involved, you know. But right now, voter registration is a hot thing, so that conceivably since I am heading the thing up whatever I say may have some influence on the people who get registered.

INTERVIEWER:

In a way the Civil Rights Act removed a closer pressure against the power structure -- the business and financial power structure -- because it removed any necessity for picketing their places. Everything now seems to focus on the top of the political vehicle. How long will this go on? How long will it be possible to exert that kind of pressure on that kind of point and bloc?

INTERVIEWEE:

Oh, I think a long time to come. For quite some time.

INTERVIEWER:

So it doesn't really matter that there is not a power structure in New Orleans that's as strong as it is in some other places, because you're not meeting it directly anymore, you're meeting its political representatives to a certain extent.

INTERVIEWEE:

See here's what we're doing. We're creating -- this is what this voting law will do for us here in New Orleans. The time will come, maybe, when we won't have to go downtown and talk with the power structure, so to speak. We will create an "un-power structure"

INTERVIEWER:

Also, you'll go to City Hall?

INTERVIEWEE:

That's right, we'll go to City Hall. Private industry, I think, has done a very good job. See, we have so many things working for us - the voting rights law, public accommodations law, and we have the fair employment practices law which sort of take care of these kinds of things out here. So, all the focus has got to be on the political arena, you see.

Start of interview

The background of what's happening here in New Orleans, I think, can be tied in fairly well to what we call the Coordinating Council. Now, the background of the Coordinating Council maybe somewhat in this manner -- Dr. Thompson, the head of the Sociology Department of Dillard University, had been doing a lot of research, a lot of reading, and had come somewhat under the influence of Floyd Hunter's book Regional City where Floyd had made a statement that Negroes were not a part of the power structure in Atlanta, so he ~~sent to~~ proceeded to delineate how Negroes did get things done. And Dr. Thompson was concerned about New Orleans, so he convened a group of his colleagues, including Harvey Kerns, Executive Director of the Urban League, and Dave Marcus Neustauder the President of the Frontiers Club here, and we decided to get a coordinating council started. There had been one here before, but it died. So we created a completely new organization, and we had the Frontiers Club to convene, because without an organization no one would come to a meeting, so some recognized organization in the community had to convene this conference.

So, we called a Summit Leadership Conference and this conference was held at Dillard University. At this conference...

INTERVIEWER:

When was this?

INTERVIEWEE:

It was in 1961 - I forget the exact date - perhaps in the spring of the year in 1961.

INTERVIEWER:

This was before V.E.P?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, this was before VEP. We invited the leaders of business, ~~professions~~ the professions, religion, social, the pleasure clubs, fraternal organizations, and so on, to be present. At this meeting we were able to gather representatives from approximately 125 organizations. We set up the ~~organization~~ organizational structure that night, and elected officers of this coordinating council. We also set out our program, and we had divisions - I think 10 of them - to deal with problems of labor, ~~program~~ problems of education, problems of citizenship (voter education, and voter registration), economic problems, housing problems, and this kind of thing. One ~~on~~ on membership, finances -- the usual run of things, and so forth.

We wanted to find something in this community that all of us could work together in - not only Negroes and whites -

but Negroes themselves, because they recognized that within the framework of the Negro community we had some major divisions. Most of all, we thought, there was a big gap religious-wise. That is, there was a division between Catholics and Protestants. Also New Orleans divide into what we call "uptown" and "downtown" and "back of town" and "front of town", and so forth.

INTERVIEWER:

This is true of the Negro community?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. I'm speaking primarily of the Negro community.

INTERVIEWER:

It's probably very scattered.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. It's widely scattered, so that you would not find the usual residential patterns in this community that you would find in any other community in the U. S. So, we had to find a program that would go straight across the board and would not be controversial.

INTERVIEWER:

One that even civil servants could work in?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, Even one that civil servants could work in.

INTERVIEWER:

Would you say the postmen?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, the postmen - anyone working in state or federal civil service could participate in voter registration and voter education - but not in politics. So this was this was a non-partisan, non-political thing.

INTERVIEWER:

So you proceeded with this as a device for cohesion rather than proceeded to it from cohesion?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, indeed, and this was our thesis and we proceeded on this basis. Now, when we adopted this project of voter registration, voter education, the union, local 1419, had built a brand new hall, and the bottom floor was vacant, and they gave us several hundred square feet, and they gave us the entire floorof this building to operate out of.

INTERVIEWER:

What union is this?

INTERVIEWEE:

Its the local 1419; it is the largest Negro union, I believe. Its the largest in the South.

INTERVIEWER:

Is it all Negro?

INTERVIEWEE:

It is all Negro, maybe a few whites, but there are two unions here, and 1418 is the white, and 1419 is the Negro.

INTERVIEWER:

Is this because of the fact it is a Negro ###### local, or because there are no unions interested in political involvement with Negroes?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, I think that it is biased because the ILA local 1419 here is primarily Negro --

INTERVIEWER:

Is this something that had begun with ILA elsewhere?

INTEVIEWEE:

No - nothing so superior -- it was a community organization. So they gave us this hall, and they put in new doors because it was a new hall and completely ###### enclosed the front, and they cut the doors, and Dr. Thomas often talks about how the priest and I got a rag and cleaned the windows together, you know. It showed something which had not been done before. We had students from all the universities - the Negro and the white universities, the state and the private universities.

INTERVIEWER:

Youare a congregationalist, aren't you?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes.

INTERVIEWER:

Did this precipitate your rise in the organization by virtue of the fact that you are not a Catholic or a Baptist?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. It had been said that this did precipitate my rise within the framework of the organization because I was was not a threat to the Baptist clergy, and they are the largest group in the community, and I was not a threat to the Catholic clergy, and perhaps everything perhaps can be said humbly yet tragically, is that unfortunately, we do not have many fully trained Negro clergymen in this community. ~~##########~~

INTERVIEWER:

Most of these without college education?

INTERVIEWEE:

Most of them without college education.

INTERVIEWER:

INTERVIEWEE:

This would be generally true.

INTERVIEWER:

Is there a contrast between this city and the city of Atlanta, or would they be pretty much the same?

INTERVIEWEE:

There is a world of difference, you see. The college and seminary trained Negro preachers in this town wouldn't add up to 20, ~~########~~

~~INTERVIEWER~~
INTERVIEWER:

And you yourself came from Atlanta, and I suppose this influence on you.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, I spent 5 years in Atlanta as a circuit pastor, and I pastored a church in the city there, and I pastered a church out in Marietta, Georgia.

INTERVIEWER:

Have you ever been involved in any political activity there?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, I was involved in registration there in Atlanta,

INTERVIEWER:

Then, you have more experience compared with most of the clergymen here. Political and voter type.

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, I don't know how I would be compared to the average here, but I did bring this experience with me to New Orleans, and have participated in many community and civic activities in Atlanta; I have been a member of boards downtown and had served the First Congregational church in Atlanta - one of the leading churches there - they have Noris Herndon, Clayton Yates, and Cannon, who is now dead, and a matter of fact, most of the members of the board at that time were members of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, and these are the Negro power people. Grace Hamilton is a member of that church, and so forth, you see. This threw me in a position of leadership, and this gave me the opportunity of experience that otherwise I would not have had. So this was a part of my orientation and it helped me here.

INTERVIEWER:

Was your education in Atlanta also?

INTERVIEWEE:

Part of it. I did my college work at Knoxville College, and my seminary work in Atlanta at Gammon and my post graduate work also at Gammon and Atlanta University, so I did have an educational background here in Atlanta, also. And then by nature, I am an outgoing kind of fellow -- I just like community work. I have also been a college chaplain, dean of men, and this kind of thing.

So, there are only 2 congregational churches here, and so I'm really not a threat to anybody; perhaps they have said -- and perhaps speaking of what others have said -- that my ability to articulate had a role in it. So, this is the kind of thing that really pushed me out there in the program.

INTERVIEWER:

How did you go about the organizing?

INTERVIEWEE:

We opened our office and kicked our campaign off on the 16th of October. I never shall forget it. In 1961. We knew when we got started (1) that we were not going to get Negroes

here in New Orleans, but our point was to prove that Negroes could not get registered in this federal court in some way or another so what we did here had a direct bearing on the passage of the civil rights and the voting rights act, you see. We kept accurate records on all that we did, as a matter of fact, the reject slip that we devised for the people who had been rejected and who had gone down to the registration office - particularly, the number of questions that were asked them - we kept them on file, and we noticed that when the federal courts here ruled on one case, asking 21 parish registrars to send in the information each month, they evidently took their questions from our questionnaire. We had the fullest cooperation from the justice department.

INTERVIEWER:

In this questionnaire you used all along, this has down here reasons given for rejection, and she had, or someone had, would not accept the social security card because of address-probably because she had moved.

INTERVIEWEE:

What happened there, on social security cards, usually no address is given.

INTERVIEWER:

Well, she did present them with a Sears account card and social security card, and they still rejected her August 20.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. We have had them to turn down driver's licenses, marriage licenses, discharge papers, etc.

INTERVIEWER:

You have systematically kept account of the reasons cited for rejection?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, and we sent these to Washington, the Justice Department, and they like what we did down here because in a community this size, they couldn't possibly go knocking on doors. So, we kept all this information in the office, and anything that they wanted, they could come to the office and pull it out of the files. This precipitated matters.

INTERVIEWER:

This was pre-VEP.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, this was pre-VEP. Now, I may say this about monies, we just had the organizations to subscribe to our budget, and I

think that first year, we collected about 8 or 10,000 dollars, or something like that.

INTERVIEWER:

How many organizations were involved?

INTERVIEWEE:

About 125 organizations.

INTERVIEWER:

Mostly churches?

INTERVIEWEE:

No. There were all types. We had the Protestant churches organized under what we called the Interdominational Ministerial Alliance, and then we had about 14 Roman Catholic parishes here that are predominantly Negro and they are basically _____ churches.

INTERVIEWER:

Did they have Negro clergy?

INTERVIEWEE:

There were two or three around town. I don't know at the moment if we have any pastors. There may be one.

INTERVIEWER:

Did the white clergy participate?

INTERVIEWEE:

Oh, yes, and this was the first time this had ever happened. That we had the complete cooperation of all the priests in Negro parishes. It was an across the board thing, and this is just what we needed.

INTERVIEWER:

Was this the result of a change on the church's part? Or there just had not been such an opportunity before?

INTERVIEWEE:

I think that both factors come to play. There had not been an opportunity before and the other thing I think played a major role in it was that some of the established Negro leadership did not have the kind of reputation that many people liked, and I say that - and I say that there were good people and bad people - but there were certain people in the community the people said they would just not follow because their hands burned with a sword in it and presumably the Coordinating Council being formed on a new kind of leadership - people respected in both the Negro and white community, and no one had anything against them, more or less.

INTERVIEWER:

By numbers, what/is the division approximately of Prostestant and Catholic among Negroes# in New Orleans?

INTERVIEWEE:

By numbers, New Orleans used to be predominantly Roman Catholic, that has changed now in the last two years. The majority of the Negroes now I think are Protestant, but is now a little heavier on the Protestant side. There is one parish here, Corpus Christi, ~~#####~~ had ~~####~~16,000 parishioners in one church.

INTERVIEWER:

Maybe 60-40, something like this.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, I think this would be about fair. This has not always been true.

INTERVIEWER:

You mentioned how you went about interviews# and so on. How did this work?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, this is another phase of it. We wanted to do this research on the leadership class here# in the community; we wanted to find out how to get things done.

INTERVIEWER:

What became of that research?

INTERVIEWEE:

Then we had the grants fromFord foundation for $5,000 (?) - - - how can we study the leadership in New Orleans, etc., the Coordinating Council wanted to structure the community, and we wanted to have a real fine civic study going, and we wanted to prove that something could bring us together. So, we broke the community down in these various categories like the lawyers, the doctors, the businesses, the organizations like the Urban League, and then there was the Coordinating Council and the individual leaders and the religious organizations, etc., and we had people to go out and interview these people, and ask them specific questions as to their background, parents background, education, and this kind of thing. Whether they had ever participated in any decision-making organizations in the city, whether they had served on any boards where they had any significant/basic interracial, ~~#######~~ what were their relationships to their counterparts, for example, if they were clergymen, do you know any of the white clergy, clergical organizations, or do you know the counterpart of your own demomination, ~~#########~~ what kind=of

cooperation do you have? For example, I was at a meeting one day at the white First Baptist Church, the largest one in the city, and the white Methodist superintendent came over to me and said he wanted to meet the Negro Methodist superintendent. Here are men in the same church -- superintendents -- who didn't even know each other. So, we had this kind of complete division' here in the community, and the Negroes are not members of the Federation of Churches, and the white Ministerial Union.

INTERVIEWER:

Are you now? (members of the Federation of churches and white ministerial union.)

INTERVIEWEE:

We are now, yes, that has been broken down.

INTERVIEWER:

Is this reflected in your book published by Prentice Hall?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. The Negro Leadership Class. It is authored by Dr. Daniel C. Thompson, and _____ by Martin Luther King.

So, we interviewed these people. We got a schedule, and we asked them pointed questions according to the schedule, and in another method we used in interviewing these people, we talked with them using the indirect method - talking with them, getting certain information, they being new (?) and not utilizing it. Another method we used was that of attending meetings of all kinds all over the city. One thing we discovered that we could almost write the minutes of the meeting before it took place, and also, we could make a roster of who would be present, so we discovered that the same people were in the same _____ across the community. The instrument that provided a great deal of information was the Louisiana Weekly, the Negro newspaper there. They had files and other things. And we found that in this community, many people laid claim to the same thing. For example, I asked one clergyman who was the first Negro to use the Municipal auditorium. He said he was. I asked another clergyman, and he said he was the first one. Then another, and he said he was the first one. Out of this, some of them had records, some did not. So, I went to the Municipal auditorium, and they gave me their file, and I was able to find out really who was telling the truth. The same thing happened with the first Negro to use the radio, you see. Everyone wants to be first, and so forth. We have all these type of divisions. In the Baptist community here, there are more than 25 Baptist associations. Some of them have only 2 and 3 churches. There are perhaps 4 or 5 major ones, so even they are divided. This is typical of New Orleans. They have over 200 Negro social and pleasure clubs here, and they work with us - the United Clubs, they call their organization. They carried on the mass boycotts on blackouts on Mardi Gras. And they had a lot of information. I think the one thing we discovered that has really been

effective in this town was that several years ago, all Negroes decided that they were not going to attend what they call "McDonough Day." Now, this man was a plantation owner who left all of his estate to the public schools# for the establishment of schools, and the schools are named by number -- McDonough No.1, No. 2, and so forth. So, each year they celebrate his birth or his death, I don't remember which, and the white children would go down and lay a wreath at his grave and the Negro children would go down. So, the leaders got tired and decided to boycott it. Only one Negro school principal and woman showed up, and there was no more "McDonough Day" as far as Negroes were concerned.

INTERVIEWER:

Was there any particular reason for this? Was it against McDonough himself?

INTERVIEWEE:

No, I think it is just the changing of the times. And I believe a Negro lawyer here hamed Rebuis Art(?) ### who is now the President of the national bar was the leader of that boycott. Other than that, that is the only thing where we could ccccccc discover where there was complete unity in the community at one given time. Another thing that we discovered was that nothing of any real significance ever happened in this town without the support of the clergy. Another thing we discovered was that in the community groups, supposing there was a petition drawn up by one labor union and this petition was dealing with a man that was good for the entire community, not just for labor, we discovered that nobody outside of labor ever ordered a petition. This was true straight across the board. We started with the Catholic community, the Protestant community - it never got outside of the community in which it was# originated.

INTERVIEWER:

I guess I had just better get your book and learn these things from it, and then just proceed on to the Coordinating Council itself, and see its actual work in the registrar's office and so on.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, much of what I say now can be found in the book.

INTERVIEWER:

Well, how about picking up with the process of getting people to the registrar's office, how you went about it, or how you organized it.

INTERVIEWEE:

This is how we did it. You had to have an education. You had to be trained# to become a registered voter because the form

is so complicated and yet there were no answers because the questions were ambiguous - they were technical whether or not you underscored Mr., or Miss, or Mrs., or whether you drew a circle around it, this kind of thing - or a matter of figuring out your age to the very exact day , and they had a question ~~of~~ the name of the house owner, my present address is, you don't know the name of the person who owns the house, or named yourself, all this kind of business. So, no one could actually pass that test down there without prior training.

INTERVIEWER:

How many were getting through?

INTERVIEWEE:

We registered about ~~#~~5,000 people during that drive from mid-October to early December, 1961. But conversely, the registrars took off approximately 4,000 people, ~~so we ended up with~~

INTERVIEWER:

On what grounds did they take them off?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, some of them were on justifiable grounds. ~~Some of~~ people died; some hadn't voted in two years; moved, and one thing or another. Some of them were pure illegal purges. They would come knock on my door, and if I am not at home, and my neighbor is asked,"Does Rev. Upton live here?" and thinking the caller is a bill collector and doesn't want to become involved in my business, says, "Well, I don't know." The guy goes back to the office and sends me a letter saying, "According to our survey, you do not live ~~#~~where you say you live; come down within 10 days and bring two people with you otherwise you are scratched." Well, I can't take time off from work and take two other people down -- all these kinds of things.

INTERVIEWER:

So they purged 4,000. Was this Gallinghouse at that time?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, 4,000. Yes, this was "Tim" Gallinghouse at that time.

INTERVIEWER:

This was the registrar appointed by the Governor.

INTERVIEWEE:

~~#~~ Yes.

INTERVIEWER:

And I believe you said this is the only parish in the state where the governor named the registrar rather than the local guard(?)

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, the only parish in the state.

INTERVIEWER:

Was he originally installed then, by a segregationist governor?

INTERVIEWEE:

I didn't know how to brand the present governor. Yes, he was installed by a segregationist governor. Jimmy Davis put him in office. We had a rather liberal man in there before Louis Knopp, Knopp got involved with some of the Negro organizations here, and an old leader, Rev. Scott Chin (?) about 90 years old when he died, who had been playing and dabbing around a lot of things for years, and they had a meeting and it was called the famous, "Watermelon _____" and one political leader here, Jimmy Puliskey, - James, it was - the young one is running for counsellor-at-large, his father is the assessor --

INTERVIEWER :

The political boss --

INTERVIEWEE:

Oh, yes, he is most assuredly that, indeed. Well, the old man - his name was published in the paper as going to be the treasurer of his organization.

INTERVIEWER:

Do you know the name of his organization?

INTERVIEWEE:

The Four D's, I believe it was called.

INTERVIEWER:

This was for the purpose of tapping(?) the watermellon?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, they were actually going to forming their political organization - the old man, Rev. Chin, said he was going to get 100,000 Negroes registered. He released it to the papers, and said that Jimmy Puliskey is going to be my treasurer. He had a few other

names mixed up in there. Jimmy Puliskey, as I understand it, was not pro-Jimmy Davis and Louis Knopp was pro-Pulasky, don't you see. This was the undoing of the Davis machine. I think this happened on a Friday, or something like this, and the next morning, or the Sunday morning, or Monday Louis Knopp was fired as the Registrar of voters. This is when this man Gallinghouse came in.

INTERVIEWER:

After Jimmy Davis' appointment, this was to slow down mass registration. Specifically to stop that.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, indeed. Jimmy Davis was a segregationist, as far as I could see. When Lou took over Don, he stated in the paper the other day that Gallinghouse was acceptable both to the liberal whites and to the conservatives. And he wasn't going to remove him from office for when he found someone who could satisfy both the liberals and the conservatives, why he felt he was lucky to have the man. But it is my feeling that the liberal whites who asked that the man remain were not fully advised to the facts. If they made this recommendation, I am certain they would not make it now.

INTERVIEWER:

Can the governor remove him at any time?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. He has the power to.

INTERVIEWER:

Is there any pressure being brought on him now because of the slow down there?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, there is. Many Negro organizations, the Interdominational Ministerial Alliance was the first one that wired the governor, the NAACP has wired the governor, the Community Relations Council, an interracial group here.

INTERVIEWER:

Do you find him at all amicable on this?

INTERVIEWEE:

No, he is not amicable at all on removing the registrars; He claims the man is doing a good job and he simply is not going to remove him. The Civil Liberties Union has called for his removal

and has called for federal registrars. We have met with the political fellows whom we feel closest, and have asked them to speak with the governor about this man. So far, we have not been successful in getting him out of office. This is how he got in, and he claims he is a most efficient man , a very technical man, and he is running a good office and he is abiding by thelaw, and he won't do anything that is contrary to the law yet the state law gives him a lot of latitude in administering his office and what obtains in this ###### parish may not necessarily obtain in any of the other parishes. We have this problem: To get people down there, here is what the Coordinating Council set out to do: We set out to have what we called voter registration schools set up. We asked every church to set up a school; we appointed a committee of the people who would come to our head boys and get training and material# and their job would be to register the numbers of their own congregation. We asked organizations like the Masonic Lodge, etc., and pleasure clubs to do the same thing. So, we would provide transportation in Negro buses (organizations and churches have buses) -- free transportation. We would dispatch buses to specific places where they would carry people to the registration hall. Taxicabs were giving their free service and private individuals were giving their free services. We had many volunteers manning our offices ###### Monday through Saturday . We had all sorts of publicity going -- radio, television, newspapers, placards, and all the things you would have . We had a speaker's bureau, church groups, PTA groups, -- everybody was involved# in this marvelous thing, and of course, when we had these problems, we called on the justice department and they gave us some directions and help and understanding.

INTERVIEWER:

To what extent did they do that?

INTERVIEWEE:

The justice department told us what to look for in terms of discrimination ### -- the information they would need, in other words, in order to file a suit. Actually, it was formed here. _____ had a conference with them. They liked what we were doing for, as I say, we had a simpler filing system# so they didn't have to run all over town. And they were quite reluctant to go through files down here because it was such a large job - they didn't have the personnel the money or the equipment to _____ the files there. So it would be much easier to be done in this manner. Separate suits were filed and we still have a suit in the courts.

INTERVIEWER:

What does the suit call for?

INTERVIEWEE:

This last suit calls for the discontinuation of this form .

INTERVIEWER:

Is this the one filed yesterday you are talking about?

INTERVIEWEE:

No. This is one filed earlier. They were using this form as an application, as literacy tests. If you would read, then you could register, because in 1960, the legislature passed a new law forbidding illiterates from registering, so if you couldn't read, there was no reason to even go down there. That case has not been litigated yet, but it is before the courts, but I think all this is moot now because all of this has been done away with by the voting rights act of 1965.

We had sound trucks going up the streets; we had children - we would stand across the street from the schools in the afternoon and hand out leaflets to little children because we coulnd't do it on school property. And in every kind of way we used methods to get the message over to the people.

INTERVIEWER:

During that period before these tests were eliminated, what percentage of those that you took down were getting registered?

INTERVIEWEE:

Very few. I would say about 2%. Personally, I would take two buses down at one time and never was I able to get more than two people out of two busloads registered.

INTERVIEWER:

Meanwhile, you were keeping records of all the names and everything? And hoping that a federal judge would put those on the list who had been denied?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes.

INTERVIEWER:

So, those that are going down there now have been down there a number of times?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. A number of times before. 15 or 18/20 times.

INTERVIEWER:

And now they are going in there now about 3-400 a day now, aren't they?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. Which is too slow.

INTERVIEWER:

But these are not getting through each day. I believe they told me this morning that in 2 hours 70 had gotten through some 18 registrars.

INTERIVEWEE:

Yes. So you can see how slow it is.

INTERVIEWER:

Why would they waste that much time?

INTERVIEWEE:

In the first place, they let only one person come in at a time. And then they will engage in any kind of conversation they want to engage them in - or sit down for a while, or take this time to go for a coffee break or something like this. No hurry at all. A deliberate slow-down. No normal hurry. This is the type of tactic that is being used. Another thing we discovered is that they are requiring some people to read this statute here: I have freely given this information and as required by state law I have read what I have signed, and so forth. If people can't read this, then they can't get registered. There should be no type of reading whatsoever.

INTERVIEWER:

I think we have fairly well covered the organizations itself. Other than what would be in the files. You were making some observations about the impact about all this. As to the lack of impact before and its effect on the city. You took me back to the depression years when all the Negroes were fired, and so forth. How about recapping that and discussing what impact you think it is going to have on the immediate political scene.

INTERVIEWEE:

To go back in the depression days, the mayor of the city himself requested that all Negroes be fired; certainly he could do this in the city jobs and ask the business people downtown to do likewise. He even went so far as to make a statement on the radio and said he wanted the nigger women to _____ babies.

INTERVIEWER:

What mayor was this?

INTERVIEWEE:

I believe this was Bob Mastry. I think this was the mayor.

INTERVIEWER:

In the early 1930's?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. We could check that out.

INTERVIEWER:

And they did fire them?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. Only one store downtown maintained its Negro employees. It was Cross(?) department store. And that has endeared Cross to the Negro community and when the NAACP was picketing stores many of us just ignored this at Cross' because they had been fairly good to us as it goes across the years. The other thing was that there always has been a quota system in New Orleans Parish on the number of Negroes who could get registered. I have had people to tell me that their fathers would ask some politician about getting registered and they would say, "Well, now, in your precinct, only 14 Negroes can get registered," so as long as you weren't no. 15, you could get registered.

INTERVIEWER:

Would this be the ward leader who would be saying this?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes.

INTERVIEWER:

Who alloted this? The ward leader?

INTERVIEWER:

Yes. I guess the ward leaders or the _____ committee, or something. So, Negroes were given a quota like you give patronage out,

INTERVIEWER:

How about the white voters? Did they have a problem registering?

INTERVIEWEE:

Not too much. South Louisiana has always been discriminated against in the state. Just South Louisiana, period. So any discrimination applied to Negroes also to the general population in the South Louisiana. And again, you find this religious division. South Louisiana has largely been Roman Catholic and North Louisiana has been largely white Protestant and this has been the hot bed of the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Council, So I don't think Louisiana has ever had a Catholic for governor. This was one thing that was always used against the late Shep Morrison. He was Catholic, and every time he would run, North Louisiana would just clobber him.

INTERVIEWER:

The franchise, though,

what I was getting at was that, is a fairly closed business anyway, wasn't it?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. In general, it was.

INTERVIEWER:

It might be that those _____ didn't register all the white people, either, and that the ratio was heavily white.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. I would say so. I think the thing that we operated on was that you can only control so many people, so don't get more than you can control. The state laws, dating back to 1888, 1890's - back in there, disenfranchised the Negro and they made no bones about that. So I don't think that we have ever had more than 40,000 Negroes registered in this town. By the way, a rather lucid picture of this is also in the book - it even cites the cases in there, and give the dates - I can't remember just now, I think in 1962 we had about 36,000 on. It has always been this kind of thing. The impact - and Negroes have had registration drives before, and I don't remember that we ever put on over 4-5,000 people on; we were always happy when we got 1,000 on, but each time there was always this purge. What this means now is we are going to have more Negroes registered than ever before; they can vote in this election. (Mayor and the city council election) and other parochial officers this November 6, 1965). It is my feeling that if the Negro block votes in this election, he will determine who will be mayor of New Orleans.

INTERVIEWER:

What percentage is his vote?

INTERVIEWEE:

Its going to be about 22 - 25% now by the time we finish this drive.

INTERVIEWER:

Before the drive, what was it?

INTERVIEWEE:

Around 13-14%, I believe.

INTERVIEWER:

What would it be if every eligible-age white and Negro were registered?

INTERVIEWEE:

We estimate about thirty something per cent.

INTERVIEWER:

About half the potential.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. As a matter of fact, we have a potential Negro registration of 107,000 - I forget what the white is - maybe 122,000 whites.

INTERVIEWER:

What is the actual Negro registration?

INTERVIEWER:

The number today, I would say about 40,000.

INTERVIEWER:

That was before the latest drive?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. Now, before the latest drive, the actual figures were before the President signed the voting rights act, was 35,072 Negroes, 191,000 whites.

INTERVIEWER:

Would there be a majority in any ward?

INTERVIEWER:

Yes. One ward, particularly the second ward. Negroes, by population, are in the majority and now I think by registration, they are in the majority.

INTERVIEWER:

Tell me what the impact of this is going to be on the election immediately in?

INTERVIEWEE:

One thing, there will not be any race-baiting in the campaign.

INTERVIEWER:

They are that confident there won't be?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, indeed. As a matter of fact, already one of the candidates for mayor withdrew. Gerald Gallinghouse, a brother

of the present voting registrar, has withdrawn from the race and one of the reasons he withdrew was because the registration problem has become a party major issue and a race issue, and his brother is the registrar, and he thought that this would mean that the campaign would certainly get no Negro votes, and would raise the race issue, and he said he didn't want to be a part of anything with a race issue as it would be a bad name on our community, and so he withdrew from the race.

INTERVIEWER:

How about among the council members? Wouldn't there be some wards like the 9th ward where you would have a race-type council candidate?

INTERVIEWEE:

You may have a race-type candidate down there who was running down there, I am not familiar with their leanings are. The 9th ward is one of the most heavily Negro populated in the city - the 9th ward and the 7th ward. The least populated Negro ward, I suppose, would be the 8th ward.

INTERVIEWER:

The 9th ward is more heavily segregationist-white ward, isn't it?

INTERVIEWEE

Yes, and then again - well, more would be in that ward, but your most rich segregationist ward is the 8th ward - that would be my feeling about it because you don't have too many Negroes living in the 8th ward. Your 8th and 9th wards would be your seat-beds(?) of conservatives.

INTERVIEWER:

Would there be any Negro candidates in the areas where there will be Negro majorities?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. I believe there are. I would have to check that out. I believe we have 3 or 4 Negroes running for office .

INTERVIEWER:

Is it the first time they ever have in the city?

INTERVIEWEE

No. We had Negroes to run for Lieutenant Govenor as recent as the last general election. We had them run for state attorney general, and district attorney here, members of the school board, and several offices around town, In this present election, we have one Negro running for councilman at large, one running for constable from his own district, they had another one

running for who is running for criminal sheriff - wehave had them to run before for members of the Democratic executive committee, and members of the state legislature, so Negro candidates in campaigns - this is nothing new to us here.

INTERVIEWER:

I suppose they have reapportioned the legislature, haven't they?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. The legislature but not entirely - there is something that still has to be done in reapportionment.

INTERVIEWER:

Aren't there some legislative districts where Negroes would be in the majority?

INTERVIEWEE:

It's not the majority very large percentage. I do not have this with me now, but I do have this broken down in figures, statistics and percentages.

INTERVIEWER:

There is no immediate indication that Negroes will be elected this election?

INTERVIEWEE:

Not in this one. Frankly, with the excpetion of one of the Negroes who is offering himself for office this time, there are basically - I think we have one attorney offered - Earl A. Holladee; this man was one time the adst. district attorney - he ran for the office in the last election. This man is a good man - a very fine man - a good lawyer, but his reputation in the community among the Negroes is not - what I would say is the way theygenerally feel about him - that he is the sort of a fellow who is just as soon not be involved with.

INTERVIEWER:

He is a Negro?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. He is a Negro. Another one of the cabinets is Rev. Avery C. Alexander, who has been in the forefront of the civil rights movement here, and he is undersuspicion by the general population here. Another candidate is dentist here, Dr. Wellington Arnold, a young man, who is not known in the community. His father is a very prominent man here in the school. He is tied in with this group they call the "Triple Action Organization" and I know he isn't satisfied with it and didn't know what he was getting into. What I am really trying to point out is that these other men plus others who are not running who could be

running perhaps, has been the same old soup(?) they have been accused of dealing and wheeling and all this kind of business, so they will not make an impact upon the Negro electorate. Now, if we had some other kind of people running - -

INTERVIEWER:

There would not be a block vote for them, then.

INTERVIEWEE:

No, no. As a matter of fact, they will get very few - this is my observation - they would get very few Negro votes. Unless there is a protest vote, or something. But our concentration - I think theNegro community is not going to be upon the parochial offices or upon the city councilmen race, but upon the mayor's race; we are interested in who's going to be mayor.

INTERVIEWER:

Can you tell me something about how that is proceeding - what the candidates themselves are doing to get the Negro vote, i f anything?

INTERVIEWEE:

One of the things the candidates are doing is that they are real certain that they are not going to use the race issue in the campaign; they are very careful about that. Negroes have met with both candidates - I was present at a meeting with both candidates, one of them was a political meeting where candidate Fitzmorris(?) called in a group of Negro leaders just for cocktails, coffee, to have a drink and chat -- dialogue --

INTERVIEWER:

Is that a usual thing here, or is this the first of that kind of contact?

INTERVIEWEE:

This is unusual because before, the white politicians dealt with the Negro political ledders, and I may hasten to add that we do not have any Negro politicians in this town according to our definition, because a politician is one who is a professional and who makes his living in politics.

INTERVIEWER:

Was (question not understood)
is it tradition _____

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, this kind of thing and the Negro political groups have drawn up a budget, and presented this to the candidates - and now, this is our

budget, and now, if you can underwrite this, we will support you - and they go from one candidate to the other - and one will say, "I'll underwrite the major portion of the budget," and this is the guy they will support.

INTERVIEWER:

And what happens to the money after that?

INTERVIEWEE:

It is never seen.

INTERVIEWER:

Is this the first time a candidate for mayor has made the approach of this kind?

INTERVIEWEE:

To my knowledge, yes. He had in there a lot of persons(?) and I'm certainly not a politician. He called the meeting and the president and the exe. sec. of the NAACP were there, and certainly the NAACP is not a political organization. So, he was drawing what he called a cross-section of the Negro leadership. Just to sit down and talk, because the political leadership would not be able to call the shots this time for the first time; that is because we have an increase in the Negro electorate.

INTERVIEWER:

About the political leadership. Who are the political leaders in the community? Some of the people you have named as candidates?

INTERVIEWEE:

No. The real political Negro leaders in this town - the one that must be at the very top is the Rev. A. L. Davis, Jr., who is president of Interdonminational Ministerial Alliance, and is the same time the president of the political organization called the OPPPL - that is the Orleans Parish Political League, or something like that - Orleans Parish Progressive League. He is the most powerful political leader not only in the city , but in the state. He also has important national ties. He is in popular demand among many people - but he is a powerful man and must be reckoned with in the political arena.

INTERVIEWER:

What kind of national connections does he have?

INTERVIEWEE:

--Belongs to the National Democratic Party; as a matter of fact, I think this man has a great deal to do with such Negro patronage is handed down. He is really a part of the power structure as far as the Negroes are concerned. I think (not understood) and people closest to the president, you see. Powerful -- very powerful, politically.

Another man who is most powerful around this town would be Clarence _____, he is called, he is president of the local 1490, the ILA organization - a very powerful man politically. I asked the late Mr. ~~Sheriff~~ Morrision at a meeting one night - he met with one of our clubs, mens clubs here - and he made this statement, now: I compare myself to Bill Hartsfield in Atlanta; Dick _____ in Chicago, and Mayor Bob Wagner of NYC. After the meeting was over, and we were doing this study, so I said, Mr. Mayor, -- by the way, in the study we interviewed Negro and white people -- I said, Mr. Mayor, you compared yourself with men, and I came from Atlanta and I know a little bit of how our Mayor Hartsfield operates in the Negro community, and I said, now, Mr. Mayor, when you have a problem that is of particular concern in the Negro community, whomdo you consult? His words, exactly, "The political leaders - Rev. A L. Davis and Clarence ___." Now, these are his exact words to me. So, another man who is most powerful in this town is by no means a politician, but certainly is a man of power and must be reckoned with is President A. W. Dent of Dillard University - there is no question, the man has tremendous power - not a politician, but his position puts him in the arena of the white power structure, at least he has raport with them. Another man who is by no means is to be played short is is Atty. A. T. Toreaud. Atty. Toreaud is the dean of Negro lawyers here and has handled a lot of the litigation for the NAACP. Toreaud is to New Orleans what Col. Walden was to Atlanta.

INTERVIEWER:

All of these must be from the old line leadership.

INTERVIEWEE:

This would -- I would say -- yes.

INTERVIEWER:

Are you suggesting then that (not understood) and a mayorial candidates would need to deal with a different group entirely?

INTERVIEWEE:

Well, not entirely, but in conjunction with. This is the meeting that Fitzmorris(?) convened, and he is the man who picked out the leaders himself, I think , of his cohorts, in both groups. All the candidates recognize now, (1) that nobody controls the Negro community anymore. This was brought out very diligently in the Los Angeles situation. Martin King, Dick Gregory, and nobody couldn't go in there unless they didn't throw molotov cocktails - if not, you could get the hell out of here, you see. Of course, this was in rebellion and you couldn't call it civil rights, you see.

But, the Negro community now is rising as everybody is rising worldwide, so you can't gear over here to the same old groups - it's like Jesus said, you ##### don't put new wine in old bottles. So, they understand this. (not understood) old political boys, they ##### would call in the leaders# of the clergy, in business, in education and straight across the board.

INTERVIEWER:

Do you have anybody identified with the young militants - the young student type?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. We had representatives in court.

INTERVIEWER:

Fitzmorris chose to have them?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. We wouldn't dare move without them. So, this is an umbrella kind of thing.

Conversation here not understood. Both parties talking at once.

INTERVIEWER:

Without the pressure of a segregationist# candidate, would it ##### make the Negro community cohesive - would you have a solid vote for one candidate?

INTERVIEWEE:

I would think so. What the Negro community is confronted with now -- had Gallinghouse had remained in the election, it would be different -- we are going to have to decide for the first time on issues and leadership, which the town God knows needs, so here is what I think -- that I would say that the Negroes that I have talked with really couldnt' care less who became mayor, #### whether it was _____ or Fitzmorris - they are all in the same boat - so inasmuch as they both are from the same piece of cloth, ~~Hugo(?)~~ has one advantage - a couple of advantages - 1. He has the backing of the real money people - you know, the power structure, business, banking, etc. The other thing is that by law he cannot succeed himself, so this gives you time to really increase your Negro registration (in #4 yrs.)

INTERVIEWER:

You mean he can have two terms?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. This would be the second term. He cannot run the third time.

In only 8 years can a mayor run. This will mean we will be rid of him Fitzmorris, you could possibly have him in there for 8 years. Now, Fitzmorris has been in office for 12 years - in public office -- now, specifically, what have you done for the special interest group? The man could not answer. I raised the question. I said, now, look, I haven't been here long, and I haven't known you as long as you have had a name here, and I understand you have been in office 12 years. I'd like to know particularly what have you done for Negroes. He didn't give any specific answer, Hugo(?) hasn't done much more, either. He does have something working for him - the commitments we have gotten from him - (not understood)

INTERVIEWER:-

What were they?

INTERVIEWER:

He promised to open up civil service where we could get Negro firemen - he did, and we put them on - the boys themselves flubbed the dub and it is not the city's fault - they didn't go to work, or did something wrong. It wasn't the city's fault or the mayor's that they didn't stay there.

INTERVIEWER:

Do they have any now?

INTERVIEWEE:

No. We don't have any at all.

INTERVIEWER:-

Do you think this is a case of true - legitimate ----

INTERVIEWEE:

Oh, yes. This is legitimate. No question about this at all. Another thing is the garbage collectors. He promised us garbage collectors.

(Not understood)

INTERVIEWER:

This choice job. How many do you have?

INTERVIEWEE:

I don't know how many we have. I see them working all over town .

INTERVIEWER:

Several hundred, do you think?

INTERVIEWEE:

I really don't know - but I see them running all over town now.

In the beginning, they were placed in predominantly Negro neighborhoods, but I seee them any place now.

INTERVIEWER:

What else did he offer?

INTERVIEWEE:

We asked him to remove all signs of segregation on every piece of public property in town, which he did. He also promised us that he would not appeal any case in the city law in the first court in segregation cases, and he said, "I will not commit myself to anything that is illegal -- I don't break the law - if it is anything within my power and is legal, I will live up to it. If it is anything that is illegal, then I expect you to bring the suit. And he lives up to this. And he also lived up to his part (not understd) trade and technical school out here, but he said we can't do anything about it until you bring the suit -- we'll not fight you, we will help you," and we had his complete cooperation.

INTERVIEWER:

This is the trade school, and it hasn't been integrated?

INTERVIEWEE:

Oh, yes; we filed a suit.

INTERVIEWER:

When did he make all these promises? After his election?

INTERVIEWEE:

No. When the Chief (?) Morrison left to become ambassador to the OAAS (?) he was a member of the city council at large, I believe, and he was elected by the council to fill out the unexpired term of Morrison. Then he had to run on his own the next time, and it was in running on his own that he made these commitments, I believe.

INTERVIEWER:

Before the election?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes.

INTERVIEWER:

I understand that during the run-off period for the election that he made a sort of semi-race appeal.

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes. This is what happened. We had a man running against him

front-runner, Adrian DePoncey(?), a very good man. Somebody's name has a marvelous record with Negroes even before he was on the Shep Morrison ticket - so really he hasn't done anything one way or the other to help or to hurt us. But (not understood) had no choice (not understd) this block of voted. Now, (not understd) could be practical with it - you couldn't blame the man -- you've got 20-30,000 Negro votes out here and you have got 1 or 200,000 white votes, so that the high endorsement of the Negro in this community up to this time has been the kiss of death.

INTERVIEWER:

So he was sure of himself -------

INTERVIEWEE:

No, what happened was this: We had scheduled a rally here -- I forget who had scheduled the thing -- and Martin King was scheduled to speak at the auditorium. Somebody's name was down in Mexico someplace, and anyway, Martin was denied use of the auditorium -- it was right before election time, and Solomon being the mayor, he could have given permission to use it, and he didn't, and the segregationists said this is our man. Hugo didn't say much himself but the boys around him did, and they just batted the ball and he kept his mouth shut and just let the thing go.

INTERVIEWER:

He didn't make this speech(?) himself?

INTERVIEWEE:

No. I don't think he would accuse the mayor ---

INTERVIEWER:

- - - - television pouring out the Negro wards and saying this is the block vote that went to my opponent in the primary --

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, this kind of thing. But he pointed out that not understood and used to his advantage. _____ and we would say, we didn't vote for you, Mr. Mayor -- and this is true -- he did not get the Negro vote. So, we weren't going togethe r after this thing happened, so there was nothing to make an appeal.

INTERVIEWER:

Was the block vote against him?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, I would say the block vote's against him.

INTERVIEWER:

How do you think he will handle Greg _____ now, or is there no

INTERVIEWEE:

No -- that is no problem now. ###

INTERVIEWER:

They still have some hundred some odd white folks, many of which are the _____ type voters,

May 18, 1959

Professor James W. Vander Zanden
Sociology Department
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Professor Vander Zanden:

I must first ask your forgiveness for our delay in replying to your letter of April 25. Incredible as it may seem, there are no more copies of our November 1956 release on Negro registration, county by county. The enclosed sheets reproduce, however, with such corrections as we later made, the report of that date.

I am sure that I need not offer you a cavat on the use of registration figures. Whether they are obtained from official sources or not, they are, we know, loaded with error and about all that anyone can say of any given set is that they are the best figures he can come by. For example, the Georgia figures included here are official. Comparison of the official estimates of white registration, in the report from which our Negro figures are taken, with 1950 census figures presents questions too obvious to be overlooked. In general we have found that Negro registration figures tend to be more accurate than are those for white persons. This is probably because Negro registration is somewhat more carefully supervised and because Negro registration is rather more recent - therefore, there is less natural inflation on registration books through failure to remove the names of persons dead or moved.

Our North Carolina figures were pieced together from several sources by Professor Solomon Sutker, now of Oklahoma A. & M. College. You will notice that Mr. Sutker did not make estimates for every county. Our experience with the North Carolina estimates has been reassuring. The Louisiana figures are official. Despite a number of corrections made in the Alabama figures since our estimates of 1956 (and these corrections are contained in the figures enclosed) they should not be used without great caution. The Virginia figures are based on official estimates and seem to be reliable.

We are, incidentally, in the process of completing a new survey based on 1958 registration.

The only comprehensive city figures for 1956 which we have by precinct registration are for Louisville. We do expect shortly to have some good figures for 1958 on several South Carolina cities and I know that current data is being accumulated by graduate students at the University of North Carolina for Winston-Salem and Durham. These are also the only two cities for which we have 1956 data that may be of value to you. Listed below are the results in some Negro precincts in Durham and Winston-Salem; these are not registration but actual voting figures:

Votes Cast for Governor in the May, 1956 Democratic Primary, Durham County:

	For Hodges	For Other Candidates
Whitted School Precinct, Durham	67	91
Burton School Precinct, Durham	25	68
Pearson School Precinct, Durham	39	53
Durham County, all precincts	11,766	1,783

Votes Cast for U. S. Senator in the May, 1956 Democratic Primary, Durham County:

	For Ervin	For Kurfees
Whitted School Precinct, Durham	57	946
Burton School Precinct, Durham	33	377
Pearson School Precinct, Durham	32	77
Durham County, all precincts	9,493	2,969

Votes Case for U. S. House of Representatives in the May, 1956 Democratic Primary, Forsyth County:

	For Scott	For Chatham
Columbia Heights, Precinct, Winston-Salem	9	363
14th Street Precinct, Winston-Salem	36	1,278
Kimberly Park Precinct, Winston-Salem	33	1,100

9,105 persons were listed as being registered in these three precincts.

In Atlanta we do have Negro registration figures as of the May, 1957 municipal election. These are as follows:

Ward	Precinct	Negro registered voters	White registered voters
3	B	2,482	0
3	H	2,095	6
3	K	1,268	0
3	N	774	0
4	I	1,902	6
6	H	2,311	12
7	A	1,957	9
7	D	2,113	1
		14,899	34

I am sorry that we cannot supply fully all of the information that you requested. I hope that you will find the above and the enclosures of value.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: North Carolina
Mississippi
Louisiana
Alabama
Virginia
Georgia

May 3, 1960

Professor J. W. Vander Zanden
Duke University
Sociology Department
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Professor Vander Zanden:

I have read with much interest your article, "The Klan Revival," in the March issue of the American Journal of Sociology, and would be most grateful if you could send me a reprint for our files. It is an excellent piece. I was deeply interested also to see your footnote to your unpublished dissertation on resistance groups in the South. Once again we have cause to be concerned about the inadequate communication in our field. We several years ago did a report ourselves on the subject and are right now in the process of trying to do a revision of it. I am going to see if we cannot get your dissertation on loan from the University's library.

I hope your research on Negro voting has gone along well, and that we may some day soon see the results of it. Don Matthews, from the University of North Carolina, will be down here in a couple of weeks to look over our files as he begins their large scale study of Negro voting. I hope if you ever have occasion to be in Atlanta you will do the same.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 12, 1961

Professor James W. Vander Zanden
Sociology Department
Duke University
Durham, N. C.

Dear Professor Vander Zanden:

I am glad to see that you have published some more of your research on southern segregationists. If you have a spare reprint of "Voting on Segregationist's Referendum," Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1961, we would be most grateful to receive it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 14, 1960

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

We will be glad to do what we can for you. I have asked Marge to begin pulling stuff together and the two of us will be working on it. In the meantime, best wishes to you and family.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Ret. LEC

March 28, 1961

Mr. Emory F. Via
School for Workers
The University of Wisconsin
University Extension Division
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Your questions concerning employment or upgrading of Negroes and concerning the "Federal Executive and Civil Rights" report are being referred to the research department and Les Dunbar. I am certain you will hear from them in the next few days. Les is also the one to determine the availability of copies of the "Federal Executive."

Please give my personal regards to Margaret and best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

March 23, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

MM / Mr. Wilkins

I write to ask favors. What else? I would like to have such information as is available and recent (or as recent as you have) on employment or up-grading of Negroes in local or state governments, north or south. This would include police, firemen, and libraries, among others.

Are you the person I should clear with regarding reproducing portions of the "Federal Executive and Civil Rights". I would like to reproduce the whole of the table of contents ("The Proposals") and the excerpts from the opening pages indicated on the enclosed thermo-fax sheets. These would be used as a teaching aid in class discussions. Is there any problem here? Appropriate credit would be given.

Also, I could use a dozen copies of the Federal Executive and Civil Rights with ease, if they are available. In fact, up to twenty-five would not go to waste. They would be aimed at leading human relations types in Wisconsin and some labor leadership.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via

EFV:jc
Enclosures

April 6, 1961

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
The University of Wisconsin
University Extension Division
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Of course you may reproduce any of The Federal Exeuctive and Civil Rights you want to, and blessings on you. We are sending you under separate cover two copies of the report. I would send you the 12 to 25 you asked for if it were not for the fact that for this particular job we have been rather strict about charging, and consistency is standing in the way of personal inclination. The price is .50 single, .35 in quantity and you may have any quantity at the latter price.

We have little to send you about employment break-throughs, largely because there haven't been many, but what we have is enclosed. For information on police, write Elliott Rudwick, Southern Illinois University, East St. Louis Residence Center, East St. Louis, Illinois; he has a lot of stuff, which he is holding close until he can get it published.

And now thank you for your letter of April 3. Because I agree so fully with you regarding Harold's leadership, I am all the more diffident about taking the job. I believe, too, and have for some time, that events are finally catching up with the Council and that its period of greatest usefulness is just opening. We shall need all the advice and help we can get in

the next few years from people such as yourself, and we shall be asking for it.

Best wishes to you, Margaret, and David.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures:
thermafax copies, news clips

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

April 3, 1961

Mr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Congratulations on the appropriate recognition given you by the staff and Council by being selected director of the Southern Regional Council. I need not belabor with you the fact that I held Harold's leadership of SRC in extremely high regard and I know that he will be missed.

Upon his leaving, however, SRC is fortunate to have someone of your ability, insight, and dedication to take over. We look forward to continued great things from the Council under your leadership.

I sometimes feel that there is little I can offer SRC from here. But I do want to assure you of my full support in whatever way it can be of use to you. I want you to call on me if I can be of aid.

Margaret joins me in sending every good wish to you and to Peg. Please give our warm regards to the whole staff.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via

July 3, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

I have given some thought to the "Vine City" proposal of the Atlanta Urban League. Perhaps by now all questions are moot, as I understand you and Taconic have had discussions of the proposal. In case the matter is still alive, here are some reactions for whatever little worth they may have.

Neighborhood initiative and self-planning is a commendable idea, and one deserving encouragement if helpful ways can be found to do so. So also is the desire for greater involvement of local Urban Leagues in urban renewal. Both of these objectives I can commend to you unhesitatingly. It does seem to me, however, that, practically speaking, what is presented here is a suggestion that the planning costs of an urban renewal project be shifted from governmental to foundation resources. Personally, I have no objection to this in principle, but I think the issue ought to be confronted.

What I have just said indicates that in my reading of the proposal, the last paragraph of page 2 is understood as being the practical essence of the plan. Perhaps I am wrong.

The budget and time estimates certainly seem sufficient, but I don't really know what the costs might be. There is some ambiguity as to whether the budget is intended exclusively for the "Vine City" project.

What would happen if the Aldermen did not do as requested?

I think you will understand that I prefer that these comments be treated confidentially.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

170 f

Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3

Fall, 1960

Applicant: J. B. Blayton, Sr., Chairman, Board of Directors

Request: $43,980 a year for five years ($219,900) as a grant-in-aid to continue its work in improving the housing and neighborhood conditions of Negroes in Atlanta, particularly in the "Vine City" area. The applicant says that long experience has taught that local initiative is the first and last essential for building and renewing the city.

The Problem Area: "Vine City" consists of 450 acres adjacent to and north of the Atlanta University Urban Renewal project. Progressive deterioration marks the area which mostly has narrow, poorly lighted, unpaved streets and dilapidated housing. "Vine City" is bound on the north by Simpson Street, on the east by Elliott Street, on the south by Hunter Street and Ashby Street is on the west. There are 3,391 sub-standard dwelling units in this area.

Specific Objectives: "To eliminate slum conditions and stop the spread of blight and deterioration in the 'Vine City' area, the Atlanta Urban League proposes to:

1. Provide local neighborhood leadership with the opportunity to study and evaluate its own neighborhood's needs for private and public renewal action, and

2. Make available to the leadership the services of professional planners and other technical help to aid in organizing their efforts and guiding their decisions. Such assistance would have their direct responsibility to the neighborhood group and to the Atlanta Urban League instead of to local and federal governments, and would represent the interests of these groups in dealing with government agencies.

"A feature of the project would be the emphasis on developing committees composed of citizens residing in the neighborhood. These would function in three capacities:

1. Review technical data and proposals prepared by the professional planners.

2. Assist in determing basic environmental goals and objectives.

3. Disseminate information concerning the project to the neighborhood.

"The Atlanta Urban League, in cooperation with the area residents, will establish these working committees: codes and ordinances, housing for displaced persons, finance, membership, neighborhood analysis, neighborhood organization, police, health, fire, protection and beautification.

"This project would reverse the typical renewal procedures whereby the city, without consulting property owners, selects an area to be renewed and applies to the selected area those renewal measures which were thought to be technically necessary. The project would aim to encourage local self-determination. After all committees had completed their findings, the neighborhood leaders and the Atlanta Urban League would formally present requests to the city that specific renewal measures be applied to carry out its wishes and needs.

"This program must be so timed that contact with all families in the neighborhood can be developed and maintained.

"The Atlanta Urban League proposes to accomplish these objectives during a five-year period. These steps are involved:

1. There exists at the present a small neighborhood civic club of property owners and tenants. The residents of the area would be convened by the Urban League for a discussion of area problems, and

   a) Explain the necessity of the citizens becoming more aware of the area problems, and
   b) Encourage them to set up sub-committees for dealing with the problems.

2. Secure the services of competent professional planning firms to assist residents in developing a comprehensive plan. The plan would involve housing, recreation, schools, street lay-outs, zoning, building codes, drainage, sanitation, traffic, population density and shopping centers.

a) The plan, developed cooperatively by the residents and professional planners, would meet all of the requirements of the local and federal governments.

3. Secure the services of the Planning Department of the City of Atlanta in order to assure that all of the local requirements will have been met in developing the over-all plan. Participation of the City Planning Department would give semi or quasi-official status to the final plans that will have been developed by the professional planners, residents and the Atlanta Urban League. The City Planning Department would be paid a fee-negotiated-for services rendered to the professional planners and residents in order to assure full cooperation and in order not to further strain the financial position of Atlanta.

4. Request the city officials, the Aldermanic Joint Planning Board, to cooperate with the Atlanta Urban League and residents of 'Vine City'. Specifically, the joint request to the Aldermanic Joint Planning Board would seek to accomplish the following objectives:

a) Obtain the passage of a resolution by the Aldermanic Board approving the 'Vine City' project as a semi-official urban renewal project, provided, that the completed plan will have met the standards of the City, the Urban Renewal Administration and the Atlanta Housing Authority, the local redevelopment agency; and have stipulated in the resolution that the City in cooperation with the federal government will subsequently assume responsibility for renewing the area when the former is financially able.

b) Have stipulated in the resolution a statement declaring that all owners of real property who improve and bring such property up to and in compliance with building and housing codes (between specified dates) in the 'Vine City' area will not be required to pay the increased tax assessment on rehabilitated or new dwelling units until and after a period of five years from the date of completion of the improvements or completion of the new dwelling units.

Atlanta Urban League Fall, 1960

Money Problem: "The City of Atlanta is strained to the limit of its financial resources for urban renewal and cannot undertake the renewal of the 'Vine City' area. It cannot afford to ask the federal government for a cash-grant-in-aid to do this job because of present and pending urban renewal commitments with the federal government. Since Atlanta is committed to the hilt and no large-scale housing developments are foreseen for the residents of 'Vine City', the Atlanta Urban League, in cooperation with residents of the area, proposes to assume the responsibility of lending assistance for replanning and redeveloping the area with private assistance.

"With funds from a private foundation to assist the Urban League in helping the indigenous leadership of 'Vine City' to help themselves, the present and possibly the next generation of children will grow up in safe, sanitary and decent housing. Only with funds from a private foundation can the Atlanta Urban League and the City of Atlanta help the citizens who give full-fledged support and participation, destroy the legacy of a deteriorating neighborhood for today's and tomorrow's children. Only with funds from a private foundation can this large concentration of nonwhite citizens plan and develop a better neighborhood for themselves and their children.

"Although the 'Vine City' project is short-range in duration, the long-range effects of the nonwhite citizens living in an improved neighborhood would tend to make integration in all areas of society easier in the years to come."

Budget:

First Year	$43,280
Second Year	43,630
Third Year	43,980
Fourth Year	44,330
Fifth Year	44,680
Total	$219,900

Atlanta Urban League Fall, 1960

Budget Details:		
	Salaries	$61,500
	Office space	20,400
	Cost of plan	90,000
	Cost of reports	10,000
	Travel	10,000
	Supervision	25,000
	Gasoline and car	3,000
	TOTAL	$219,900

1. Explanation - The Atlanta Urban League proposes to employ a competent Rehabilitation Specialist at $8,000 yearly whose responsibilities would include working with the property owners in the 'Vine City' area, officials of financial institutions, contractors, tenants, city officials and civic organizations. He would assist in developing the 'Vine City' plan and interpreting the plan to city officials, property owners and officials of financial institutions.

2. Office Expenses - including rent, telephone, stationery and supplies and office equipment would be expended at the average annual rate of $4,080.

3. Cost of Plan - The Atlanta Urban League would contract with planning and architectural firms, such as Hammer and Company and Adley and Hill and Company to develop plans for implementation and in cooperation with the property owners in the 'Vine City' area. It is anticipated that the plan for the project would cost $90,000 which would be spent at the rate of $1,500 a month during the five year period.

4. Publishing Interim and Final Reports - Copies of complete plans developed for the area will be filed with the proper city planning agencies, the Federal Housing Administration, the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Urban Renewal Administration, the Atlanta Housing Authority, officials of civic organizations, churches, community chests and the Atlanta Urban League.

5. Travel - In many American cities and in Puerto Rico, citizens groups and local and Federal officials are applying a variety of treatments and techniques to rebuild their communities. It will be highly important for the executive of the Atlanta Urban League, the Rehabilitation Specialists and the professional planners to visit some of these cities periodically to learn of the experiences of the officials of the cities. Such cities as Dayton

and Cleveland, Ohio, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, New York City, Boston, Hartford, Chicago, Detroit, Washington, Baltimore, Seattle and Los Angeles are but a few cities where great progress has been made in reclaiming the rehabilitating dilapidated areas and structures.

6. Supervision by the Atlanta Urban League - The Executive Director of the Atlanta Urban League, in addition to his on-going duties, will assume full responsibility for carrying out the project. In the performance of these additional responsibilities, it is estimated that the sum of $25,000 will be expended as follows:

Accountant	$ 9,000	$150 a month for 60 months
Consultants' fees	6,000	$100 a month for 60 months
Supervision	10,000	$166.67 a month for 60 months
	$25,000	$416.67 a month for 60 months

March 7, 1960

Professor Kenneth N. Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Vines:

Harold Fleming has shown me your letter of February 2nd. We had already read and liked your Nation article, and can join in your regrets that it was cut by the editors.

We are considering what we can and should next do on Negro voting. Until we see what comes out of Congress this session, and what the initial reactions in the South will be to it, I don't believe that we can intelligently set an objective for ourselves. We do have in mind, however, undertaking another study, and that some time soon. At this point our rather tentative thinking is that we should step aside and look to the Commission on Civil Rights for further fact-finding on the extent of Negro registration and the use of illegal or extra-legal tactics to hold down Negro registration and voting. This would leave the area of legal devices that we might study. It seems to us there would be considerable usefulness in a pamphlet which, in some detail:

a) analyzed the literacy requirements of each state which has them, including the provision for administering them;

b) offered some illustrative descriptions of the administration of literacy requirements;

c) evaluated, in the light of the proposed constitutional amendment, the present role and importance of the poll tax.

As I said, until Congress acts and the South reacts, we are not making any firm plans, but as we do have a bit of money left over in our grant, and as the literacy tests acquire greater and greater importance as a device for limiting registration, we do intend to do something, probably along these lines.

You seemed to agree about the usefulness of our investigation of literacy requirements when you remarked in your letter that there is nothing up-to-date on voting registrars and that they are the key to Negro registration. Do you think you might have some time this Summer, or earlier, that you could give to us? We would certainly like anything we do to contain a contribution from you.

I was at the Southern Political Science meeting in Gatlinburg last Fall and had hoped I would run into you there. Maybe the next time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

LWD—

Do write Vines as you proposed and we agreed

HCE

Discuss at LWD

TULANE UNIVERSITY

College of Arts and Sciences

NEW ORLEANS 18

Department of Political Science

February 2, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a copy of my piece on Southern registrars as published by the Nation. I say "as published by the Nation" because the much longer piece I submitted was cut quite a bit and a sentence was added here and there to increase its specific timeliness. Of course the piece came out substantially as I wrote it but like all who take up the pen I don't like my brainchild tampered with. Besides, I honestly think the subject deserves more extended treatment than the Nation accorded it.

Somewhat belatedly may I say a sincere "Thank You" for the photostatic clippings you sent in answer to my plea for data on registrars. As you can see from the article they were put to good use because there is nothing up-to-date available. Strangely, the whole subject has been ignored although I think one can make a case that the registrars are the "key" to Negro registration.

With best wishes,

Ken N. Vines

Kenneth N. Vines

KNV:lh

Sierra Maestra and the bank clerks of Havana in 1957 is stirring in the hearts of the cane cutters of Santo Domingo and the bank clerks of Lima in 1960. There is no doubt that the Cuban revolution has accelerated the revolutionary process greatly, and perhaps has given it a shape that it never had before. It was no coincidence, but a warning, that Panamanian rioters storming into the Panama Canal Zone in December should have adopted "Viva Fidel Castro!" as their battle cry.

Former Ambassador Bowles, urging a realistic compromise with the inevitable, advises:

> We can adjust ourselves in advance to the certainty that reason will not always prevail, that injustices will almost surely occur, and that the short-term price paid for long-term stability will often appear exorbitant.
>
> Above all, let us not lose sight of the essential issue. The real choice in Latin America, as in Asia and Africa, is citizenship or serfdom, hope or despair, orderly political growth or bloody upheaval. Our failure to understand this choice, or to support the vital new elements which are striving to assert leadership, would be catastrophic.

What Bowles has to say is worth considering. The Congress, preparing to set the new sugar quota, might well think it over, and so might the State Department, before proceeding to implement the "firmer policy" toward Cuba that was announced only last week.

REGISTRARS: Key to Negro Voting.. *by Kenneth N. Vines*

THE CIVIL-RIGHTS debate in this session of Congress is likely to be dominated by a single issue: whether or not federal registrars should supplant state registrars where it can be shown that Negroes are systematically barred from voting.

To all practical purposes, of course, the issue is strictly a Southern one. Voting registrars were originally created in the nineteenth century as a means of keeping down election frauds; today, every state in the union except Arkansas and Texas — the "poll tax" states — maintains a registration system. Southern use of the registrar to bar Negro voters became widespread only after World War II; before that time, few Southern Negroes ever attempted to exercise the franchise.

In all states, registration is administered either by a registrar, or a board of registrars, appointed by the governor or by a special state registration board. Appointments are usually made upon the advice of the local political "machine" from the ranks of the political "eligibles" of the county (or, as in the case of Louisiana, the parish). As a purely "local" representative, then, the registrar is regarded — and regards himself — as a delegate of local interests rather than an impartial administrator of state or federal law.

To put the matter plainly, most registrars perform precisely the way the local courthouse "gang" — the county officials, including the sheriff, the court clerk and the assessor — wants them to act. In some instances, the "gang" finds the Negro vote to be politically useful, and has actually stood guard at the registrar's office to make certain that no potentially valuable voter was turned away. In multi-cultural areas such as Atlanta, New Orleans and Miami, and in other Southern areas where there are few Negroes, the main hindrance to Negro registration has not been the registrar, but the Negro's own apathy. But in many counties of the deep South with large Negro populations, the registrar cooperates with other members of the "gang" to keep the voting registers "lily white." When paternalistic pressure does not work, outright violence or the overt threat of violence does — as shown by recent complaints to the federal Civil Rights Commission from Georgia's Terrell County. Today there are thirty counties in the deep South with not a single Negro registered.

SOMETIMES a registrar is caught between opposing pressures. Last year, the White Citizens Councils of Louisiana began a systematic campaign of "education" and coercion of parish registrars to get them to purge Negroes from the voting lists. Council members appeared at registrars' offices in teams, prepared to challenge Negro registration en masse; State Senator Rainach, president of the Citizens Councils, and at the time a candidate for governor, traveled about the state advising registrars on methods for turning away Negro applicants. In most northern Louisiana parishes, the campaign was eminently successful; in other parishes, it failed. In Winn Parish — home parish of the Longs, where Negro voters traditionally supported the Long dynasty — the woman registrar refused to permit mass challenges. And in Saint Landry Parish, where the Citizens Councils were comparatively weak and the sheriff depended partly upon the Negro vote, the campaign also came a cropper. [In Washington Parish, where the Citizens Council campaign had succeeded, a federal court last week ordered 1,377 Negroes reinstated on the voting lists. — Ed.]

The registrar who resists the dominant community pressure — whether it comes from the "gang," the Citizens Councils or other source — and remains in office is rare indeed. The story of Mrs. Winnie Clement, registrar of Webster Parish, Louisiana, in 1956, is a case in point. Faced with demands that she require Negroes to interpret the state constitu-

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KENNETH N. VINES teaches political science at Tulane University (New Orleans), and is consultant for the Southern Regional Council's studies on Negro registration and voting in the South.

tion in a short manner, she decided that any standard set for Negro applicants should also apply to whites. After she had refused to register twenty-four white applicants who had failed the test on the constitution, the Citizens Councils bombarded Governor Kennon with protests and the local police jury asked that she be removed from office. She decided to resign; one day before the resignation became effective, she was dismissed by the state Board of Voter Registration.

Where local conditions permit, many registrars perform their duties conscientiously. Best estimates are that fewer than one-third of the registrars co-operated with the Citizens Councils in Louisiana, and about one-third exclude Negroes in Georgia and Alabama. In Mississippi, the proportion is much higher. But of course it is precisely in those areas where the Negro cannot vote that he needs the vote most, since it is in those areas where his social and economic status is lowest.

AS THE interpreters of state qualifications for voters, registrars exercize both legislative and judicial powers; they are authorized both to lay down regulations for registration, and to determine whether these regulations have been adhered to. The registrar of Caddo Parish in Louisiana, for instance, demanded elaborate identification procedures of Negro applicants, requiring them to prove "they were who they said they were." The power of the Southern registrar over the democratic franchise is thus a formidable one. It is he who decides whether or not an interpretation of the constitution, in Mississippi, is "reasonable"; there are no objective standards set up to determine "reasonableness." It is he who decides whether a voter has passed the examination required of Alabama registrants; there is no official set of correct answers. It is he who, in Louisiana, decides whether or not to challenge a Negro applicant for a mistake in spelling on his registration form.

DESPITE the crucial nature of their job in the context of the American democratic system, registrars are neither recruited nor treated in office in a manner to encourage professional standards of administration. Only in metropolitan areas is the job a full-time one, and even when it is, the salary rarely exceeds $5,000 a year. In Alabama, registrars serve only fifty or sixty days a year and draw $10 a day. Some rural Louisiana parishes pay the registrar from $1,000-$1,500 annually, although the job is a year-'round one. Minimum educational standards for the office rarely exist; most registrars are women (especially widows), and retired businessmen and farmers active in politics.

As yet, the courts have not held that arbitrary discrimination by registrars to prevent Negro voting constitutes a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment. And it is doubtful whether such a ruling, even by the Supreme Court, would alter the situation in the thirty Southern counties whether Negroes have yet to register, or in the thirty-odd additional counties where, according to a Civil Rights Commission listing, Negro registration is limited to minuscule groups. As long as voting qualifications are defined locally, administered locally and subject to local prejudices, the potential for denial of the suffrage remains.

The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that federal registrars be appointed in trouble spots. One of several bills designed to carry out this recommendation is HR 7597, introduced by Congressman Powell. It provides for the establishment of a Federal Voter Registration Commission. This proposal places voter registration on the same level as communications and interstate commerce as an area of the public interest worthy of special protection by an independent regulatory type commission, whose members would be bipartisan and protected from political removal. Armed with quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial powers, the commission would be empowered to "provide for the registration of all persons" found to be disfranchised, but the rights of involved persons would be protected by due process of law and judicial review, and commission actions could be terminated by local referendum after five years.

Ample evidence is now in that the use of peripheral federal power avails little against local determination to deny the franchise. The independent regulatory commission is a proper choice for the protection of this vital right now that local registrars have proven so tragically unable to cope with the problem.

IN SEARCH of ATHENS, U.S.A. . . *by David Cort*

"THE ATHENS of America!" What a boast! What a cultural climax! What a tourist attraction! Before many more years, we may expect a national brawl for the title. In the past, various "Athenses" of this and that have included Cordoba, Copenhagen, Edinburgh, Cork, Belfast and finally Boston, Mass., in tribute to its Harvard graduates. A number of college towns — in Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, West Virginia and southern Ohio — actually have the legal name of Athens.

Any American "Athens" has got to have a university, so that our scouting for material must center on the 2,000-odd universities and colleges, senior and junior, in the United States. And these beautiful college campuses are certainly among the least ephemeral institutions in America and may have some survivors even 500 years from now. However, the "Athens" we are look-

DAVID CORT'S latest book, Is There an American in the House?, *has just been published by Macmillan.*

July 26, 1960

Professor Kenneth N. Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, La.

Dear Professor Vines:

I am sorry that our plans for an analysis of Southern literacy tests haven't shaped up, but I am sure that this will not be the last time that we shall have an opportunity to work together.

Incidentally, I have within the past week read your article on Republicans in Shreveport; it is top-notch analysis.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

HF ✓ this, in fact, is a relief

LD

TULANE UNIVERSITY

College of Arts and Sciences

NEW ORLEANS 18

Department of Political Science

June 30, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Research Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have been too long in writing you about the research project we discussed in your telephone conversation. But since we have talked I have delved at some length into the problem of literacy qualifications in Louisiana and have waited on the state legislature which has just passed a flock of new voter qualification bills.

The conclusion I have reached is that Louisiana is not the proper state for a study of the literacy test in action. Due partly to the manner in which the Louisiana provision is stated and due partly, I suspect, to the populist-Long tradition, literacy tests, I understand, disqualify "almost no one." The almost no-one way of putting it are the words of one registrar I talked to, who was not willing to say that no one was disqualified but would guess that "almost no one" was.

Dunbar suggested that I contact him for

As a matter of fact there are now about 20,000 illiterate Negroes registered in Louisiana, classified by the secretary of state as "voters who make their mark" and 30,000 whites of a similar classification.

As I understood it over the telephone, the idea was to study the operation of the literacy clause as a test of disqualification in action. The literacy clause has not disqualified Negroes even during the purges so Louisiana is clearly not the state for that study. Mississippi, I believe, would be just the state for the study, but as I explained to you on the telephone I am tied to the campus for several reasons and could not take the time for trips to Mississippi - interesting and valuable as the study would undoubtedly be.

did not

Besides some rediculous laws providing disqualification when a person has two illegitimate children, the legislature has just passed a new literacy test into law and it is likely that in the future that the literacy test will become a factor.

Meantime we are much occupied with problems of public schools, as you have been in Atlanta, except that there has been a failure of leadership in New Orleans and it appears that the schools will close without much of a struggle. Thus far not one civic organization has resolved in favor of keeping the schools open and unless there is some sort of drastic change here and soon, the schools will close routinely come September.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth N. Vines

Kenneth N. Vines

KNV:lh

HF
LD

TULANE UNIVERSITY
College of Arts and Sciences
NEW ORLEANS 18
Department of Political Science

March 25, 1960

Ver 62241

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The proposal for research on literacy requirements and their administration sounds interesting and important, particularly, as you pointed out, in view of the probable "shape of things to come."

I will have some time the first of the summer to devote to research activities. As soon as you know more definitely I would be glad to hear further about the project above and my own possible participation in it.

I am sorry that I missed the Gatlinburg convention this year and the opportunity of meeting you there.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth N. Vines

Kenneth N. Vines

KNV:lh

Ver 15318

April 7, 1960

Mr. Daniel A. Bowers
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dan:

Many thanks for your notes on the sit-ins. Am I correct in assuming from your letter that you have already talked with Kennedy? At any rate, what we would want, I think, is a brief, factual description and evaluation of the educational program in the Prince Edward schools, the physical facilities, present and planned, and the "morale" of the community including the children, white and colored. If Kennedy is interested in doing this, I will of course want him to take the lead in planning the scope and emphasis of the report.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

VOLUNTARY INTEGRATION IN THE SOUTH

Despite the controversy over school segregation, there are hundreds of examples of quiet integration in Southern communities. Most of them never make the headlines. Here from the files of the Southern Regional Council is some of the evidence of this little-recognized progress.

Negroes on Public Bodies

In at least thirteen Southern towns and cities, Negroes have been elected to the city council or board of aldermen. Negroes are serving on the school boards of 14 cities in the region, and on the state school boards of Maryland, Kentucky, and North Carolina. Several cities have Negro representation on their city Democratic executive committees and their local planning commissions. Most of the successful Negro candidates were supported by a substantial number of white voters.

Integration in Parochial Schools

Most Catholic institutions of higher learning and parochial schools in such "border" states as Missouri and Delaware have been admitting both races for several years. But since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, the practice has spread to parochial schools further south. Negro and white children now attend Catholic elementary or secondary schools together in

such cities as Richmond, Raleigh, Rock Hill (S.C.), Little Rock, Nashville, San Antonio, Dallas, Fort Worth, Corpus Christi, Austin and Amarillo. Other dioceses, like New Orleans, are planning to drop racial barriers in their schools once the Supreme Court has handed down its decrees in the public school cases.

Integration in Private Colleges

Private institutions of higher learning -- particularly those that are church-related -- have been desegregating at an increasing rate during recent years. This is all the more significant in that these institutions are not legally affected by court rulings, but have opened their doors voluntarily. As of February of this year, some 60 private colleges, seminaries, and universities -- formerly all-white -- were admitting Negro students.

Professional Associations

As early as 1950, there was a clear-cut trend toward integration in Southern state associations of doctors, lawyers, nurses, and librarians; the social workers were already open to both races in all thirteen of the Southern states. Today Negro doctors are admitted to full membership in eight Southern state medical associations, and to "scientific" (non-voting) membership in two others. Nurses' associations are non-segregated in all but one of the Southern states, lawyers' associations in six, and librarians'

associations in six. Although the exact number is not known, local ministerial associations in scores of Southern cities are interracial, as are most of the existing state councils of churches.

City Employees

A survey of 16 Southern cities in 1951 found a total of 6500 Negro municipal employees. Many of these, of course, held menial, unskilled jobs, but the range of skills and professions represented by the Negro employees was surprising. Over 110 different job classifications above the unskilled level were filled by Negroes in one or more of the 16 cities. Included were foreman, painter, bricklayer, social worker, physician, municipal judge, stenographer, cashier, and bailiff.

Two of the municipal jobs most actively sought by Negroes -- because of their key role in protecting the community -- are policeman and fireman. In the past ten years the employment of Negro policemen has changed from a daring innovation to an accepted practice in most of the South. Today 147 cities in 13 Southern states employ a total of 832 policemen and policewomen. The employment of Negro firemen is much more limited, but is spreading rapidly. As of this date, 13 Southern cities employ a total of 142 Negro firemen, at least twelve of whom are officers.

Community Chests and Councils

A survey just completed by the Atlanta Urban League shows increasing representation of Negroes on the boards of community chests and councils in the South. It also documents the fact that, in larger cities at least, the trend is away from the separate Negro fund-raising division and toward an integrated campaign organization. Out of 26 Southern and border-state cities surveyed, Negroes were represented on community chest boards in 18 and on planning council boards in 20. Fourteen of the 26 cities reported that they maintained no separate Negro division in their annual campaigns, and 17 reported that Negroes are invited to campaign rallies, report meetings, and dinners.

Public Libraries

In the light of the Supreme Court's school decision, the "separate but equal" principle in public libraries will probably be ruled out. But even before the school decision, a number of Southern cities had opened their formerly all-white libraries to Negroes. As of January 1954, Negroes had free use of the main public library in 62 towns and cities in the South. Twenty-four more communities gave limited service to Negroes at the main library, and 11 admitted Negro patrons to one or more branches. These numbers can be expected to rise sharply in the years just ahead.

Make folder "Guidelines for Project Grants" VEP, 1966

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

GUIDELINES FOR VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT GRANTS

Grants from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council are made to other groups desiring to operate in three program areas: voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training. These guidelines have been developed to help groups clarify what area, or in some cases, what several areas, of programming they will work in and to provide candid expression of the responsibilities the other groups have in their association with the Voter Education Project.

Programs are approved only when they provide that the group and its agents will refrain from using funds granted by the Voter Education Project for partisan political activity or propaganda aimed at influencing legislation, or supporting any candidate or political party.

Grant Proposal

Specifically, the first responsibility of a group applying for Project grant is to prepare a grant proposal. The proposal should clearly cover the following points.

Kind of Program -- In what area or areas is the program proposed? What justifies the need for the program? What are its goals? What methods will be used?

Where -- What are the political and geographical boundaries of the place to be served by the program? (State, county, precinct, etc.) Include a map if feasible.

Who -- Who are the program personnel and what are their duties?

Cost -- What is the expected cost of the program? Include a detailed budget.

Time -- What is the anticipated duration of the program?

Background -- What is the present political picture of the place where the program will operate. How many Negroes voted in last elections? Have Negroes run for office? Do Negroes hold appointive jobs? Are there active organizations? What are the dates and hours of registration? Give current registration figures. Describe the feeling of the community toward fuller citizen participation, if feasible.

Operation Under Grant

To fulfill its role as an adjunct of a research and information agency the Project will, from time to time, and on request, make available to other private groups, the press, governmental agencies and interested individuals, details of registration figures and of programs sponsored through the Project. As part of its educational function, the Project will share program techniques and strategies with the region. Consequently, in their association with the Project cooperating agencies have a responsibility to submit narrative reporting.

Disbursements made to the Project for support of programs in these areas call for utmost financial integrity at every level of operation. Grants made by the Project are, therefore, subject to financial conditions which if not met will result in termination of grants.

Research Reporting -- There are specific conditions governing grant reporting which follow. In general,

all cooperating agencies shall be required to make periodic reports to the Project on the progress of their programs. It is important that these reports reflect an honest evaluation of the agency's efforts -- good, bad, or indifferent. To insure the reporting best suited to particular programs the Project is flexible enough to accept reasonable variations in the form and manner of reports. Indeed, it encourages original material in fulfillment of the narrative requirements.

Organizations conducting voter registration campaigns are required to submit semi-monthly reports setting forth the following: (a) number of persons registered, (b) methods used in getting persons to the registration office, (c) increase of the number of new voters in the two week period, (d) problems, if any, encountered with local registrars, police, or private citizens, (e) threats of intimidation or economic reprisals, if any, (f) samples of materials, leaflets, programs. Suggested forms for this reporting are provided.

Organizations conducting citizenship education or leadership training programs are required to submit monthly reports, setting forth the following: (a) kinds of programs and method of operation, (b) samples of all materials used, (c) names and background of instructors, (d) cooperation, if any, with local

governmental agencies, schools, and colleges, (e) a measurement of community participation, including the number of people directly involved in citizenship education classes or leadership training seminars. Groups should be cooperative with the Project in the gathering of other statistical data as may be required for the purpose of research.

Financial Reporting -- After approval of a grant by the Project, the cooperating agency is required to establish a separate bank account. The Project will mail a deposit directly to the bank for an amount approximately two weeks cash supply for the program. This amount will be maintained on a draw basis.

Each week the agency will submit to the Project a report itemizing all disbursements from this account and enclosing appropriate vouchers for each disbursement. No special check form is contemplated at the present time. The Project will audit this report and reimburse the bank account for the amount spent. In this way the balance in the bank should be constant until the local program approaches termination. Then the funds would either be refunded or used up (with appropriate reporting).

Guidelines for VEP Grants - 5.

The bank should be instructed to mail all bank statements directly to SRC. The Project will reconcile these bank accounts and perform certain auditing procedures each month.

For further information, write:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M E M O R A N D U M

From: Research Office, Southern Regional Council

Re: Negro Voter Registration in Southern States

The attached material on Negro voter registration was compiled in the summer of 1956 from official records or from the best estimates available from reliable sources in each county. The registration figures are for 1956 except in Arkansas and Mississippi. For Arkansas, only 1955 figures were available, and for Mississippi, the data are for 1954. There have been newspaper estimates that Negro registration has decreased in Mississippi, but the Southern Regional Council cannot supply accurate figures on Negro registration in Mississippi in 1956.

We do not have registration data for Tennessee. Because of Texas' estensive geographical area, the consultant did not travel throughout the state's 254 counties. It is estimated that 90% of Texas' Negro population resides in the 95 counties included in this report. The lack of registration data for many counties in North Carolina does not mean that there were no Negroes registered; we could not secure the number of registrants or a racial breakdown of registrants in these North Carolina counties. In all other states, a zero, blank space or dash means that there were no Negro registrants known to our sources of information. If a county has no Negroes registered, the column, "Potential Negro Voters," should be checked to determine if there are potential Negro registrants. This column includes the number of Negroes 18 and over in Georgia and Kentucky; those 21 and over in all other states.

The Southern Regional Council is aware of the excess of registrants over potentially eligible persons in some counties. However, these are the figures furnished from official records or other reliable sources. Where there is an excess, it may be due, in part, to the failure to purge registration lists and/or population growth since 1950.

May 17, 1960

Mr. Daniel M. Burnham
The Wall Street Journal
706 Young Street
Dallas, Texas

Dear Dan:

Just a line to tell you that your report on Negro employment was good enough to wait for. Truthfully, I thought it was a first-rate job.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. I think you have a couple of things from our files. No hurry, but would appreciate getting them back.

PLACEMENT ACTIVITIES

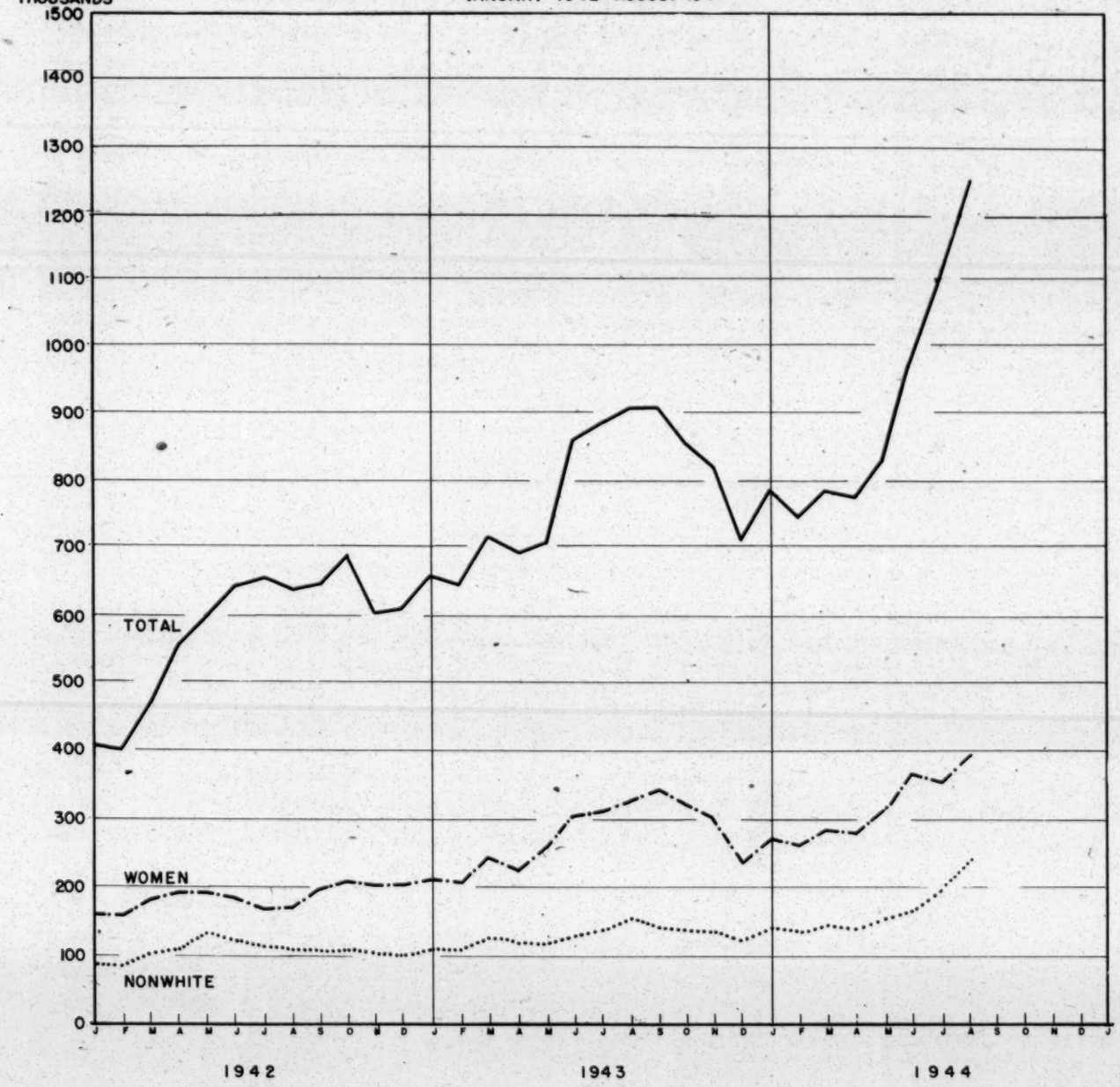
August 1944

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service

7-4638 Cover

NONAGRICULTURAL PLACEMENTS BY THE UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE - BY MONTH

JANUARY 1942 - AUGUST 1944



WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION
REPORTS AND ANALYSIS SERVICE
REPORTS DIVISION

SOURCE: REPORTS & ANALYSIS SERVICE
WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION

Summary of placement activities, by State
August 1944

War Manpower Commission region and State	Nonagricultural placements: Total: Number a/	Total: Percentage change from: July 1944	Total: Percentage change from: August 1943	Essential and locally needed a/: Total: Number	Essential and locally needed a/: Total: Percent of nonagricultural placements	Essential and locally needed a/: Priority	Veterans	Clearance placements as: Applicant holding	Clearance placements as: Order holding	Local nonagricultural placement assists: Total	Local nonagricultural placement assists: Essential and locally needed: Total	Local nonagricultural placement assists: Essential and locally needed: Priority
Total.....	1,259,179	+15.3	+38.8	1,087,175	86.3	591,754 b/	83,633	89,369	59,266	209,843	169,746	71,286 b/
Region I:												
Connecticut.....	14,270	+ 7.6	+22.5	13,513	94.7	933	1,103	584	717	3,178	2,893	19
Maine.....	6,398	- 3.3	- 1.1	5,896	92.2	123	314	233	106	1,202	1,018	0
Massachusetts.....	27,666	- 5.5	+11.0	24,733	89.4	1,590	2,492	774	899	6,665	5,619	193
New Hampshire.....	2,438	-10.2	- 5.5	2,193	90.0	95	114	146	67	1,973	1,766	3
Rhode Island.....	7,475	-11.1	+28.0	6,720	89.9	42	380	149	25	2,599	1,787	0
Vermont.....	1,742	+ 9.8	+48.1	1,514	86.9	78	100	64	14	615	491	7
Region II:												
New York.....	107,597	+ 5.1	+37.8	73,516	68.3	30,281	6,427	7,262	2,070	5,021	4,206	1,239
Region III:												
Delaware.....	2,578	- 4.6	- 2.3	2,473	95.9	1,703	86	55	46	1,007	907	907
New Jersey.....	40,079	+19.9	- 6.7	36,954	92.2	36,026	2,381	2,511	6,473	3,021	2,715	2,584
Pennsylvania.....	67,216	+21.8	+60.4	59,297	88.2	59,297	4,319	6,389	4,360	3,690	2,876	2,876
Region IV:												
District of Columbia..	10,900	+37.2	+261.6	8,935	82.0	779	510	376	0	374	348	0
Maryland.....	25,416	+ 2.6	+61.7	22,977	90.4	18,762	1,807	197	1,140	6,099	5,572	5,048
North Carolina.....	30,828	+30.9	+25.7	27,285	88.5	21,488	1,616	2,206	567	5,719	4,502	3,340
Virginia.....	33,588	+28.4	+261.6	26,129	77.8	18,436	1,491	2,075	2,452	2,557	1,270	599
West Virginia.....	14,253	- 4.3	+93.7	12,542	88.0	11,424	1,049	2,999	297	891	647	563
Region V:												
Kentucky.....	23,347	+20.6	+25.4	20,550	88.0	1,985	1,787	2,549	582	4,536	3,517	192
Michigan.....	40,890	+20.0	+ 3.5	38,810	94.9	9,954	3,294	351	505	3,225	2,897	367
Ohio.....	82,161	+24.3	+27.4	72,473	88.2	16,006	5,463	2,615	2,646	11,764	9,572	1,325
Region VI:												
Illinois.....	76,338	+35.8	+195.8	72,584	95.1	11,163	3,115	3,426	1,593	13,079	12,072	2,261
Indiana.....	36,334	+26.4	+35.0	33,422	92.0	10,443	2,680	600	1,642	5,120	3,972	665
Wisconsin.....	22,385	- 8.7	+13.7	20,261	90.5	11,828	1,496	1,333	1,273	2,757	2,086	976
Region VII:												
Alabama.....	25,380	- 3.1	+53.1	23,442	92.4	15,963	1,365	2,592	569	3,474	2,679	1,237
Florida.....	19,886	+ 7.7	+ 2.4	14,925	75.1	8,206	1,632	696	277	4,074	2,598	554
Georgia.....	37,076	+26.3	+30.6	27,967	75.4	23,651	1,823	1,505	431	5,579	4,581	3,953
Mississippi.....	13,744	- 1.6	+19.5	11,672	84.9	9,960	718	1,028	600	2,277	1,843	1,775
South Carolina.....	19,323	+27.3	+73.2	14,041	72.7	12,175	338	509	0	392	292	191
Tennessee.....	28,297	- 1.2	+23.0	26,527	93.7	24,423	2,225	2,557	2,609	8,649	6,569	6,325
Region VIII:												
Iowa.....	22,478	+48.6	+64.8	19,332	86.0	11,142	1,429	1,711	307	1,186	960	316
Minnesota.....	25,952	+49.6	+15.6	22,617	87.1	12,929	2,081	2,300	647	6,579	4,770	947
Nebraska.....	7,844	+ 4.6	+ 8.5	6,857	87.4	5,157	738	545	683	3,405	2,796	2,093
North Dakota.....	1,821	+16.1	+67.2	1,458	80.1	1,042	71	95	11	434	301	162
South Dakota.....	1,780	- 9.9	+ 9.0	1,216	68.3	870	110	348	15	759	545	383
Region IX:												
Arkansas.....	12,117	+ 3.4	+29.1	9,035	74.6	769	854	2,643	293	3,901	3,427	17
Kansas.....	13,968	+14.3	+13.2	12,165	87.1	4,531	955	1,831	1,789	3,128	2,733	433
Missouri.....	31,948	+25.9	+15.5	26,143	81.8	9,219	2,251	4,186	234	8,523	6,047	2,498
Oklahoma.....	16,954	+ 8.2	+85.7	12,844	75.8	4,980	1,331	3,164	329	1,363	1,173	339
Region X:												
Louisiana.....	12,850	+12.7	+98.1	10,766	83.8	10,351	981	1,296	167	2,245	1,971	1,893
New Mexico.....	3,595	+ 1.2	+63.6	3,138	87.3	691	348	553	37	204	161	24
Texas.....	71,768	+ 6.8	+80.1	58,445	81.4	58,445	5,975	6,877	661	5,360	4,492	4,492
Region XI:												
Colorado.....	11,562	+24.0	+26.7	9,641	83.4	3,211	803	1,191	266	2,368	1,811	277
Idaho.....	3,801	- 1.9	+ 8.4	3,262	85.8	720	317	280	133	1,796	1,436	141
Montana.....	3,706	+10.7	+27.1	3,153	85.1	1,563	355	266	55	355	282	85
Utah.....	7,688	-20.1	+38.2	7,378	96.0	2,205	412	899	999	1,005	825	304
Wyoming.....	2,256	+23.3	+35.6	2,093	92.8	1,460	138	51	374	507	481	283
Region XII:												
Arizona.....	5,618	+15.7	+13.5	5,173	92.1	(c)	475	490	277	1,130	893	(c)
California.....	129,332	+25.5	+51.9	121,059	93.6	92,137	7,413	11,750	9,838	35,106	27,095	15,855
Nevada.....	2,788	+ 5.6	-20.8	2,000	71.7	1,073	216	640	270	1,567	739	148
Oregon.....	18,200	+ 6.3	- 3.7	16,888	92.8	(c)	2,027	456	797	5,088	4,798	(c)
Washington.....	33,548	+ 3.3	- 5.9	31,161	92.9	12,447	3,728	2,016	9,124	14,297	12,715	3,397

a/ Includes clearance placements made by order holding office.
b/ Excludes Arizona and Oregon; data not reported.
c/ Data not reported.

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(C&I)

Nonagricultural placements, by State
August and January-August 1944

War Manpower Commission region and State	August											January-August	
	Number	Percentage change from:		Short-time		Women			Nonwhites			Number	Percentage, change from January-August 1943
		July 1944	August 1943	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percentage change from July 1944	Percent of total	Number	Percentage change from a/ July 1944	Percent of total		
Total	1,259,179	+15.3	+38.8	120,537	9.6	399,335	+13.4	31.7	238,896	+21.4	19.0	7,229,506	+19.1
Region I:													
Connecticut	14,270	+ 7.6	+22.5	390	2.7	4,856	- 4.8	34.0	894	+34.2	6.3	96,831	+22.3
Maine	6,398	- 3.3	- 1.1	662	10.3	1,875	-21.1	29.3	17	—	.3	41,054	-12.3
Massachusetts	27,666	- 5.5	+11.0	162	.6	11,105	- 9.4	40.1	832	+ 6.9	3.0	192,545	+11.5
New Hampshire	2,438	-10.2	- 5.5	0	0	1,073	-20.6	44.0	5	—	.2	20,380	+22.6
Rhode Island	7,475	-11.1	+28.0	3	(b)	3,995	-10.5	53.4	148	-33.0	2.0	58,740	+51.0
Vermont	1,742	+ 9.8	+48.1	4	.2	571	- 7.3	32.8	1	—	.1	9,328	+63.4
Region II:													
New York	107,597	+ 5.1	+37.8	37,246	34.6	43,530	+ 9.0	40.5	35,599	+ 2.6	33.1	677,945	+16.8
Region III:													
Delaware	2,578	- 4.6	- 2.3	3	.1	1,106	- 4.6	42.9	958	+ 2.7	37.2	14,524	- 6.3
New Jersey	40,079	+19.9	- 6.7	906	2.3	16,170	+24.7	40.3	9,386	+83.8	23.4	255,900	+17.8
Pennsylvania	67,216	+21.8	+60.4	1,880	2.8	21,662	+22.5	32.2	9,313	+24.6	13.9	396,391	+41.6
Region IV:													
District of Columbia	10,900	+37.2	+261.6	114	1.0	6,124	+52.6	56.2	5,590	+ 8.5	51.3	43,172	+63.7
Maryland	25,416	+ 2.6	+61.7	211	.8	11,360	+ 8.6	44.7	9,076	+ 6.9	35.7	125,974	+ 8.7
North Carolina	30,828	+30.9	+25.7	180	.6	12,749	+45.6	41.4	12,804	+58.3	41.5	164,270	+29.8
Virginia	33,588	+28.4	+261.6	36	.1	12,133	+18.7	36.1	12,097	+56.5	36.0	154,636	+150.0
West Virginia	14,253	- 4.3	+93.7	174	1.2	2,776	+ 8.4	19.5	572	-18.7	4.0	88,042	+82.1
Region V:													
Kentucky	23,347	+20.6	+25.4	29	.1	6,903	+18.2	29.6	2,500	+14.5	10.7	124,947	+29.3
Michigan	40,890	+20.0	+ 3.5	259	.6	10,023	+ 3.8	24.5	5,562	+13.1	13.6	232,478	- 1.4
Ohio	82,161	+24.3	+27.4	10,931	13.3	27,507	+19.6	33.5	14,313	+20.1	17.4	494,546	+13.8
Region VI:													
Illinois	76,338	+35.8	+195.8	28,640	37.5	14,184	+ 7.9	18.6	8,702	+32.5	11.4	334,113	+72.9
Indiana	36,334	+26.4	+35.0	3,741	10.3	11,165	+19.2	30.7	3,525	+19.2	9.7	200,607	+18.2
Wisconsin	22,385	- 8.7	+13.7	422	1.9	7,878	-13.2	35.2	799	+41.9	3.6	123,164	-11.6
Region VII:													
Alabama	25,380	- 3.1	+53.1	35	.1	7,770	+13.1	30.6	7,362	- 3.0	29.0	165,385	+36.9
Florida	19,886	+ 7.7	+ 2.4	1,286	6.5	6,783	+10.1	34.1	7,169	+22.9	36.1	143,019	+ 6.9
Georgia	37,076	+26.3	+30.6	558	1.5	14,059	+35.5	37.9	10,912	+72.7	29.4	187,932	+34.1
Mississippi	13,744	- 1.6	+19.5	75	.5	5,150	+28.5	37.5	5,160	- 7.0	37.5	83,152	+ 7.5
South Carolina	19,323	+27.3	+73.2	106	.5	6,943	+33.4	35.9	6,277	+44.4	32.5	67,564	+34.8
Tennessee	28,297	- 1.2	+23.0	138	.5	7,179	- 6.8	25.4	6,512	- 4.0	23.0	189,548	+91.1
Region VIII:													
Iowa	22,478	+48.6	+64.8	297	1.3	9,713	+71.2	43.2	504	+20.6	2.2	111,250	+55.7
Minnesota	25,952	+49.6	+15.6	3,411	13.1	9,836	+86.9	37.9	336	+68.0	1.3	122,931	+ 2.9
Nebraska	7,844	+ 4.6	+ 8.5	228	2.9	2,051	- 2.4	26.1	521	+13.5	6.6	43,213	-18.9
North Dakota	1,821	+16.1	+67.2	333	18.3	362	-13.0	19.9	491	+622.1	27.0	12,076	- 6.0
South Dakota	1,780	- 9.9	+ 9.0	96	5.4	786	+27.6	44.2	101	- 8.2	5.7	15,743	+23.1
Region IX:													
Arkansas	12,117	+ 3.4	+29.1	358	3.0	2,965	+ .5	24.5	3,950	+30.7	32.6	65,348	-16.4
Kansas	13,968	+14.3	+13.2	587	4.2	4,096	- 4.5	29.3	1,998	+17.0	14.3	72,554	-32.8
Missouri	31,948	+25.9	+15.5	341	1.1	8,253	+10.9	25.8	5,294	+35.6	16.6	171,765	-15.3
Oklahoma	16,954	+ 8.2	+85.7	624	3.7	3,550	+ 6.7	20.9	2,057	+16.1	12.1	84,057	+31.2
Region X:													
Louisiana	12,850	+12.7	+98.1	113	.9	2,868	+40.5	22.3	5,120	+ 1.2	39.8	90,248	+98.5
New Mexico	3,595	+ 1.2	+63.6	24	.7	601	+13.8	16.7	124	-25.3	3.4	21,479	+22.2
Texas	71,768	+ 6.8	+80.1	3,213	4.5	13,965	- .9	19.5	20,590	+14.4	28.7	425,467	+24.8
Region XI:													
Colorado	11,562	+24.0	+26.7	1,208	10.4	2,634	+ .3	22.8	394	+32.2	3.4	64,790	+45.2
Idaho	3,801	- 1.9	+ 8.4	341	9.0	1,255	+42.5	33.0	133	-24.4	3.5	23,363	- 7.4
Montana	3,706	+10.7	+27.1	317	8.6	547	+15.9	14.8	118	-41.3	3.2	21,063	+30.6
Utah	7,688	-20.1	+38.2	298	3.9	2,863	-12.4	37.2	491	-11.4	6.4	51,622	-24.8
Wyoming	2,256	+23.3	+35.6	77	3.4	389	- 6.9	17.2	70	—	3.1	13,409	+10.8
Region XII:													
Arizona	5,618	+15.7	+13.5	83	1.5	1,972	+30.3	35.1	744	+ 8.1	13.2	38,317	+12.5
California	129,332	+25.5	+51.9	13,225	10.2	38,752	+ 7.7	30.0	14,899	+56.0	11.5	702,528	+11.4
Nevada	2,788	+ 5.6	-20.8	471	16.9	661	+ 9.8	23.7	412	+44.1	14.8	21,095	-28.2
Oregon	18,200	+ 6.3	- 3.7	1,291	7.1	5,382	+ 4.6	29.6	633	-42.7	3.5	118,020	-24.5
Washington	33,548	+ 3.3	- 5.9	5,410	16.1	9,205	+12.7	27.4	3,831	+18.2	11.4	252,981	+23.4

a/ Computed only for States reporting 50 or more nonwhite placements in both months.
b/ Less than 0.05 percent.

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(CA2)

Nonagricultural placements by industry, by sex and color, and by major occupational group
August 1944

Industry	Total					Professional and managerial	Clerical and sales	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled and other
	Number	Percentage change from: July 1944	Percentage change from: August 1943	Women	Nonwhites						
Total	1,259,179	+15.3	+38.8	399,335	238,896	14,639	98,689	114,819	137,895	179,481	713,656
Forestry and fishing	604	-14.4	-41.2	25	10	34	41	53	37	100	339
Mining	20,772	+16.1	+75.4	636	1,026	152	510	149	6,046	3,899	10,016
Contract construction	79,717	+ 3.7	-12.5	2,232	16,720	600	1,987	1,107	20,074	8,362	47,587
Manufacturing	764,389	+18.0	+31.3	252,428	115,059	6,516	31,660	12,375	81,429	120,349	512,060
Ordnance and accessories	64,871	+ 2.3	+65.2	26,994	8,960	576	2,775	1,316	5,620	11,321	43,263
Food and kindred products	162,168	+61.1	+75.2	48,824	20,326	233	2,415	1,529	1,573	6,638	149,780
Tobacco manufactures	9,734	+142.7	+16.3	5,422	6,846	5	177	26	137	457	8,932
Textile-mill products	38,548	+ 7.4	+49.7	17,673	3,078	66	491	432	3,083	11,559	22,917
Apparel and related products	21,044	+ 1.7	+22.9	16,318	3,870	35	712	302	1,025	12,131	6,839
Lumber and timber basic products	19,337	+ 4.3	+65.7	1,634	3,773	27	209	235	1,006	3,355	14,505
Furniture and finished lumber products	18,188	+16.2	+91.9	4,233	3,938	34	234	155	907	1,953	14,905
Paper and allied products	15,705	+ 3.1	+47.9	4,959	3,178	73	396	187	368	953	13,728
Printing, publishing, and allied industries	5,511	+14.2	+76.0	2,294	633	202	1,111	284	474	589	2,851
Chemicals	31,676	+19.3	+29.0	9,438	6,501	630	1,606	804	1,962	2,504	24,170
Products of petroleum and coal	8,997	+ 8.2	+202.6	1,002	1,543	200	571	149	790	1,309	5,978
Rubber products	14,112	+18.5	+36.9	4,698	2,360	112	389	93	1,091	1,394	11,033
Leather and leather products	8,491	+17.3	+66.2	4,139	659	12	202	80	363	1,324	6,510
Stone, clay and glass products	13,168	+17.8	+48.6	4,061	1,989	78	312	138	403	1,014	11,223
Iron and steel and their products	61,337	+16.5	+34.9	13,741	14,117	427	2,138	652	7,072	6,540	44,508
Railroad equipment	3,556	+23.3	+114.0	293	753	34	112	47	698	457	2,208
Aircraft and parts	65,412	+ 9.2	-11.9	27,355	5,703	1,227	5,245	1,817	13,355	18,384	25,384
Ship and boat building and repairing	75,860	+ 1.5	-19.9	14,504	12,299	430	4,279	1,619	23,411	11,208	34,913
Other transportation equipment	954	+200.9	+168.7	221	106	9	53	20	100	105	667
Nonferrous metals and their products	19,182	+15.0	+14.5	4,361	4,457	183	689	275	1,791	2,407	13,837
Electrical machinery	35,853	+ 6.3	+46.1	19,176	3,434	790	2,674	861	3,061	9,437	19,030
Metal working machinery	10,965	+ 5.0	+44.6	2,573	421	289	762	182	3,528	2,399	3,805
Other machinery	34,806	+15.1	+28.4	8,797	3,358	535	2,537	670	6,746	7,060	17,258
Automobiles and automobile equipment	11,519	+14.2	+12.2	3,092	1,583	88	611	201	1,598	3,501	5,520
Miscellaneous manufacturing	13,395	+12.5	+38.8	6,626	1,174	221	960	301	1,267	2,350	8,296
Interstate railroads	31,921	- 5.4	(a)	1,490	4,566	76	1,341	681	2,473	2,586	24,764
Other public utilities	62,886	+ 7.9	(a)	8,983	10,443	390	6,850	2,179	6,409	11,129	35,929
Wholesale and retail trade	113,731	+23.7	+96.1	42,384	30,498	1,291	26,360	26,395	4,867	12,562	42,256
Finance, insurance and real estate	7,048	+ 2.0	+92.0	3,360	1,391	140	3,837	2,020	206	215	630
Service industries except private households	74,154	+20.3	+108.7	28,622	19,823	3,670	8,621	25,082	8,385	10,904	17,492
Private households	37,404	+ 6.3	-12.1	32,306	28,330	11	116	36,370	137	62	708
Regular government establishments	64,429	+ 7.5	+53.4	25,707	10,758	1,739	17,148	8,238	7,421	8,989	20,894
Special government projects	1,294	+22.0	+100.0	361	141	8	143	79	327	217	520
Establishments, n.e.c.	830	+26.1	-40.3	801	131	12	75	91	84	107	461

a/ Data not available.

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(CA3)

Veteran placement activities, by State
August 1944

War Manpower Commission region and State	Applications for work			Nonagricultural placements			Local referrals	Directed to:				
	Total	Complete		Total		Handicapped		Veterans administration	State vocational rehabilitation	Selective service	Training agencies	Other agencies
		Total	Handicapped	Number	Percent of total nonagricultural placements							
Total	94,053	52,956	12,753 a/	83,633	6.6	12,852 a/	139,216	6,017 a/	1,936 a/	1,513 a/	1,328 a/	6,594 a/
Region I:												
Connecticut	856	856	310	1,103	7.7	419	1,777	203	35	13	18	100
Maine	192	192	75	314	4.9	95	403	17	7	5	1	17
Massachusetts	3,722	1,974	419	2,492	9.0	193	4,214	229	20	119	11	106
New Hampshire	95	94	34	114	4.7	22	294	38	13	4	2	15
Rhode Island	1,133	291	214	380	5.1	115	869	13	4	3	5	5
Vermont	66	51	34	100	5.7	61	145	79	2	0	1	36
Region II:												
New York	5,681	3,063	1,210	6,427	6.0	1,516	10,761	418	34	81	89	510
Region III:												
Delaware	89	89	35	86	3.3	38	157	18	5	4	0	8
New Jersey	3,629	1,334	435	2,381	5.9	336	4,717	135	156	48	54	645
Pennsylvania	4,625	3,293	684	4,319	6.4	510	7,731	237	56	86	46	267
Region IV:												
District of Columbia	449	449	42	510	4.7	10	841	2	0	0	4	8
Maryland	1,973	799	54	1,807	7.1	115	3,405	98	0	5	10	29
North Carolina	1,863	1,234	345	1,616	5.2	281	2,282	178	38	11	9	119
Virginia	1,035	429	97	1,491	4.4	97	1,784	62	18	34	15	97
West Virginia	1,054	787	105	1,049	7.4	96	1,440	67	24	27	6	30
Region V:												
Kentucky	1,207	1,207	349	1,787	7.7	169	2,352	49	31	16	16	68
Michigan	3,936	2,787	810	3,294	8.1	1,020	7,928	284	166	174	213	390
Ohio	4,386	4,259	603	5,463	6.6	974	10,364	260	45	81	49	303
Region VI:												
Illinois	2,827	1,802	422	3,115	4.1	374	5,937	271	69	68	95	380
Indiana	1,928	1,253	102	2,680	7.4	79	4,457	153	7	39	51	229
Wisconsin	1,117	526	318	1,496	6.7	401	1,865	66	15	6	7	70
Region VII:												
Alabama	971	969	331	1,365	5.4	424	2,385	63	58	17	17	32
Florida	1,860	1,047	416	1,632	8.2	590	2,480	99	29	15	11	34
Georgia	2,624	1,317	306	1,823	4.9	249	2,946	135	88	25	2	97
Mississippi	1,729	1,357	414	718	5.2	178	1,222	110	109	25	18	78
South Carolina	1,197	493	189	838	4.3	152	1,234	23	62	4	2	34
Tennessee	2,487	795	262	2,225	7.9	242	4,361	164	155	21	104	146
Region VIII:												
Iowa	1,438	1,392	577	1,429	6.4	679	1,963	31	3	2	0	15
Minnesota	3,952	483	142	2,081	8.0	211	3,628	108	35	9	72	235
Nebraska	561	426	68	738	9.4	56	1,132	17	4	8	2	25
North Dakota	141	45	16	71	3.9	11	116	6	0	1	1	9
South Dakota	129	110	37	110	6.2	29	176	41	1	5	6	38
Region IX:												
Arkansas	2,139	744	256	854	7.0	273	1,577	85	42	43	14	147
Kansas	1,849	846	45	955	6.8	46	1,670	106	40	41	42	91
Missouri	5,367	5,214	462	2,251	7.0	228	4,148	129	6	38	25	77
Oklahoma	3,040	1,118	97	1,331	7.9	53	2,270	54	17	15	6	97
Region X:												
Louisiana	902	862	153	981	7.6	138	1,601	104	131	36	30	63
New Mexico	432	337	57	348	9.7	40	480	12	9	1	1	1
Texas	5,469	2,779	756	5,975	8.3	753	8,237	354	111	120	70	502
Region XI:												
Colorado	686	211	64	803	6.9	89	1,262	115	18	16	25	309
Idaho	191	145	74	317	8.3	38	401	36	0	7	0	114
Montana	383	204	39	355	9.6	38	456	319	48	35	26	84
Utah	284	187	58	412	5.4	78	451	12	11	6	3	31
Wyoming	118	65	7	138	6.1	2	191	9	0	0	1	0
Region XII:												
Arizona	951	173	(b)	475	8.5	(b)	666	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
California	10,478	3,794	853	7,413	5.7	986	13,530	846	202	177	127	552
Nevada	290	25	3	216	7.7	10	271	0	0	0	0	5
Oregon	864	526	(b)	2,027	11.1	(b)	3,496	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
Washington	1,658	523	374	3,728	11.1	338	3,143	162	12	22	21	346

a/ Excludes Arizona and Oregon; data not reported.
b/ Data not reported.

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(CV-1)

Veteran placement activities, by State
(World War II hospital dischargees)
August 1944

War Manpower Commission region and State	Applications for work taken in hospital			Applications received in local offices			Initial visits to local office	Initial local nonagricultural placements			Initial local nonagricultural placement assists		
	Total	Army	Navy	Total	Army	Navy		Total	Army	Navy	Total	Army	Navy
Total.....	6,682	4,860	1,822	6,293	4,977	1,316	7,645	3,526	2,792	734	495	367	128
Region I:													
Connecticut.....	6	6	0	112	92	20	68	58	47	11	24	20	4
Maine.....	1	1	0	28	17	11	12	7	6	1	0	0	0
Massachusetts.....	341	255	86	199	140	59	97	60	44	16	21	16	5
New Hampshire.....	5	1	4	28	23	5	18	8	7	1	2	2	0
Rhode Island.....	107	4	103	29	19	10	21	2	2	0	1	1	0
Vermont.....	0	0	0	15	12	3	3	1	0	1	0	0	0
Region II:													
New York.....	419	217	202	742	558	184	490	190	156	34	3	3	0
Region III:													
Delaware.....	0	0	0	18	14	4	9	1	1	0	0	0	0
New Jersey.....	25	25	0	202	153	49	319	144	117	27	14	11	3
Pennsylvania.....	225	66	159	365	278	87	346	150	121	29	4	3	1
Region IV:													
District of Columbia..	182	96	86	52	28	24	127	2	1	1	0	0	0
Maryland.....	0	0	0	59	43	16	33	22	15	7	0	0	0
North Carolina.....	133	121	12	133	113	20	209	136	113	23	20	18	2
Virginia.....	56	52	4	123	95	28	92	55	49	6	3	3	0
West Virginia.....	112	112	0	77	64	13	85	29	22	7	2	1	1
Region V:													
Kentucky.....	277	277	0	147	126	21	463	109	96	13	24	22	2
Michigan.....	239	236	3	298	247	51	262	132	113	19	10	5	5
Ohio.....	58	58	0	294	240	54	172	107	80	27	3	3	0
Region VI:													
Illinois.....	210	104	106	298	235	63	258	48	39	9	6	5	1
Indiana.....	28	22	6	150	137	13	377	105	79	26	11	7	4
Wisconsin.....	8	8	0	90	79	11	67	150	111	39	7	6	1
Region VII:													
Alabama.....	52	50	2	135	115	20	158	66	60	6	20	20	0
Florida.....	453	418	35	116	93	23	169	192	167	25	10	10	0
Georgia.....	519	519	0	147	123	24	411	133	97	36	8	6	2
Mississippi.....	112	112	0	92	83	9	97	9	8	1	1	1	0
South Carolina.....	106	57	49	87	61	26	100	59	51	8	2	2	0
Tennessee.....	60	46	14	170	143	27	233	108	80	28	36	25	11
Region VIII:													
Iowa.....	127	127	0	36	30	6	20	6	3	3	0	0	0
Minnesota.....	1	1	0	80	65	15	49	28	21	7	19	14	5
Nebraska.....	56	56	0	35	33	2	27	5	5	0	2	2	0
North Dakota.....	0	0	0	8	7	1	23	4	3	1	3	1	2
South Dakota.....	0	0	0	10	9	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0
Region IX:													
Arkansas.....	79	77	2	90	68	22	93	56	47	9	7	7	0
Kansas.....	86	86	0	66	55	11	119	49	42	7	7	6	1
Missouri.....	76	74	2	282	225	57	435	147	118	29	11	7	4
Oklahoma.....	99	10	89	88	59	29	477	203	158	45	8	6	2
Region X:													
Louisiana.....	45	43	2	78	61	17	99	38	31	7	9	7	2
New Mexico.....	19	19	0	12	10	2	30	27	22	5	4	4	0
Texas.....	490	465	25	272	215	57	372	214	162	52	18	17	1
Region XI:													
Colorado.....	35	33	2	54	34	20	105	20	16	4	7	5	2
Idaho.....	48	2	46	26	23	3	11	5	5	0	0	0	0
Montana.....	0	0	0	26	23	3	40	15	14	1	3	3	0
Utah.....	50	45	5	31	26	5	80	69	51	18	3	3	0
Wyoming.....	0	0	0	2	2	0	19	12	12	0	0	0	0
Region XII:													
Arizona.....	75	75	0	14	14	0	8	1	1	0	0	0	0
California.....	1,306	626	680	707	573	134	795	494	357	137	152	86	66
Nevada.....	2	2	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Oregon.....	38	10	28	53	21	32	51	30	26	4	0	0	0
Washington.....	316	246	70	112	88	24	91	19	15	4	9	8	1

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(CV-2)

World War II Veteran placement activities, by State
August 1944

War Manpower Commission region and State	Applications for work			Nonagricultural placements			Local referrals	Directed to:				
	Total	Complete		Total		Handicapped		Veterans administration	State vocational rehabilitation	Selective service	Training agencies	Other agencies
		Total	Handicapped	Number	Percent of total nonagricultural placements							
Total.....	74,806	44,249	11,521 a/	62,487	5.0	11,169 a/	106,215	5,667 a/	1,776 a/	1,483 a/	1,261 a/	6,038 a/
Region I:												
Connecticut.....	676	676	270	845	5.9	365	1,434	198	35	13	18	92
Maine.....	173	173	73	263	4.1	85	331	15	5	5	1	14
Massachusetts.....	2,886	1,720	395	1,736	6.3	148	3,006	208	19	119	11	103
New Hampshire.....	84	83	33	83	3.4	21	219	32	10	3	2	15
Rhode Island.....	795	264	194	279	3.7	103	615	13	4	3	5	5
Vermont.....	60	45	34	75	4.3	51	111	55	2	0	1	31
Region II:												
New York.....	4,917	2,699	1,136	4,921	4.6	1,328	8,442	402	28	75	86	476
Region III:												
Delaware.....	89	89	35	82	3.2	37	142	17	5	4	0	7
New Jersey.....	2,912	1,071	369	1,877	4.7	296	3,806	132	141	48	51	598
Pennsylvania.....	3,729	2,703	592	3,529	5.3	443	6,287	236	49	85	46	258
Region IV:												
District of Columbia..	407	407	33	400	3.7	8	637	2	0	0	4	8
Maryland.....	1,383	647	34	1,368	5.4	87	2,480	98	0	5	10	29
North Carolina.....	1,682	1,151	318	1,350	4.4	249	1,942	178	36	11	9	119
Virginia.....	921	413	92	1,283	3.8	89	1,603	61	16	34	15	89
West Virginia.....	899	673	95	851	6.0	83	1,172	64	21	27	6	28
Region V:												
Kentucky.....	1,040	1,040	330	1,436	6.2	144	1,935	47	27	16	16	61
Michigan.....	3,166	2,337	681	2,205	5.4	824	5,746	244	144	174	187	339
Ohio.....	3,161	3,048	512	4,232	5.2	839	7,830	258	40	80	46	277
Region VI:												
Illinois.....	2,425	1,623	378	2,440	3.2	290	4,753	254	63	67	94	346
Indiana.....	1,498	995	86	2,060	5.7	62	3,423	147	5	39	51	215
Wisconsin.....	809	478	317	909	4.1	348	1,259	66	14	6	7	66
Region VII:												
Alabama.....	903	902	313	1,250	4.9	407	2,070	62	53	17	17	32
Florida.....	1,498	897	391	1,215	6.1	502	1,830	94	28	15	11	26
Georgia.....	2,351	1,236	287	1,614	4.4	233	2,636	122	82	24	2	90
Mississippi.....	1,520	1,179	378	625	4.5	166	1,079	101	99	23	15	66
South Carolina.....	1,007	430	182	712	3.7	139	1,039	22	59	4	1	32
Tennessee.....	1,884	696	239	1,631	5.8	205	3,344	160	144	21	98	134
Region VIII:												
Iowa.....	1,085	1,059	495	914	4.1	523	1,248	30	3	2	0	14
Minnesota.....	2,667	377	119	1,047	4.0	174	2,310	100	34	9	60	207
Nebraska.....	451	347	61	499	6.4	45	783	16	4	8	1	22
North Dakota.....	93	38	15	57	3.1	11	88	6	0	1	1	8
South Dakota.....	100	84	27	85	4.8	27	131	31	1	2	4	21
Region IX:												
Arkansas.....	1,654	613	227	639	5.3	238	1,207	78	33	43	13	132
Kansas.....	1,326	626	39	662	4.7	38	1,170	93	38	40	41	85
Missouri.....	3,898	3,820	388	1,626	5.1	183	3,000	125	5	30	23	68
Oklahoma.....	2,233	894	85	966	5.7	46	1,643	51	14	15	6	92
Region X:												
Louisiana.....	769	752	152	839	6.5	131	1,372	101	128	36	30	58
New Mexico.....	342	271	45	275	7.6	32	369	12	9	1	1	1
Texas.....	4,591	2,483	669	4,778	6.7	709	6,751	345	104	119	70	463
Region XI:												
Colorado.....	543	169	51	588	5.1	75	903	112	18	16	24	252
Idaho.....	172	136	72	163	4.3	32	219	35	0	5	0	101
Montana.....	275	176	35	221	6.0	36	285	267	48	35	26	67
Utah.....	224	160	46	317	4.1	72	339	11	11	6	3	29
Wyoming.....	85	59	7	92	4.1	2	124	9	0	0	1	0
Region XII:												
Arizona.....	639	153	(b)	356	6.3	(b)	480	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
California.....	8,594	3,364	819	5,859	4.5	916	10,709	795	185	175	126	511
Nevada.....	208	19	1	140	5.0	7	177	0	0	0	0	5
Oregon.....	560	468	(b)	886	4.9	(b)	1,818	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
Washington.....	1,422	506	371	2,207	6.6	320	1,918	162	12	22	21	346

a/ Excludes Arizona and Oregon; data not reported.
b/ Data not reported.

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(CV-3)

Veteran nonagricultural placements, by major occupational group, by State
August 1944

War Manpower Commission region and State	Total: Number	Total: Percentage change from: July 1944	Total: Percentage change from: August 1943	Professional and managerial	Clerical and sales	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled and other
Total.....	83,633	+22.2	+161.1	1,651	5,052	6,844	13,477	15,869	40,740
Region I:									
Connecticut.....	1,103	+59.4	+68.1	26	87	79	171	286	454
Maine.....	314	+23.6	+10.2	3	14	17	49	69	162
Massachusetts.....	2,492	+20.7	+49.5	44	181	212	352	528	1,175
New Hampshire.....	114	-18.6	+12.9	1	5	7	9	39	53
Rhode Island.....	380	+ 4.4	+54.5	4	29	37	67	59	184
Vermont.....	100	+53.8	+75.4	0	22	5	11	29	33
Region II:									
New York.....	6,427	+12.2	+113.2	170	472	973	1,004	1,044	2,764
Region III:									
Delaware.....	86	+14.7	+38.7	1	6	9	17	13	40
New Jersey.....	2,381	- 6.7	+161.4	39	156	170	451	453	1,112
Pennsylvania.....	4,319	+16.3	+125.1	62	256	208	650	765	2,378
Region IV:									
District of Columbia.	510	+46.1	+507.1	12	60	168	55	95	120
Maryland.....	1,807	+17.1	+202.7	30	125	179	313	298	862
North Carolina.....	1,616	+27.9	+455.3	13	79	132	284	422	686
Virginia.....	1,491	+58.8	+921.2	14	77	101	304	300	695
West Virginia.....	1,049	+19.5	+197.2	12	44	30	159	148	656
Region V:									
Kentucky.....	1,787	+52.7	+188.2	21	81	97	403	298	887
Michigan.....	3,294	+42.8	+150.9	78	150	170	487	1,065	1,344
Ohio.....	5,463	+29.5	+239.7	68	242	319	693	1,036	3,105
Region VI:									
Illinois.....	3,115	+46.1	+188.4	59	230	198	541	702	1,385
Indiana.....	2,680	+30.7	+156.0	24	115	85	316	480	1,660
Wisconsin.....	1,496	+20.3	+268.5	25	101	62	294	331	683
Region VII:									
Alabama.....	1,365	- 7.0	+139.1	18	96	81	303	165	702
Florida.....	1,632	+23.0	+32.3	30	138	190	433	293	548
Georgia.....	1,823	+19.2	+390.1	28	129	136	279	447	804
Mississippi.....	718	- 3.4	+220.5	12	49	34	95	152	376
South Carolina.....	838	+58.4	+236.5	6	52	64	136	198	382
Tennessee.....	2,225	+12.1	+279.7	31	129	242	413	299	1,111
Region VIII:									
Iowa.....	1,429	+30.4	+107.4	29	126	106	178	316	674
Minnesota.....	2,081	+28.6	+41.5	28	53	97	147	260	1,496
Nebraska.....	738	+74.1	+98.9	9	45	44	96	122	422
North Dakota.....	71	+12.7	+153.6	1	6	3	8	21	32
South Dakota.....	110	+20.9	+61.8	6	11	7	10	21	55
Region IX:									
Arkansas.....	854	+14.5	+134.0	12	64	95	86	157	440
Kansas.....	955	+39.8	+202.2	12	48	62	170	186	477
Missouri.....	2,251	+27.9	+65.8	56	131	180	302	428	1,154
Oklahoma.....	1,331	+12.9	+365.4	24	73	103	175	307	649
Region X:									
Louisiana.....	981	+18.2	+186.0	28	71	164	151	151	416
New Mexico.....	348	+20.4	+248.0	4	30	37	61	85	131
Texas.....	5,975	+17.9	+188.5	136	519	515	1,037	1,340	2,428
Region XI:									
Colorado.....	803	+31.4	+222.5	4	52	79	111	110	447
Idaho.....	317	+22.4	-21.9	0	20	29	39	89	140
Montana.....	355	+14.1	- 7.8	1	17	25	43	55	214
Utah.....	412	+10.2	+119.1	18	31	49	57	92	165
Wyoming.....	138	+55.1	+170.6	2	4	3	34	42	53
Region XII:									
Arizona.....	475	+ 9.2	+ 7.5	9	51	71	101	122	121
California.....	7,413	+33.3	+443.5	394	424	667	1,514	1,172	3,242
Nevada.....	216	+20.0	+89.5	2	9	40	33	35	97
Oregon.....	2,027	+25.0	+63.5	19	45	136	203	279	1,345
Washington.....	3,728	- 3.3	+787.6	26	97	327	632	465	2,181

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(CV-4)

WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION
Washington 25, D. C.

In reply
refer to WMRB

WMC Field Instruction No. 463 (Rev.)
Reports and Analysis Service No. 38
September 7, 1944

To: All Regional Manpower Directors

Subject: Monthly Field Operating Report

It is the purpose of this Field Instruction to transmit revised reporting instructions, referred to in my wire of September 6, which are designed to reduce workload in the field by (1) making it optional with the field whether or not any "Program Control" forms are maintained; (2) making it optional with the field whether the Monthly Field Operating Report is prepared on an administrative area or labor market area basis; and (3) reducing the Monthly Field Operating Report to a simple, brief, and concise narrative statement covering the major manpower problems, actions taken or planned to resolve those problems, and results of such actions.

Item (1), above, will relieve the field of the requirement for maintaining (a) Plant Control Sheets; (b) Area Control Sheets; (c) Industry Control Sheets; and (d) Program Check Lists. Item (2), above, will relieve the field of the requirement for preparing a separate Monthly Field Operating Report for each labor market area and will permit the preparation of that report for the administrative area as a whole if such is desired. In this connection, where problems, actions, or results relate to specific labor market areas the narrative would, of course, indicate the labor market areas involved. Item (3), above, provides for a very brief narrative statement of principal developments and actions. Instructions relating to the items to be covered in the narrative statement include suggestive topics to be covered where significant. This does not mean that each suggested topic is to be covered in every report. In the nature of the situation it is necessary to rely upon the judgment of officials in the field to determine what is to be regarded as "major" or "significant" and therefore what is to be covered in a brief narrative statement.

In accordance with the above, the following specific changes have been made in Section 5000-5082 of the WMC Reporting Manual:

(1) All instructions relative to the preparation of "Program Control" material [Sections 5020-5026 and 5040-5041 (a), and 5041(c)]; summary data regarding the "Manpower Allowance Program" (Sections 5030-5033); and information on labor market changes (Sections 5050-5054) are hereby rescinded. This eliminates the use of Tables I, Ia, II, and III, and Part I of the narrative discussion.

(2) The Monthly Field Operating Report may be prepared and submitted on an administrative or labor market area basis whichever is more useful in the field. If the report is prepared on an administrative area basis, the information must be presented, when appropriate, by labor market areas within the administrative area.

The Monthly Field Operating Report should continue to include information concerning Unemployment Compensation claimants even though all other types of program control items are eliminated from the report.

The above changes may be put into effect immediately or you may delay their effective date until after the preparation of the Monthly Field Operating Report covering August activities. In either event these instructions will be applicable to the Monthly Field Operating Report covering September activities.

Initiated by:

/s/ Collis Stocking
Chief, Reports and Analysis Service

/s/ Vernon A. McGee
Deputy Executive Director

Attachments

B and D Distribution

5000. Nature and purpose of report. The Field Operating Report is designed to provide a brief, concise summary of the current and anticipated manpower problems, actions being taken, results accomplished to date, and further actions planned. This report should serve as a periodic appraisal of the effectiveness of WMC activities. As such it should aid the area office in determining the necessity for redirecting operations within the area in order to meet the manpower problems existing or expected to develop there. It should also assist the State office and, to a more limited extent, regional and headquarters offices to carry out effectively their responsibilities for program development and adjustment, and for supervision of operations.

5001. Coverage.

(a) The Field Operating Report may be prepared either on an administrative area basis or on a labor market area basis, whichever is the more useful to field offices in their operations. If the report is prepared on an administrative area basis, the information relating to programs and actions should be grouped by labor market area within the administrative area, in order to facilitate presentation and interpretation of the material reported.

(b) Headquarters will require Field Operating Reports covering program developments and actions in each classified labor market area. This requirement may be met by either of the following: (1) a report for the labor market area or (2) a report for the administrative area within which the labor market area is located. Where the labor market area cuts across administrative area lines, each administrative area in which a part of such labor market area is located may prepare a report covering either (1) the part of the labor market area in that administrative area or (2) the administrative area as a whole. It is not required that these parts be brought together in the field to construct a report for the labor market as a whole.

(c) Regional or State offices may request any additional area coverage needed for administrative or supervisory purposes.

5002. Frequency, due dates, number and distribution of copies.

(a) Field Operating Reports should be prepared at the close of each month, covering developments and problems during the month. Four copies, or if duplicated 10 copies, of each required report will be due in Washington on or before the twentieth of the month following that covered by the report. [See section 5001(b).]

5002. Frequency, due dates, number and distribution of copies.--continued

(b) Appropriate arrangements for receipt of copies by State and regional offices should be made by those offices.

5003. Format of report.

(a) If the Field Operating Report is prepared on an administrative area basis, the following heading should be placed at the top of the first page of the report, or on the face sheet where one is used:

RESTRICTED

Field Operating Report

Area:_____ Period_____
(Name of WMC area and State) (Month, year)

This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50 U.S.C., 31 and 32. Its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to unauthorized persons is prohibited by law.

Labor Market Areas Covered:
(List labor market areas or portions* of such areas covered)

_____ _____

_____ _____

/* When the report covers only a part of a labor market area, the name of the entire labor market area should be entered, followed by an identification of the part which is covered in the report./

(b) If the Field Operating Report is prepared on a labor market area basis, the following heading should be placed at the top of the first page of the report, or on the face sheet where one is used:

RESTRICTED

Field Operating Report

Labor Market Area:*_____ Period_____
(Major cities, State) (Month, year)

WMC office preparing report:_____

This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50 U.S.C., 31 and 32. Its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to unauthorized persons is prohibited by law.

/* When the report covers only a part of a labor market area, the name of the entire labor market area should be entered, followed by an identification of the part which is covered in the report./

5003. Format of report.--continued

(c) Where reports are prepared on an administrative area basis, the following data, describing the area covered by the report, should be given under the heading of the first Field Operating Report prepared following these instructions, and also on the first such report prepared following a redefinition of the area covered:

(1) the counties included wholly within the area;
(2) the parts of other counties also included; and
(3) the local offices serving the area.

If available, also include in the first report and in the first report following a redefinition of the area, a map showing the boundaries of the area, each county within which a part of the area is located, the principal cities, and the boundaries of the local office areas (or portions of local office areas) included.

5010. Definition of "Program." For purposes of this report, "program" is to be interpreted broadly to include any action or any formal or informal plan of action dealing with or related to manpower problems. The following listing, not in order of importance, is illustrative of the type of problems to which programs may relate:

Determination of "must"plants and actions taken
Inter-regional recruitment of workers
Directed transfers of workers
Priority referral
In-plant training
Actions on "spot authorization"
Under-utilization of women, nonwhite or part-time workers
Turnover and stabilization of employment
Determination of locally needed activities
Relocation of workers following cutbacks
Establishment of employment ceilings
Hours of work
Wages

"Program" should also be interpreted to include those operations designed to carry out any general orders or manpower regulations issued by headquarters office; any WMC activities in connection with operating plans or programs primarily the responsibility of other agencies; and any general informational and educational campaigns.

5011. Organization of the report.--The following general outline should be used in preparing the monthly Field Operating Report and the outline titles should be used as headings to identify each part of the report:

Part I - Summary of highlights
Part II - Operating developments, programs, and problems.

5012. Part I, Summary of highlights. Part I should highlight in a paragraph or two the principal developments and problems discussed in subsequent parts of the report. This summary should present highlights such as (1) the most significant manpower developments and problems; (2) the general nature of any new programs and of any recent significant changes in programs; (3) the principal problems existing or anticipated in connection with the programs and actions taken or planned to alleviate the problems; (4) the most significant results of programs.

5013. Part II, Operating developments, programs, and problems.

(a) In general, Part II of the report should indicate the principal actions taken under each major manpower program within the area; should appraise these actions in relation to goals established; and should indicate problems encountered, and further actions needed. The discussion in Part II should be developed by type of program to which specific problems or actions relate. Where the report is prepared on an administrative area basis for a WMC area containing several distinct labor market areas, it is recommended that the report present first any program developments, problems, or actions common to all parts of the administrative area, and then present the more localized developments, problems, or actions, under labor market area subtitles.

(b) For a program currently being initiated or considered, the discussion may indicate the following:

(1) the specific problems which it is intended to meet, citing any quantitative data available to indicate the magnitude of the problems;
(2) the general provisions of the program;
(3) the machinery by which it is to be carried out, including formal and informal liaison relationships with other groups and agencies;
(4) the approximate date on which the program is expected to become effective; and
(5) any difficulties being encountered in connection with its formulation or initiation.

5013. Part II, Operating developments, programs, and problems.--continued

(c) For programs in operation, the discussion may indicate the following:

(1) any major changes since the last report in the provisions of the program or the operating procedures to be followed in carrying out the program, and the factors leading to such changes;

(2) major actions taken during the month under the program, the results of such actions, and, where pertinent, the relation of the results to the goals established;

(3) substantial administrative or operating problems encountered in carrying out the program and the steps being taken to correct such problems;

(4) any substantial problems of interpretation, enforcement, compliance, or public acceptance, and the steps being taken to correct or improve such situations; and

(5) further major actions planned under the program in light of the area manpower problem as it exists at the time of the report, and any assistance needed from the State or other WMC offices in connection with the operation of the program.

(d) When a significant manpower problem or development which is not related specifically to a given WMC program exists or is anticipated, the following may be indicated:

(1) the nature of the problem or development, citing any quantitative data available to indicate its magnitude and/or effect;

(2) insofar as known, its causes; and

(3) any suggestions regarding programs needed as a result of the development or to alleviate the problem.

(e) The following information on Unemployment Compensation Claims (including claims taken by UC personnel as well as those taken by WMC and USES personnel) must be included in each report:

(1) Total new and additional claims taken during the month covered by the report; and

(2) Average number of compensable claims taken per week during the month covered by the report.

5020. Special Reporting of Major Cutback Situations.-- If a major cutback occurs in the area indicate briefly what happened and how the situation was handled.

SUMMARY OF ES-270 REPORTS

SEPTEMBER 1944

In connection with the activities of the WMC program the local USES offices secure information of current employment, turnover, and anticipated requirements on Form ES-270. Establishments from which reports are obtained are selected on the basis of their manpower problems, essentiality of activity, size of firm, or importance to the community in which they operate.

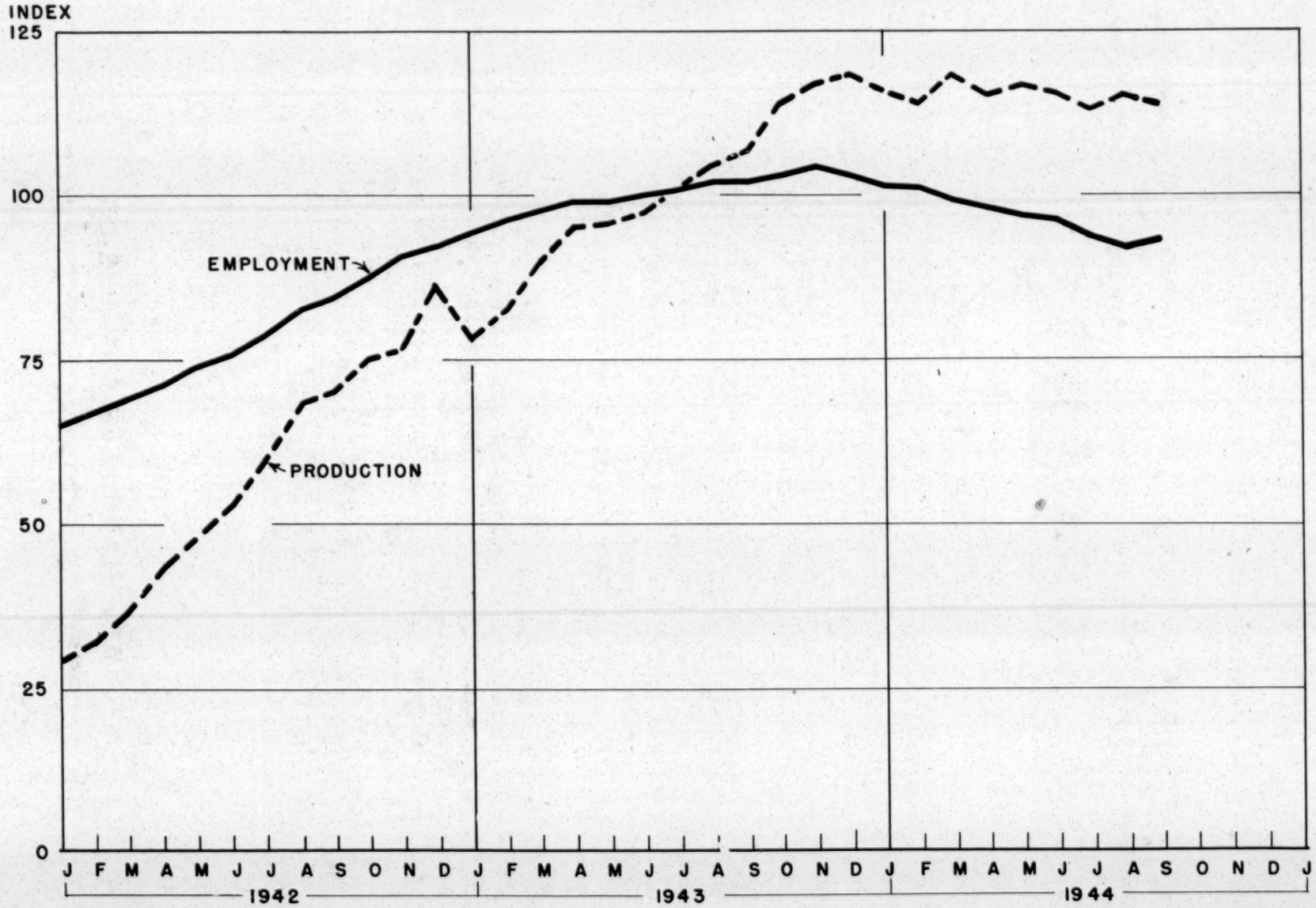
As a by-product of these reports national summaries of employment and turnover are prepared bi-monthly. The tabulations do not necessarily cover the total number of employees in any one industry or area. However, over 75 percent of the employment in all manufacturing industries and over 90 percent of the total employment in the munitions industries are reported.

WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION
REPORTS AND ANALYSIS SERVICE

7-4824 P1 of 20 bu-eos-wp

MUNITIONS EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTION

MONTHLY AVERAGE 1943=100



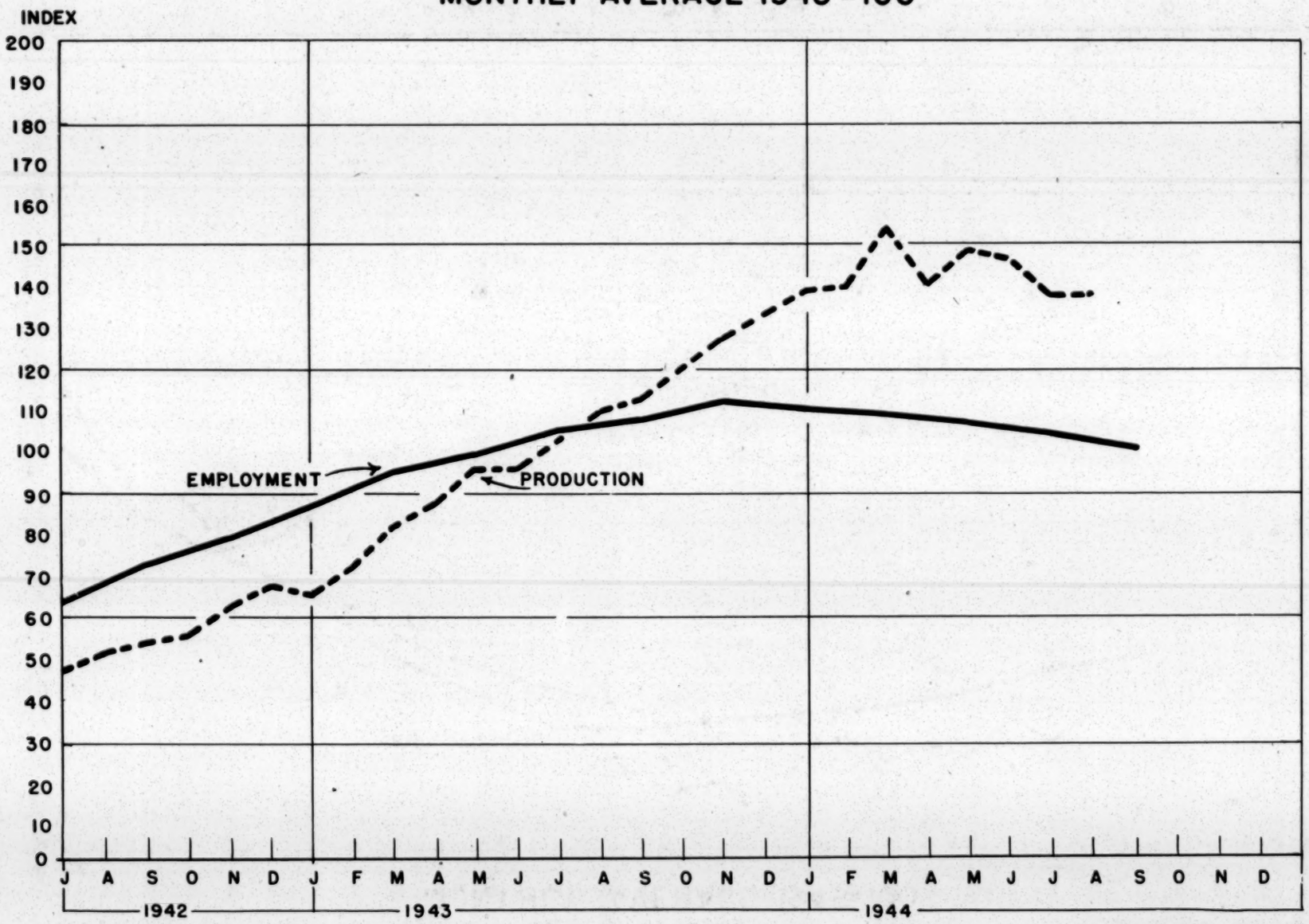
SOURCE: WMC AND WPB

WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION
REPORTS AND ANALYSIS SERVICE

7-4824 P2 bu

AIRCRAFT

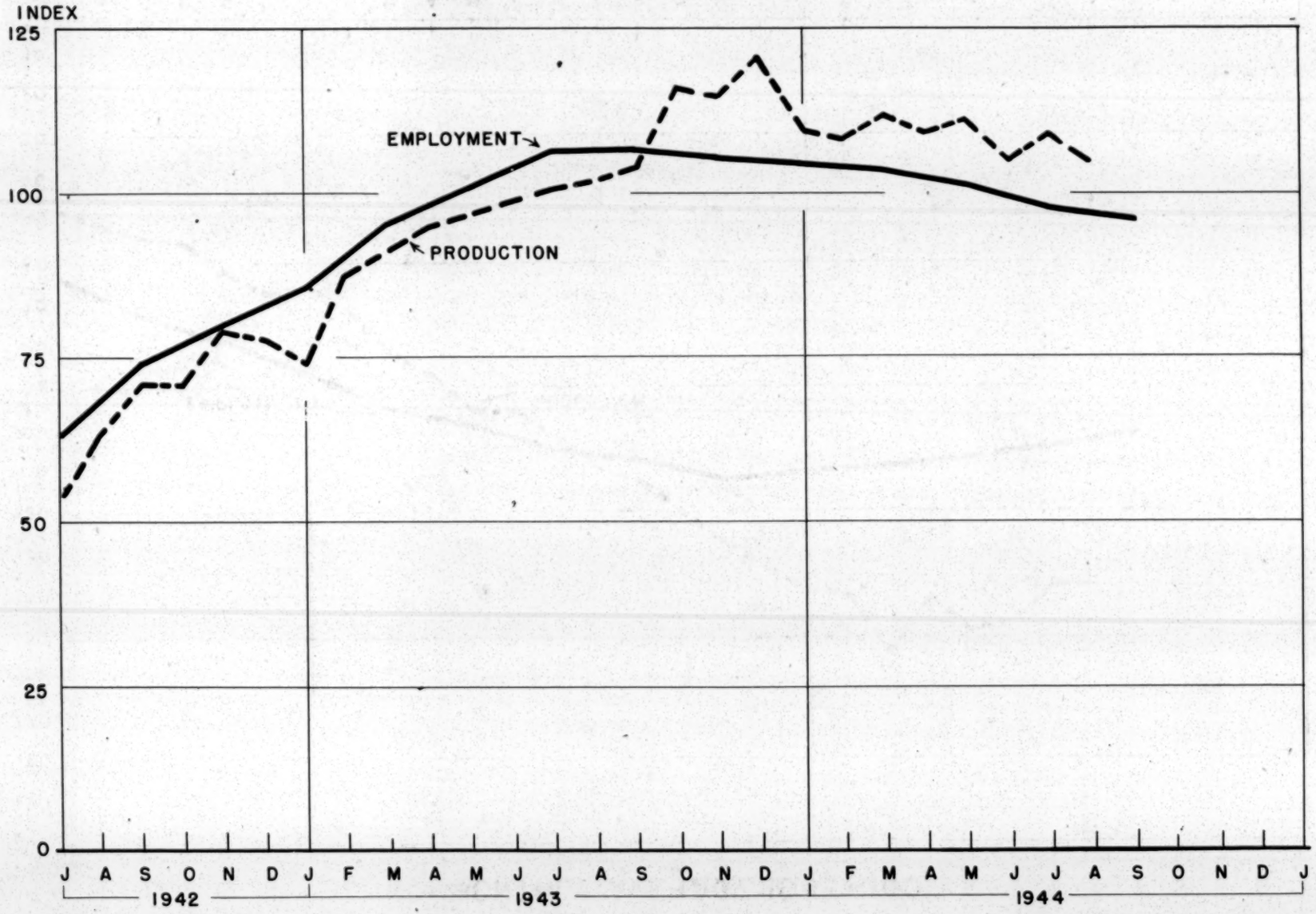
MONTHLY AVERAGE 1943 = 100



SOURCE: WPB & WMC

WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION
REPORTS AND ANALYSIS SERVICE

SHIPBUILDING
MONTHLY AVERAGE 1943=100

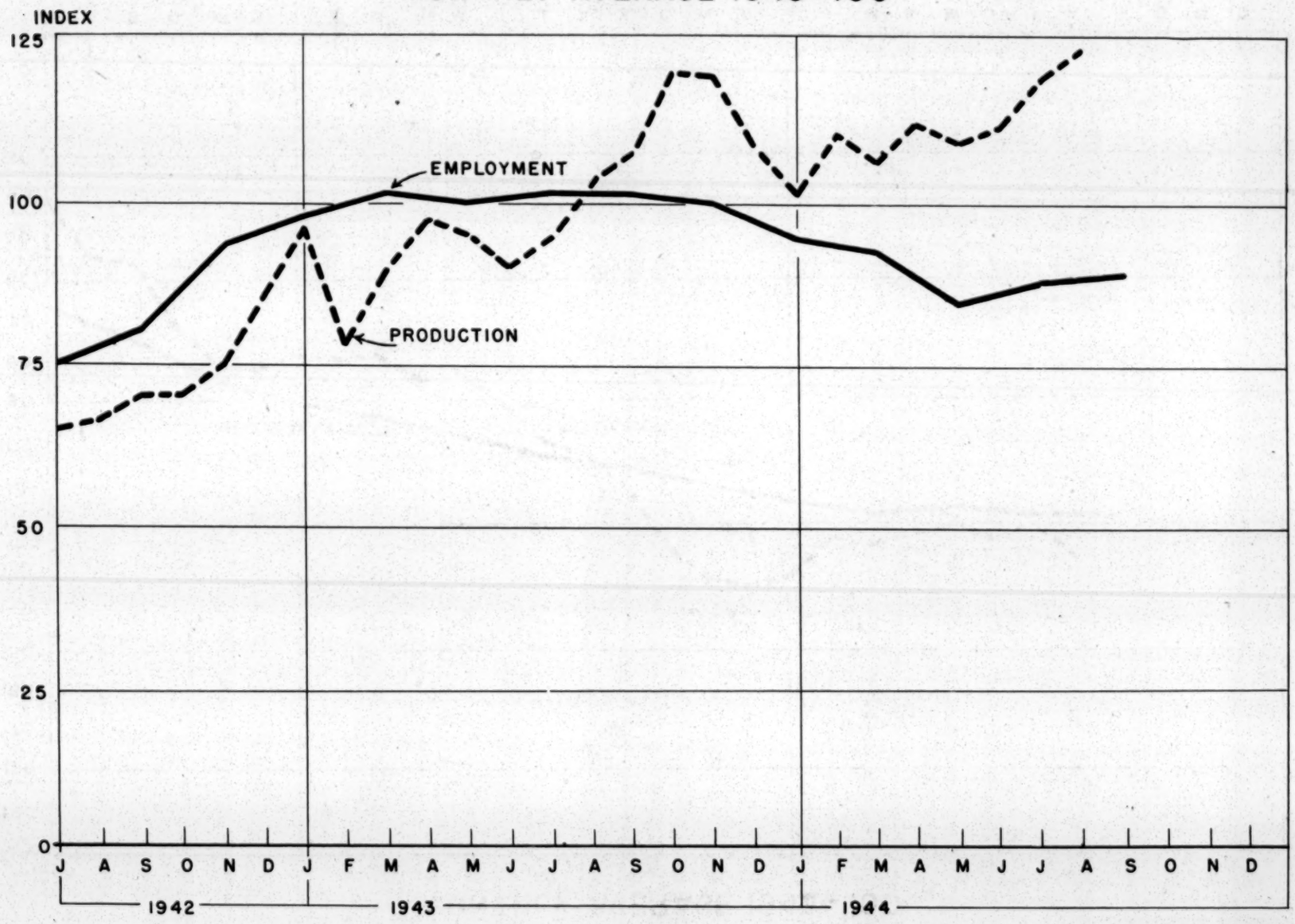


SOURCE: WPB AND WMC

WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION
REPORTS AND ANALYSIS SERVICE

AMMUNITION

MONTHLY AVERAGE 1943=100



SOURCE: WPB & WMC

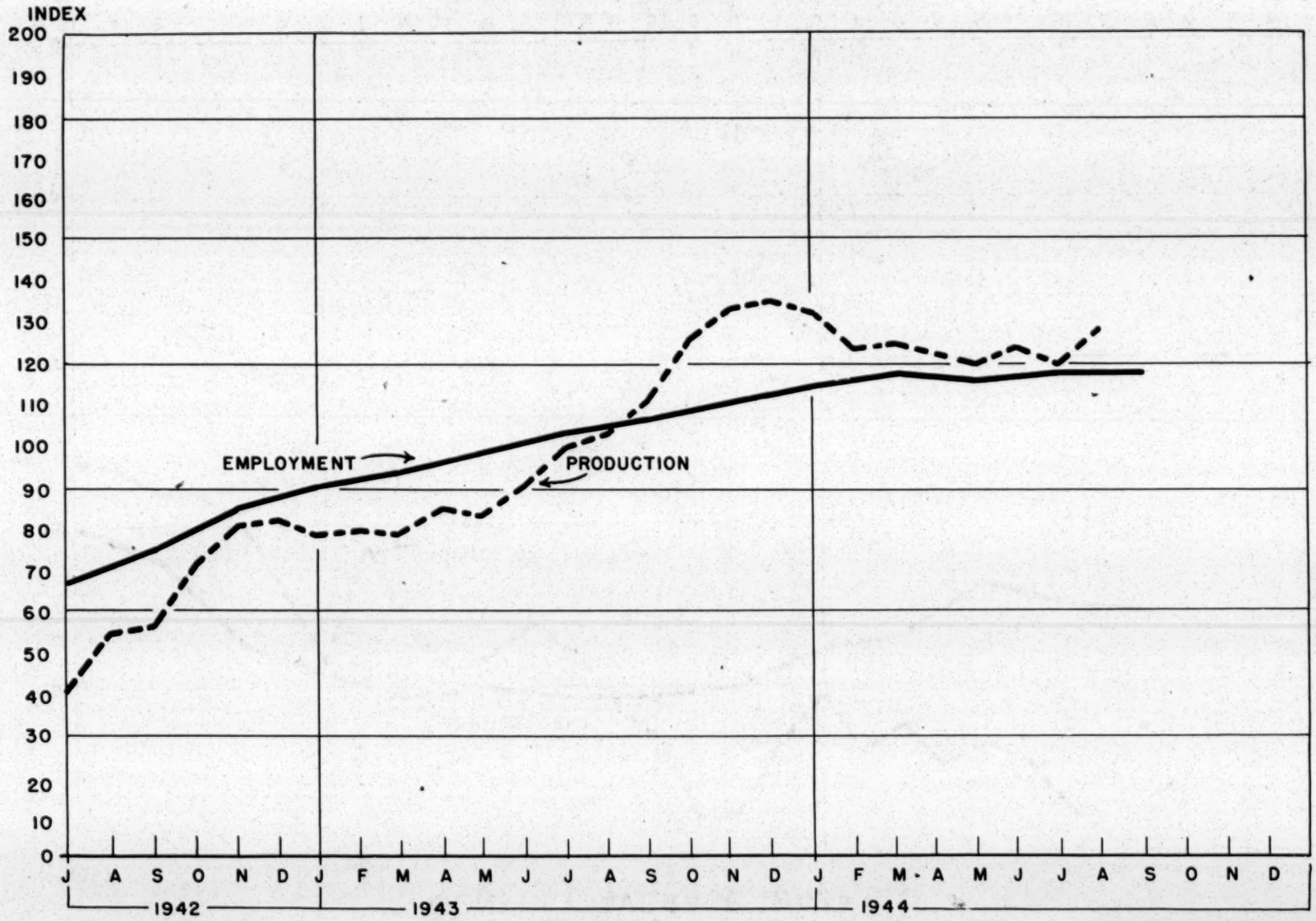
WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION
REPORTS AND ANALYSIS SERVICE

7-4824 PS Bu

7-4824 P6 bu

COMMUNICATION AND ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT

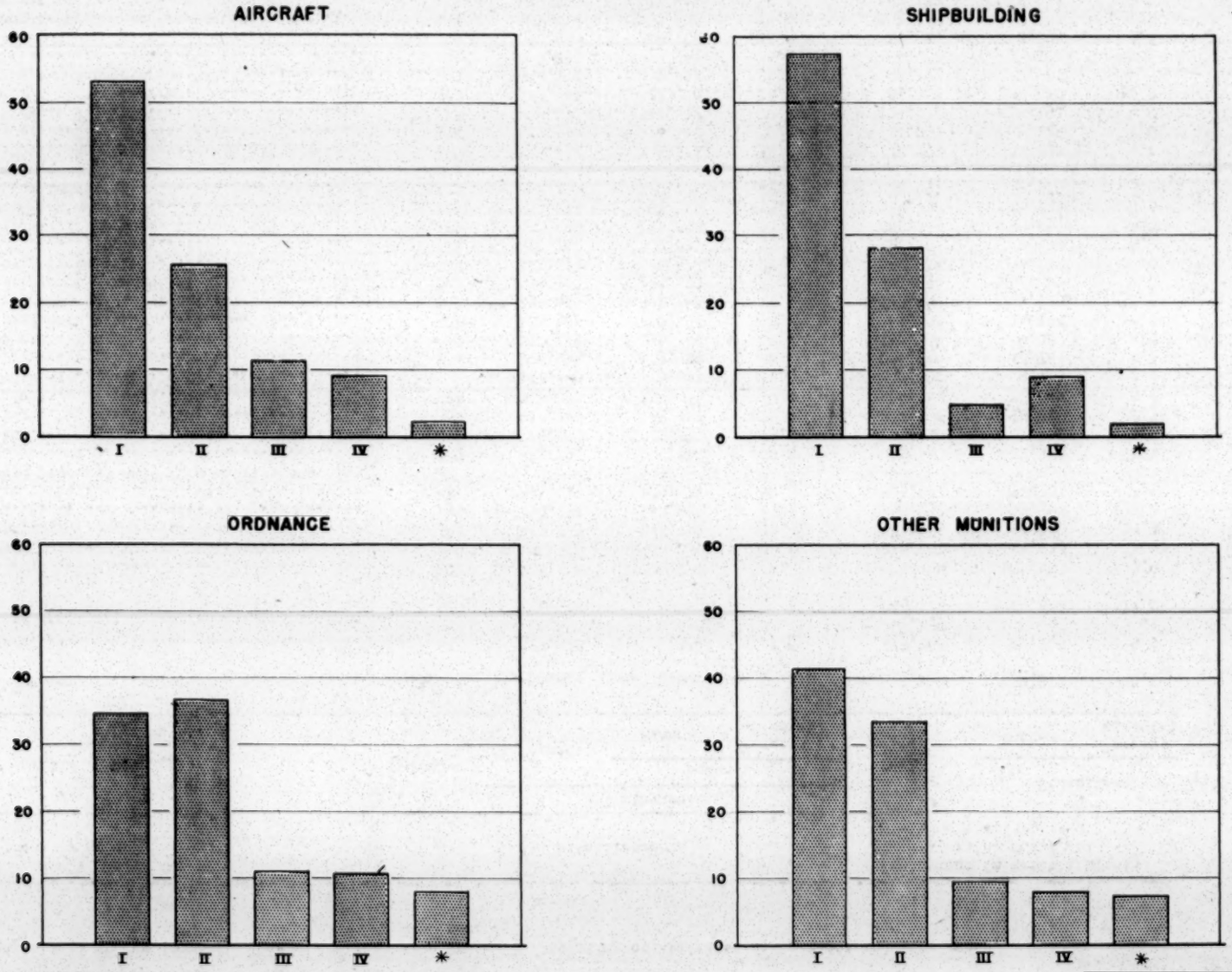
MONTHLY AVERAGE 1943=100



SOURCE: WPB & WMC

WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION
REPORTS AND ANALYSIS SERVICE

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED MUNITIONS INDUSTRIES
BY TYPE OF LABOR MARKET AREA ▲
SEPTEMBER 1944



▲ FOR EXPLANATION OF TYPES OF AREAS, SEE TABLE MA 5, FOOTNOTE A.
* UNCLASSIFIED
SOURCE: ES-270 REPORTS

WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION
REPORTS AND ANALYSIS SERVICE

Total employment and employment of women and nonwhites in ES-270 reporting establishments, by major industry group, September 1944

Code	Major industry group: Title	All establishments: Number	Employment: Total	Women: Number	Women: Percent of total	Employment in establishments reporting number of nonwhites employed: Total	Nonwhites: Number	Nonwhites: Percent of total
	Total	13,458	13,491,411	4,379,402	32.5	12,548,100	1,017,817	8.1
	Mining (coal)	647	333,362	4,974	1.5	328,862	29,728	9.0
11	Anthracite mining	63	66,669	485	.7	63,489	62	.1
12	Bituminous and other soft-coal mining	584	266,693	4,489	1.7	265,373	29,666	11.2
	Manufacturing	11,204	11,408,874	3,724,957	32.6	10,594,944	836,643	7.9
19	Ordnance and accessories	799	1,187,920	434,204	36.6	1,075,987	91,833	8.5
20	Food and kindred products	743	420,365	148,742	35.4	444,443	61,860	13.9
21	Tobacco manufactures	44	50,737	32,099	63.3	50,737	19,368	38.2
22	Textile-mill products	1,437	873,013	429,527	49.2	865,581	32,707	3.8
23	Apparel and other finished products made from fabrics and similar materials	660	247,991	198,842	80.2	251,450	11,924	4.7
25	Furniture and finished lumber products (except cooperage)	239	75,680	22,373	29.6	75,024	8,900	11.9
26	Paper and allied products	363	215,341	63,307	29.4	211,892	18,065	8.5
28	Chemicals and allied products	497	414,074	124,366	30.0	404,268	35,209	8.7
29	Products of petroleum and coal	172	132,650	16,683	12.6	132,650	9,754	7.4
30	Rubber products	134	215,244	79,489	36.9	206,996	13,787	6.7
31	Leather and leather products	368	182,119	95,342	52.4	180,654	4,580	2.5
32	Stone, clay, and glass products	321	188,585	60,743	32.2	187,890	11,198	6.0
33	Iron and steel and their products	1,462	1,155,685	202,368	17.5	1,130,669	129,929	11.5
34	Transportation equipment (except automobiles)	1,090	3,435,900	898,599	26.2	2,972,634	268,000	9.0
35	Nonferrous metals and their products	394	302,679	66,521	22.0	292,115	32,109	11.0
36	Electrical machinery	704	912,791	462,635	50.7	822,106	34,538	4.2
37	Machinery (except electrical)	1,282	913,546	214,575	23.5	857,359	29,857	3.5
38	Automobiles and automobile equipment	175	233,273	54,316	23.3	189,792	15,726	8.3
39	Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	320	251,281	120,226	47.8	242,697	7,389	3.0
	Transportation, communication, and other public utilities a/	976	826,772	264,181	32.0	772,831	31,858	4.1
40	Interstate railroads	138	128,594	10,111	7.9	127,041	5,115	4.0
41	Local railways and bus lines	113	125,630	12,117	9.6	107,175	5,191	4.8
42	Trucking and warehousing for hire	299	83,569	22,200	26.6	83,569	9,082	10.9
43	Other transportation, except water transportation	70	48,197	11,914	24.7	48,197	2,050	4.3
44	Water transportation	15	4,257	355	8.3	4,257	190	4.5
45	Services allied to transportation, n.e.c.	36	39,880	14,164	35.5	39,880	2,649	6.6
46	Communication: Telephone, telegraph and related services	134	221,416	161,635	73.0	209,575	2,543	1.2
48	Utilities: Electric and gas	171	175,229	31,685	18.1	153,137	5,038	3.3
94	Government	631	922,403	385,290	41.8	851,463	119,588	14.0

a/ Decrease in coverage due to recent headquarters instructions making reporting optional for transportation industry.

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(MA4)

Total employment and employment of women and nonwhites in ES-270 reporting establishments, by labor market area, September 1944

Labor market area by adequacy of labor supply a/ and region	All establishments				Employment in establishments reporting number of nonwhites employed		
	Number	Employment			Total	Nonwhites	
		Total	Women				
			Number	Percent of total		Number	Percent of total
Total b/	13,458	13,491,411	4,379,402	32.5	12,548,100	1,017,817	8.1
Group I b/	3,712	5,157,178	1,637,950	31.8	4,661,905	506,428	10.9
Region I							
148 Meriden, Conn.	20	22,251	8,821	39.6	11,852	73	.6
152 New Bedford, Mass.	29	28,845	14,711	51.0	28,036	1,342	4.8
153 New Britain-Bristol, Conn.	32	40,805	15,487	38.0	26,803	2,956	11.0
189 Waterbury, Conn.	37	45,196	17,651	39.1	45,196	1,304	2.9
Region II							
212 Buffalo-Niagara Falls, N.Y.	169	204,573	65,870	32.2	96,281	8,542	8.9
Region III							
330 Newark, N.J.	262	382,364	135,340	35.4	323,374	31,363	9.7
336 Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	327	471,501	140,705	29.8	410,956	63,412	15.4
344 Somerville, N.J.	22	21,759	6,610	30.4	18,894	1,223	6.5
Region IV							
404 Baltimore, Md.	111	205,933	59,778	29.0	201,143	33,720	16.8
420 Elkton, Md.	4	9,969	5,416	54.3	9,969	2,940	29.5
424 Hampton Roads, Va.	30	100,033	21,788	21.8	89,379	26,903	30.1
429 New Bern, N.C.	6	7,063	2,469	35.0	7,063	2,310	32.7
432 Petersburg, Va.	11	10,851	5,120	47.2	10,851	3,785	34.9
438 Richmond, Va.	20	29,725	14,131	47.5	29,725	8,277	27.8
444 Washington, D.C.-Va.-Md.	36	51,721	16,445	31.8	51,721	8,779	17.0
Region V							
502 Adrian, Mich.	16	7,953	3,073	38.6	5,563	1	(c)
504 Akron-Ravenna, Ohio	28	112,015	35,769	31.9	112,015	5,875	5.2
508 Benton Harbor, Mich.	20	8,828	2,410	27.3	8,828	590	6.7
510 Canton-Massillon-Alliance, Ohio	42	61,447	16,578	27.0	61,447	3,167	5.2
514 Cleveland, Ohio	148	228,207	73,608	32.3	217,629	20,792	9.6
520 Detroit, Mich.	286	631,291	189,402	30.0	563,206	68,227	12.1
524 Fostoria-Tiffin-Findlay, Ohio	10	7,615	2,473	32.5	7,615	58	.8
526 Fremont-Port Clinton, Ohio	7	5,642	2,066	36.6	5,642	258	4.6
540 Lima, Ohio	9	18,822	5,680	30.2	14,183	872	6.1
552 Muskegon, Mich.	23	29,123	6,995	24.0	29,123	2,068	7.1
562 Pontiac, Mich.	16	31,993	8,789	27.5	7,137	544	7.6
570 Sandusky, Ohio	10	5,756	2,006	34.9	5,756	558	9.7
Region VI							
602 Anderson, Ind.	15	26,894	8,973	33.4	4,581	75	1.6
605 Aurora-Elgin, Ill.	35	19,905	7,850	39.4	19,905	360	1.8
615 Chicago, Ill.	495	542,351	206,610	38.1	517,188	57,122	11.0
616 Chicago Heights-Harvey, Ill.	27	21,119	5,458	25.8	21,119	2,974	14.1
622 DeKalb, Ill.	10	3,723	1,505	40.4	3,723	39	1.0
632 Fort Wayne, Ind.	53	49,984	18,966	37.9	49,984	1,167	2.3
633 Freeport, Ill.	9	4,042	1,964	48.6	4,042	90	2.2
635 Gary-Hammond-South Chicago, Ind.-Ill.	89	140,351	26,172	18.6	140,351	18,335	13.1
645 Joliet, Ill.	27	24,183	7,591	31.4	24,183	1,218	5.0
657 Logansport, Ind.	11	4,960	2,559	51.6	4,960	59	1.2
658 Madison-Merrimac, Wisc.	13	16,056	5,632	35.1	16,056	110	.7
661 Marion, Ind.	14	8,896	3,419	38.4	8,896	381	4.3
663 Michigan City-La Porte, Ind.	19	19,329	7,568	39.2	19,329	2,411	12.5
665 Moline, Ill.-Iowa	41	34,733	9,901	28.5	34,733	644	1.9
667 Muncie, Ind.	27	21,316	6,485	30.4	18,409	802	4.4
677 Racine, Wisc.	27	18,626	5,771	31.0	17,579	432	2.5
679 Richmond, Ind.	18	9,956	3,666	36.8	9,956	389	3.9
680 Rockford, Ill.	36	25,306	8,223	32.5	25,306	741	2.9
682 South Bend, Ind.-Mich.	59	63,512	19,323	30.4	61,912	2,070	3.3
683 Springfield-Decatur, Ill.	36	38,024	13,548	35.6	38,024	1,525	4.0
684 Sterling, Ill.	14	8,987	3,383	37.6	8,987	170	1.9
692 Waukegan, Ill.	22	17,013	6,422	37.7	17,013	643	3.8
Region VII							
714 Charleston, S.C.	17	39,940	8,415	21.1	39,940	11,426	28.6
722 Columbus, Ga.-Ala.	25	20,923	9,483	45.3	20,923	4,484	21.4
738 Knoxville, Tenn.	61	54,918	16,032	29.2	54,918	3,785	6.9
742 Macon, Ga.	31	26,480	13,712	51.8	26,480	4,045	15.3
752 Mobile, Ala.	25	59,202	13,106	22.1	59,202	11,681	19.7
762 Pascagoula, Miss.	6	12,072	1,676	13.9	12,072	1,553	12.9
768 Savannah, Ga.	27	29,121	6,896	23.7	29,121	7,360	25.3
Region VIII							
806 Clinton, Iowa	8	3,478	1,024	29.4	3,478	8	.2
Region XI							
X08 Cheyenne, Wyo.	5	4,184	2,023	48.4	4,184	28	.7
X16 Ogden, Utah	16	24,191	10,847	44.8	24,191	573	2.4
X26 Salt Lake City, Utah	39	10,516	2,952	28.1	10,516	183	1.7
Region XII							
R28 Los Angeles, Calif.	288	430,074	138,024	32.1	385,009	25,674	6.7
R36 Portland-Vancouver, Ore.-Wash.	62	140,689	40,920	29.1	132,422	7,541	5.7
R44 San Diego, Calif.	25	67,244	28,219	42.0	67,244	2,941	4.4
R46 San Francisco Bay, Calif.	192	260,152	67,753	26.0	256,641	29,639	11.5
R50 Santa Ana, Calif.	10	5,162	2,465	47.8	3,714	22	.6
R54 Seattle-Bremerton, Wash.	32	54,090	10,696	19.8	52,032	3,267	6.3
R59 Tacoma, Wash.	11	3,674	871	23.7	3,674	150	4.1
Group II b/	3,747	3,887,509	1,246,218	32.1	3,594,031	207,779	5.8
Region I							
104 Attleboro, Mass.	21	8,170	3,645	44.6	8,170	15	.2
108 Bath, Maine	7	13,105	2,396	18.3	13,105	21	.2
111 Biddeford-Sanford, Maine	13	9,829	4,487	45.7	9,829	1	(c)
112 Boston-Quincy-Hingham, Mass.	182	224,569	69,395	30.9	206,588	5,772	2.8
114 Bridgeport, Conn.	62	73,863	27,638	37.4	73,272	3,759	5.1
122 Claremont-Springfield, N.H.-Vt.	26	12,649	3,375	26.7	12,649	4	(c)
129 Fitchburg, Mass.	40	20,957	8,409	40.1	19,603	26	.1

See footnotes at end of table.

Total employment and employment of women and nonwhites in ES-270 reporting establishments, by labor market area.
September 1944

Labor market area by adequacy of labor supply a/ and region	All establishments				Employment in establishments reporting number of nonwhites employed		
	Number	Employment			Total	Nonwhites	
		Total	Women				
			Number	Percent of total		Number	Percent of total
Group II b/ - continued							
Region I - continued							
133 Hartford, Conn.	55	67,993	23,420	34.4	39,968	836	2.1
140 Lewiston, Maine	19	10,472	5,226	49.9	10,472	0	0
145 Manchester, N.H.	19	10,878	5,055	46.5	10,878	2	(c)
154 New Haven, Conn.	55	39,991	15,577	39.0	39,651	1,780	4.5
155 New London-Groton, Conn.	13	16,616	4,083	24.6	15,050	189	1.3
157 Newport, R.I.	6	13,910	3,735	26.9	13,910	249	1.8
163 Norwich, Conn.	16	7,318	3,286	44.9	6,257	83	1.3
167 Portland, Maine	20	28,290	5,570	19.7	7,570	22	.3
168 Portsmouth, N.H.-Maine	6	1,390	520	37.4	1,390	2	.1
169 Providence-Pawtucket-Woonsocket, R.I.-Mass.	232	133,300	51,343	38.5	132,900	1,867	1.4
180 Springfield-Holyoke-Northampton, Mass.	86	81,179	31,324	38.6	78,770	1,496	1.9
185 Torrington, Conn.	12	9,970	3,349	33.6	9,970	85	.9
Region II							
202 Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N.Y.	88	108,420	33,603	31.0	69,529	1,201	1.7
206 Auburn, N.Y.	14	8,985	3,507	39.0	8,985	74	.8
208 Batavia, N.Y.	11	7,120	2,752	38.7	7,120	320	4.5
224 Geneva, N.Y.	20	8,894	2,960	33.3	8,894	98	1.1
236 Massena, N.Y.	6	7,519	1,544	20.5	7,519	102	1.4
252 Rochester, N.Y.	83	66,601	26,375	39.6	58,205	637	1.1
256 Syracuse, N.Y.	63	57,738	20,511	35.5	57,738	695	1.2
Region III							
304 Allentown, Pa.-N.J.	75	69,471	17,299	24.9	69,433	370	.5
311 Bridgeton, N.J.	28	24,932	7,567	30.4	24,932	3,403	13.6
312 Chambersburg, Pa.	12	11,816	3,698	31.3	16,874	240	1.4
314 Erie, Pa.	49	34,431	9,577	27.8	34,222	569	1.7
316 Harrisburg, Pa.	31	47,489	12,394	26.1	47,489	2,763	5.8
320 Lancaster, Pa.	26	23,010	8,828	38.4	23,010	462	2.0
326 Morristown, N.J.	22	15,841	6,243	39.4	6,901	124	1.8
328 New Castle, Pa.	17	16,175	3,293	20.4	16,175	229	1.4
332 Paterson, N.J.	96	107,475	38,488	35.8	105,036	5,480	5.2
334 Perth Amboy, N.J.	57	47,327	14,951	31.6	44,780	3,115	7.0
338 Pittsburgh, Pa.	182	288,256	63,312	22.0	311,186	21,035	6.8
340 Reading-Pottstown, Pa.	75	48,582	15,985	32.9	48,289	957	2.0
346 Trenton, N.J.	49	46,053	15,935	34.6	45,130	2,743	6.1
352 Wilmington, Del.	50	47,499	13,994	29.5	47,499	5,751	12.1
Region IV							
402 Asheville, N.C.	23	17,739	7,364	41.5	17,739	290	1.6
410 Charlotte, N.C.	108	69,549	35,770	51.4	69,549	7,360	10.6
419 Elizabeth City, N.C.	6	2,137	596	27.9	2,137	197	9.2
421 Front Royal-Winchester, Va.	6	4,158	1,176	28.3	4,158	228	5.5
436 Pulaski, Va.	9	14,392	5,947	41.3	14,392	368	2.6
448 Wilmington, N.C.	12	19,320	3,007	15.6	19,320	5,233	27.1
450 Winston-Salem-Greensboro, N.C.	74	51,152	27,921	54.6	51,152	10,773	21.1
Region V							
506 Battle Creek, Mich.	27	22,997	7,709	33.5	18,111	857	4.7
516 Columbus, Ohio	33	58,867	22,247	37.8	58,867	8,328	14.1
518 Dayton-Springfield, Ohio	41	109,232	40,950	37.5	75,878	7,587	10.0
522 Flint, Mich.	16	60,406	16,178	26.8	18,105	15	.1
528 Grand Rapids, Mich.	42	32,506	12,637	38.9	27,938	591	2.1
532 Jackson, Mich.	29	15,110	5,372	35.6	15,110	377	2.5
534 Kalamazoo, Mich.	31	15,951	4,944	31.0	15,951	159	1.0
536 Lansing, Mich.	21	33,509	8,019	23.9	15,608	226	1.4
542 Lorain-Elyria, Ohio	13	22,813	5,960	26.1	19,771	1,264	6.4
544 Louisville, Ky.-Ind.	84	92,095	29,548	32.1	92,095	8,865	9.6
546 Mansfield, Ohio	16	17,300	5,517	31.9	17,300	517	3.0
548 Marion, Ohio	17	9,270	2,204	23.8	9,270	51	.6
550 Monroe, Mich.	13	5,968	1,359	22.8	5,968	70	1.2
557 Owosso, Mich.	9	4,343	2,311	53.2	4,343	0	0
560 Piqua-Sidney-Troy, Ohio	18	13,668	5,399	39.5	13,668	201	1.5
564 Port Huron, Mich.	16	10,752	3,302	30.7	10,752	193	1.8
568 Saginaw-Bay City, Mich.	32	40,320	9,826	24.4	24,544	110	.4
574 Toledo, Ohio-Mich.	37	66,547	21,151	31.8	58,481	4,326	7.4
576 Youngstown-Warren-Sharon, Ohio-Pa.	54	103,195	27,134	26.3	96,982	9,877	10.2
578 Zanesville, Ohio	10	6,491	2,379	36.7	6,491	233	3.6
Region VI							
603 Appleton, Wisc.	23	13,722	3,942	28.7	13,722	23	.2
608 Beloit-Janesville, Wisc.-Ill.	15	15,905	5,043	31.7	15,905	225	1.4
619 Connersville, Ind.	8	6,639	1,976	29.8	6,639	78	1.2
631 Fond du Lac, Wisc.	9	4,052	1,721	42.5	4,052	0	0
634 Galesburg, Ill.	6	3,161	1,268	40.1	3,161	67	2.1
637 Green Bay, Wisc.	13	5,977	1,521	25.4	5,977	91	1.5
642 Indianapolis, Ind.	93	103,285	36,003	34.9	74,547	8,094	10.9
647 Kenosha, Wisc.	11	15,994	3,598	22.5	15,994	154	1.0
649 Kokomo, Ind.	11	9,773	3,243	33.2	5,552	229	4.1
650 La Crosse, Wisc.	9	8,618	3,643	42.3	8,618	12	.1
664 Milwaukee, Wisc.	146	180,125	58,349	32.4	177,887	4,549	2.6
670 New Castle, Ind.	4	5,040	984	19.5	5,040	70	1.4
672 Oshkosh, Wisc.	14	5,133	1,774	34.6	5,133	1	(c)
675 Peoria, Ill.	27	38,752	11,681	30.1	38,752	696	1.8
681 Sheboygan, Wisc.	14	8,441	2,069	24.5	8,441	0	0
686 Sturgeon Bay, Wisc.	3	5,613	852	15.2	5,613	44	.8
694 Wausau, Wisc.	13	6,094	2,211	36.3	6,094	3	(a)
Region VII							
708 Augusta, Ga.-S.C.	24	11,380	4,588	40.3	9,350	3,028	32.4
709 Biloxi-Gulfport, Miss.	29	9,807	4,217	43.0	9,807	1,715	17.5
712 Brunswick, Ga.	9	16,635	3,409	20.5	16,635	3,678	22.1
732 Jackson, Miss.	20	6,988	2,828	40.5	6,988	1,946	27.8
734 Jacksonville, Fla.	27	33,636	10,002	29.7	33,636	6,094	18.1
760 Panama City, Fla.	4	15,076	3,325	22.1	15,076	2,669	17.7
768 Pensacola, Fla.	8	10,997	2,484	22.6	10,997	1,875	17.1
769 Rome, Ga.-Ala.	21	15,195	6,911	45.5	14,677	566	3.9
770 Tampa, Fla.	32	32,456	8,842	27.2	32,456	3,047	9.4
780 Vicksburg, Miss.	6	1,981	561	28.3	1,981	445	22.5

See footnotes at end of table.

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Total employment and employment of women and nonwhites in ES-270 reporting establishments, by labor market area, September 1944

Labor market area by adequacy of labor supply a/ and region	All establishments				Employment in establishments reporting number of nonwhites employed		
	Number	Employment			Total	Nonwhites	
		Total	Women				
			Number	Percent of total		Number	Percent of total
Group II b/ - continued							
Region VIII							
804 Cedar Rapids, Iowa	16	14,039	4,391	31.3	14,039	109	.8
812 Duluth-Superior, Minn.-Wisc.	27	21,890	2,656	12.1	21,890	70	.3
816 Grand Island, Nebr.	3	3,908	1,797	46.0	3,908	11	.3
820 Lincoln, Nebr.	12	8,239	3,978	48.3	8,239	61	.7
824 Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	91	93,365	32,687	35.0	83,665	1,372	1.6
826 Omaha-Council Bluffs, Nebr.-Iowa	33	36,141	14,065	38.9	35,687	2,488	7.0
834 Sioux Falls, S.D.	3	4,972	2,092	42.1	4,972	11	.2
836 Waterloo, Iowa	10	13,420	3,873	28.9	13,420	386	2.9
Region IX							
924 Pine Bluff, Ark.	4	9,674	4,313	44.6	9,674	4,516	46.7
936 Wichita, Kans.	34	51,545	19,335	37.5	51,545	1,138	2.2
Region X							
014 Beaumont, Texas	12	43,696	4,811	11.0	43,696	5,422	12.4
026 Fort Worth, Texas	10	32,067	10,181	31.7	32,067	2,595	8.1
028 Galveston, Texas	9	9,491	1,269	13.4	9,491	1,999	21.1
042 New Orleans, La.	14	48,558	8,798	18.1	48,558	9,356	19.3
Region XI							
X14 Great Falls, Mont.	4	3,566	947	26.6	3,566	10	.3
X18 Pocatello, Idaho	7	1,724	378	21.9	1,724	9	.5
X20 Provo, Utah	6	4,352	597	13.7	4,352	39	.9
Region XII							
R04 Bakersfield, Calif.	12	4,343	1,874	43.1	4,119	158	3.8
R18 Everett, Wash.	5	6,317	1,072	17.0	6,317	8	.1
R20 Fresno-Madera, Calif.	10	3,904	1,693	43.4	3,904	111	2.8
R24 Las Vegas, Nev.	7	4,210	1,145	27.2	4,210	348	8.3
R34 Phoenix, Ariz.	9	14,155	5,255	37.1	14,042	472	3.4
R38 Reno, Nev.	4	2,735	896	32.8	2,735	174	6.4
R42 San Bernardino-Riverside, Calif.	21	26,119	10,684	40.9	26,119	1,610	6.2
R48 San Jose, Calif.	12	10,346	2,033	19.7	10,346	40	.4
R56 Spokane, Wash.	11	5,707	1,705	29.9	5,707	16	.3
R58 Stockton, Calif.	18	11,000	2,437	22.2	11,000	607	5.5
Group III b/	1,623	1,437,922	487,699	33.9	1,370,667	109,990	8.0
Region I							
101 Ansonia, Conn.	18	11,632	3,193	27.5	11,632	488	4.2
116 Brockton, Mass.	32	16,518	7,879	47.7	15,667	252	1.6
123 Concord, N.H.	7	1,809	849	46.9	1,809	0	0
128 Fall River, Mass.	23	17,392	9,520	54.7	16,002	37	.2
142 Lowell, Mass.	31	17,108	8,700	50.9	17,108	23	.1
143 Lynn-Salem, Mass.	32	46,829	16,994	36.3	46,829	231	.5
151 Nashua, N.H.	11	9,600	4,521	47.1	9,600	6	.1
162 Norwalk, Conn.	16	6,585	2,751	41.8	6,585	357	5.4
166 Pittsfield, Mass.	16	18,446	6,246	33.9	18,446	198	1.1
182 Stamford, Conn.	23	18,177	6,962	38.3	16,882	525	3.1
198 Worcester, Mass.	70	44,948	13,906	30.9	44,948	172	.4
Region II							
210 Binghamton, N.Y.	24	38,849	14,832	38.2	38,849	119	.3
218 Dunkirk, N.Y.	13	6,065	1,512	24.9	6,065	10	.2
220 Elmira, N.Y.-Pa.	26	31,001	11,142	35.9	31,001	268	.9
232 Jamestown, N.Y.	21	9,144	2,838	31.0	9,144	111	1.2
258 Utica-Rome, N.Y.	61	53,400	20,087	37.6	53,400	462	.9
Region III							
324 Long Branch, N.J.	18	19,861	8,872	44.7	8,750	41	4.8
350 Williamsport, Pa.	36	27,899	7,771	27.9	27,899	166	.6
354 York, Pa.	41	21,981	6,122	27.9	21,981	236	1.1
Region IV							
406 Burlington, N.C.	14	8,386	3,365	40.1	8,386	428	5.1
416 Danville, Va.-N.C.	19	21,456	11,445	53.3	21,456	2,955	13.8
418 Durham-Raleigh, N.C.	27	17,909	8,331	46.5	17,909	2,869	16.0
422 Hagerstown, Md.-W.Va.	14	12,685	4,675	36.9	9,836	182	1.9
428 Lynchburg, Va.	13	9,498	4,842	51.0	9,498	891	9.4
440 Roanoke, Va.	10	7,366	2,507	34.0	7,366	367	5.0
442 Rocky Mount-Wilson, N.C.	10	2,782	1,575	56.6	2,782	105	3.8
Region V							
512 Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.	99	111,259	39,144	35.2	111,259	12,027	10.8
529 Holland, Mich.	12	4,060	1,545	38.1	4,060	0	0
530 Hamilton-Middletown, Ohio	19	19,735	4,785	24.2	19,735	790	4.0
531 Ionia-Belding-Greenville, Mich.	5	4,492	2,117	47.1	4,492	6	.1
554 Newark, Ohio	5	7,356	2,176	29.6	7,356	61	.8
572 Steubenville, Ohio-W. Va.	20	24,082	3,403	14.1	24,082	1,354	5.6
Region VI							
610 Bloomington-Burns City, Ind.	11	12,890	5,316	41.2	12,890	110	.9
618 Columbus, Ind.	15	10,199	4,079	40.0	8,520	32	.4
620 Danville, Ill.-Ind.	17	7,591	1,773	23.4	6,938	232	3.3
624 Eau Claire, Wisc.	8	4,648	1,764	38.0	4,648	1	(c)
630 Evansville, Ind.-Ky.	34	54,600	15,928	29.2	49,281	1,967	4.0
651 Lafayette, Ind.	9	8,346	2,138	25.6	3,972	8	.2
659 Manitowoc, Wisc.	15	9,664	2,193	22.7	9,664	0	0
676 Quincy, Ill.	13	6,790	2,374	35.0	6,790	171	2.5
689 Terre Haute, Ind.-Ill.	27	13,254	3,325	25.1	13,254	407	3.1
Region VII							
704 Anniston, Ala.	19	15,358	5,272	34.3	15,358	2,394	15.6
710 Birmingham, Ala.	60	61,840	8,398	13.6	61,840	23,080	37.3
716 Chattanooga, Tenn.-Ga.	61	31,739	12,385	39.0	31,739	4,239	13.4
720 Columbia, S.C.	9	10,434	4,842	46.4	10,434	1,705	16.3
724 Florence, Ala.	6	7,967	1,265	15.9	7,967	1,409	17.7
726 Gadsden, Ala.	12	15,561	4,470	28.7	15,561	2,291	14.7
728 Greenville, S.C.	40	23,127	10,561	45.7	23,127	1,293	5.6
730 Huntsville, Ala.	5	12,453	4,795	38.5	12,453	2,225	17.9

See footnotes at end of table.

Total employment and employment of women and nonwhites in ES-270 reporting establishments, by labor market area, September 1944

Labor market area by adequacy of labor supply a/ and region	All establishments				Employment in establishments reporting number of nonwhites employed		
	Number	Employment			Total	Nonwhites	
		Total	Women				
			Number	Percent of total		Number	Percent of total
Group III b/ - continued							
Region VII - continued							
748 Miami, Fla.	28	30,697	11,329	36.9	30,697	3,451	11.2
754 Montgomery, Ala.	11	7,548	3,135	41.5	7,548	2,044	27.1
756 Nashville, Tenn.	39	26,418	11,432	43.3	26,418	2,387	9.0
758 Orlando, Fla.	5	3,509	1,275	36.3	3,509	547	15.6
770 Spartanburg, S.C.	38	24,468	10,780	44.1	24,468	2,055	8.4
772 Talladega, Ala.	8	15,552	6,048	38.9	15,552	3,007	19.3
778 Tuscaloosa, Ala.	8	3,717	848	22.8	3,717	1,273	34.2
Region VIII							
802 Burlington, Iowa-Ill.	7	7,224	2,723	37.7	7,224	103	1.4
832 Sioux City, Iowa-Nebr.	11	7,909	2,772	35.0	7,909	210	2.7
Region IX							
916 McAlester, Okla.	3	7,086	2,684	37.9	7,086	1,579	22.3
920 Oklahoma City, Okla.	29	48,237	21,158	43.9	26,248	2,442	9.3
934 Tulsa, Okla.	45	34,711	10,029	28.9	18,966	491	2.6
Region X							
008 Amarillo, Texas	3	5,051	2,291	45.4	5,051	154	3.0
012 Baton Rouge, La.	7	12,161	1,054	8.7	12,161	2,646	21.8
020 Corpus Christi, Texas	5	9,141	2,582	28.2	9,141	637	7.0
022 Dallas, Texas	13	37,326	11,696	31.3	37,326	2,879	7.7
024 El Paso, Texas	6	3,343	1,233	36.9	3,343	67	2.0
030 Houston, Texas	25	57,751	6,586	11.4	57,751	6,699	11.6
032 Lake Charles, La.	6	4,147	627	15.1	4,147	713	17.2
050 Shreveport, La.	6	13,112	4,773	36.4	13,112	3,403	26.0
Region XI							
X04 Boise, Idaho	14	4,799	2,230	46.5	4,799	109	2.3
X10 Colorado Springs, Colo.	14	4,685	1,771	37.8	4,685	108	2.3
X12 Denver, Colo.	106	39,538	15,303	38.7	39,538	849	2.1
X22 Pueblo, Colo.	14	9,862	1,754	17.8	9,862	283	2.9
Region XII							
R40 Sacramento, Calif.	13	16,905	6,742	39.9	16,905	707	4.2
R60 Tucson, Ariz.	3	5,991	2,334	39.0	5,991	200	3.3
Group IV b/	1,326	1,376,881	443,640	32.2	1,307,424	98,901	7.6
Region I							
139 Lawrence, Mass.	27	28,389	13,711	48.3	28,389	56	.2
149 Middletown, Conn.	15	6,080	2,260	37.2	6,080	60	1.0
Region II							
244 New York, N.Y.	345	515,767	168,884	32.7	491,646	30,083	6.1
Region III							
306 Altoona, Pa.	19	26,596	5,852	22.0	26,596	145	.5
308 Atlantic City, N.J.	8	5,294	2,651	50.1	4,081	540	13.2
318 Johnstown, Pa.	33	32,351	1,642	5.1	32,351	629	1.9
342 Scranton, Pa.	130	83,916	18,738	22.3	81,236	62	.1
Region IV							
408 Charleston, W. Va.	26	28,896	3,478	12.0	28,896	2,440	8.4
412 Clarksburg-Fairmont-Morgantown, W. Va.	35	21,794	2,802	12.9	21,794	1,139	5.2
414 Cumberland, Md.-W. Va.-Pa.	8	17,478	5,209	29.8	17,478	135	.8
426 Huntington, W. Va.-Ohio-Ky.	18	15,965	6,475	40.6	15,965	455	2.8
446 Wheeling, W. Va.-Ohio	33	23,165	5,759	24.9	23,165	901	3.9
Region V							
538 Lexington, Ky.	11	7,777	2,962	38.1	7,777	697	9.0
Region VII							
706 Atlanta, Ga.	101	65,114	24,972	38.4	60,794	8,021	13.2
723 Decatur, Ala.	6	5,783	1,732	29.9	5,785	361	6.2
736 Kingsport-Bristol, Tenn.-Va.	39	33,173	13,583	40.9	29,215	607	2.1
744 Memphis, Tenn.	49	44,045	14,745	33.5	37,199	10,915	29.3
Region VIII							
808 Des Moines, Iowa	24	19,142	7,727	40.4	19,142	710	3.7
Region IX							
912 Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	92	110,905	40,986	37.0	89,263	9,736	10.9
914 Little Rock, Ark.	13	19,527	11,910	61.0	19,527	2,979	15.3
926 St. Joseph, Mo.	16	6,982	2,407	34.5	6,982	536	7.7
928 St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	255	228,220	73,632	32.3	223,543	25,613	11.5
930 Springfield, Mo.	7	2,237	1,382	61.8	2,237	9	.4
932 Topeka, Kans.	9	6,804	3,087	45.4	6,804	584	8.6
Region X							
010 Austin, Texas	3	2,162	654	30.2	2,162	143	6.6
048 San Antonio, Texas	3	18,139	5,964	32.9	18,139	1,334	7.4
Unclassified	5,050	1,631,921	563,895	34.6	1,614,073	94,719	5.9
Region I	329	156,765	61,761	39.4	151,764	492	.3
Region II	178	91,826	36,182	39.4	91,506	1,248	1.4
Region III	331	247,127	51,842	21.0	246,700	5,788	2.3
Region IV	389	227,096	72,002	31.7	226,632	28,672	12.7
Region V	308	154,457	42,366	27.4	148,526	5,389	3.6
Region VI	190	116,340	37,478	32.2	115,171	873	.8
Region VII	667	333,123	154,052	46.2	330,331	37,967	11.5
Region VIII	116	59,162	20,335	34.4	59,074	512	.9
Region IX	282	141,243	61,368	43.4	140,030	6,757	4.8
Region X	57	44,105	10,946	24.8	44,105	4,644	10.5
Region XI	126	24,953	3,890	15.6	24,919	414	1.7
Region XII	77	35,724	11,673	32.7	35,625	1,963	5.5

a/ Labor market areas are classified according to adequacy of labor supply to meet demands over the next six months as follows:
Group I - Areas of current acute labor shortage.
Group II - Areas of labor stringency and those anticipating a labor shortage within six months.
Group III - Areas in which a slight labor surplus will remain after six months.
Group IV - Areas in which a substantial labor surplus will remain after six months.

b/ Data for labor market areas reporting fewer than 3 firms are not shown; hence the totals do not equal the sum of the individual items.

c/ Less than 0.05 percent.

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(MA5)

7-4884 PIB bs

Turnover rates for establishments reporting turnover data on ES-270, by major industry group, August 1944

Major industry group		All employees						Women		
				Turnover rates						
				Separations					Separation rates	
Code	Title	Number of establishments	Employment September 1944	Total	Quits	Layoffs	Accessions	Employment September 1944	Total	Layoffs
	Total	13,405	13,473,752	7.6	5.6	0.6	6.2	4,329,453	9.8	0.8
	Mining (coal)	647	333,362	3.7	3.1	.2	3.5	4,974	4.5	.4
11	Anthracite mining	63	66,669	1.6	1.3	.1	1.2	485	.6	0
12	Bituminous and other soft-coal mining	584	266,693	4.2	3.5	.2	4.1	4,489	5.0	.4
	Manufacturing	11,176	11,411,930	7.8	5.8	.6	6.3	3,684,974	10.0	.9
19	Ordnance and accessories	797	1,186,571	8.1	6.1	.7	7.5	422,302	10.7	.8
20	Food and kindred products	738	443,862	12.2	10.2	.7	11.9	157,633	14.2	1.3
21	Tobacco manufactures	43	49,137	8.0	7.1	(a)	11.3	31,249	8.8	(a)
22	Textile-mill products	1,434	870,381	7.0	5.8	.4	6.0	426,009	7.7	.5
23	Apparel and other finished products made from fabrics and similar materials	658	252,145	8.8	7.6	.5	7.3	202,865	9.5	.6
25	Furniture and finished lumber products (except cooperage)	234	74,736	9.8	8.2	.4	8.8	21,885	14.7	.8
26	Paper and allied products	363	215,341	8.1	6.7	.3	7.0	63,303	10.3	.5
28	Chemicals and allied products	497	414,074	6.7	5.0	.3	6.7	122,140	9.1	.6
29	Products of petroleum and coal	170	132,014	4.5	3.4	.2	4.4	16,680	6.9	.8
30	Rubber products	134	215,244	8.8	7.5	.3	7.9	79,489	11.6	.5
31	Leather and leather products	365	181,281	7.5	6.5	.2	6.6	93,869	9.4	.2
32	Stone, clay, and glass products	321	188,585	7.9	5.7	.8	5.9	60,673	9.2	.8
33	Iron and steel and their products	1,460	1,155,307	6.2	4.7	.4	5.2	201,011	10.2	.9
34	Transportation equipment (except automobiles)	1,088	3,420,244	8.7	5.8	1.1	6.1	870,011	11.1	1.6
35	Nonferrous metals and their products	394	302,679	8.8	6.2	1.2	6.1	66,521	11.4	1.9
36	Electrical machinery	704	912,791	7.4	5.7	.3	5.8	461,072	9.4	.4
37	Machinery (except electrical)	1,282	913,546	6.1	4.5	.4	4.6	214,463	8.8	.6
38	Automobiles and automobile equipment	175	233,273	6.8	5.0	.5	6.8	54,316	8.4	.6
39	Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	319	250,719	6.3	4.8	.4	5.1	119,483	7.9	.5
	Transportation, communication, and other public utilities b/	953	808,752	4.8	3.5	.2	4.2	259,789	6.1	.2
40	Interstate railroads	125	117,572	3.7	3.0	(a)	2.9	8,713	7.2	0
41	Local railways and bus lines	112	125,225	3.5	2.3	(a)	3.2	11,533	6.9	.2
42	Trucking and warehousing for hire	298	83,514	11.5	8.3	1.1	10.9	22,199	9.7	.9
43	Other transportation, except water transportation	67	45,270	6.0	4.0	.3	6.3	11,627	7.3	.2
44	Water transportation	13	3,928	24.4	21.9	0	25.6	140	13.6	0
45	Services allied to transportation, n.e.c.	36	39,880	9.8	6.9	1.0	7.5	14,164	13.2	.9
46	Communication: Telephone, telegraph, and related services	132	219,351	4.2	3.2	.1	3.6	159,893	5.2	.1
48	Utilities: Electric and gas	170	174,012	2.1	1.5	.2	1.7	31,520	3.8	.2
94	Government	629	919,708	9.0	6.1	.5	6.8	379,716	10.2	.3

a/ Less than 0.05 percent.
b/ Decrease in coverage due to recent headquarters instructions making reporting optional for transportation industry.

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(MA6)

7-4934 PIB 5a

Turnover rates for establishments reporting turnover data on ES-270, by labor market area, August 1944

Labor market area by adequacy of labor supply a/ and region	All employees						Women		
	Number of establishments	Employment September 1944	Turnover rates				Employment September 1944	Separation rates	
			Separations			Accessions			
			Total	Quits	Layoffs			Total	Layoffs
Total b/	13,405	13,473,752	7.6	5.6	0.6	6.2	4,329,453	9.8	0.8
Group I b/	3,697	5,149,338	7.8	5.7	.5	6.2	1,617,579	10.0	.7
Region I									
148 Meriden, Conn.	20	22,251	5.9	3.5	1.3	2.2	8,221	7.7	2.0
152 New Bedford, Mass.	29	27,845	5.4	4.2	.1	3.0	14,711	6.1	.1
153 New Britain-Bristol, Conn.	32	40,805	5.2	4.1	.3	2.4	15,487	6.7	.2
189 Waterbury, Conn.	37	45,196	5.2	3.9	.2	4.4	17,651	6.9	.2
Region II									
212 Buffalo-Niagara Falls, N.Y.	169	204,573	6.3	4.4	.6	4.8	65,870	8.8	1.1
Region III									
330 Newark, N.J.	262	382,364	6.1	4.6	.3	4.5	134,756	7.4	.2
336 Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	396	470,734	5.8	3.9	.4	4.6	140,430	7.6	.5
344 Somerville, N.J.	22	21,759	8.3	5.1	.3	4.4	6,610	9.9	.3
Region IV									
404 Baltimore, Md.	111	205,833	7.8	5.7	.3	6.1	46,037	11.4	.8
420 Elkton, Md.	4	9,969	13.0	10.0	.5	5.6	5,416	14.5	.6
424 Hampton Roads, Va.	30	100,033	7.8	4.8	.1	6.1	21,788	10.4	.2
429 New Bern, N.C.	6	7,063	7.6	5.3	.3	5.8	2,469	15.1	0
432 Petersburg, Va.	11	10,851	6.5	5.5	(c)	6.0	5,120	8.4	0
438 Richmond, Va.	20	29,725	8.7	6.7	.2	9.2	14,131	9.8	.1
444 Washington, D.C.-Va.-Md.	36	51,721	5.9	4.0	.2	4.3	16,445	7.8	(c)
Region V									
502 Adrian, Mich.	16	7,953	8.3	7.4	(c)	6.6	3,073	10.4	.1
504 Akron-Ravenna, Ohio	28	112,015	6.3	5.6	(c)	5.0	35,759	8.5	.1
508 Benton Harbor, Mich.	20	8,828	13.4	7.3	5.3	6.9	2,410	16.8	5.5
510 Canton-Massillon-Alliance, Ohio	42	61,447	6.1	5.2	.3	4.0	16,578	9.9	.8
514 Cleveland, Ohio	148	228,207	6.6	5.4	.3	5.4	73,608	8.8	.6
520 Detroit, Mich.	280	626,651	6.3	4.3	.8	5.3	188,033	9.2	1.5
524 Fostoria-Tiffin-Findlay, Ohio	10	7,615	6.5	5.3	.5	5.3	2,473	11.1	1.5
526 Fremont-Port Clinton, Ohio	7	5,642	5.9	4.6	0	3.5	2,066	7.0	0
540 Lima, Ohio	9	18,822	11.8	10.6	(c)	8.0	5,680	13.7	.1
552 Muskegon, Mich.	23	29,123	6.7	4.9	.4	6.4	6,995	7.7	.7
562 Pontiac, Mich.	16	31,993	7.7	5.3	(c)	7.0	8,789	10.6	.1
570 Sandusky, Ohio	10	5,756	8.0	6.7	0	12.1	2,006	10.1	0
Region VI									
602 Anderson, Ind.	15	26,894	6.8	5.9	(c)	5.9	8,973	8.7	.1
605 Aurora-Elgin, Ill.	35	19,905	7.1	5.9	.3	4.4	7,850	9.2	.3
615 Chicago, Ill.	494	542,132	8.0	6.3	.3	6.5	206,505	10.6	.3
616 Chicago Heights-Harvey, Ill.	27	21,119	8.0	6.1	.6	5.7	5,458	11.9	1.3
622 DeKalb, Ill.	10	3,723	7.6	5.8	.6	7.5	1,505	10.9	.7
632 Fort Wayne, Ind.	53	49,984	7.0	5.8	.5	4.6	18,966	9.9	.8
633 Freeport, Ill.	9	4,042	8.0	7.1	.1	5.2	1,964	10.4	0
635 Gary-Hammond-South Chicago, Ind.-Ill.	88	139,966	5.4	4.1	.3	4.3	24,875	8.8	.4
645 Joliet, Ill.	27	24,183	6.8	5.4	.4	6.6	7,591	9.9	.4
657 Logansport, Ind.	11	4,960	14.3	11.3	.9	6.9	2,559	20.2	1.6
658 Madison-Merrimac, Wis.	13	16,056	8.6	7.3	.2	9.0	5,632	11.2	.2
661 Marion, Ind.	14	8,896	9.7	8.4	.4	7.6	3,410	12.3	.5
663 Michigan City-LaPorte, Ind.	19	19,329	8.8	7.4	.4	13.4	7,568	10.9	.7
665 Moline, Ill.-Iowa	40	34,532	7.4	5.9	.5	4.9	9,870	11.3	10.0
667 Muncie, Ind.	27	21,316	9.6	7.8	.2	7.9	6,488	14.3	.6
677 Racine, Wis.	27	18,696	5.6	4.5	.4	5.2	5,771	8.6	1.2
679 Richmond, Ind.	17	9,697	10.3	8.5	.4	8.6	3,588	14.2	.8
680 Rockford, Ill.	36	25,306	6.9	5.6	.1	4.1	8,223	11.3	(c)
682 South Bend, Ind.-Mich.	59	63,512	6.8	5.2	.6	4.0	19,323	9.9	1.4
683 Springfield-Decatur, Ill.	36	38,024	8.5	6.9	.2	9.6	13,548	10.5	.3
684 Sterling, Ill.	14	8,987	11.0	7.2	3.5	5.2	3,383	15.5	4.7
692 Waukegan, Ill.	21	16,650	6.7	5.7	.2	4.7	6,217	9.3	.5
Region VII									
714 Charleston, S.C.	17	39,940	8.3	5.2	(c)	6.3	8,415	11.1	.1
722 Columbus, Ga.-Ala.	25	20,923	12.2	10.4	(c)	11.8	9,483	15.6	.1
738 Knoxville, Tenn.	61	54,918	9.0	6.6	1.3	5.5	13,276	8.2	.4
742 Macon, Ga.	31	26,480	9.3	7.5	.3	9.4	13,712	11.4	.1
752 Mobile, Ala.	25	59,202	9.8	6.5	.1	9.0	13,106	10.8	.2
762 Pascagoula, Miss.	6	12,072	15.0	12.6	0	13.1	1,676	16.0	0
768 Savannah, Ga.	27	29,121	11.4	8.2	.1	10.2	6,478	10.2	.1
Region VIII									
806 Clinton, Iowa	8	3,478	7.9	7.2	0	4.4	1,024	15.4	0
Region XI									
X08 Cheyenne, Wyo.	5	4,184	9.9	7.9	.1	6.3	2,023	10.8	.1
X16 Ogden, Utah	16	24,191	11.2	8.0	(c)	7.8	10,847	13.4	(c)
X26 Salt Lake City, Utah	38	10,111	8.7	6.3	.8	13.1	2,952	9.2	1.8
Region XII									
R28 Los Angeles, Calif.	288	430,074	10.3	7.4	.9	7.2	137,863	12.4	1.4
R36 Portland-Vancouver, Ore.-Wash.	61	140,634	12.6	9.1	1.4	13.1	40,920	12.7	.8
R44 San Diego, Calif.	24	66,698	10.9	8.0	.6	6.1	27,959	13.5	.2
R46 San Francisco Bay, Calif.	192	260,152	11.3	8.4	.9	10.2	67,753	12.4	.9
R50 Santa Ana, Calif.	10	5,162	11.1	8.0	1.7	9.5	2,465	13.4	2.9
R54 Seattle-Bremerton, Wash.	32	54,090	10.9	7.4	1.1	7.4	10,696	15.6	1.3
R59 Tacoma, Wash.	11	3,674	11.8	10.0	.3	10.0	871	15.4	0
Group II b/	3,735	3,909,195	7.2	5.3	.5	5.6	1,241,679	9.4	.8
Region I									
104 Attleboro, Mass.	21	8,170	5.2	4.2	.2	3.2	3,645	6.2	.1
108 Bath, Maine	7	13,105	6.9	4.7	.2	3.4	2,396	8.2	.1
111 Biddeford-Sanford, Maine	13	9,829	6.4	4.5	1.1	3.9	4,487	8.8	1.8
112 Boston-Quincy-Hingham, Mass.	182	224,569	6.2	4.2	.7	3.7	60,336	9.0	1.2
114 Bridgeport, Conn.	62	73,863	5.9	4.8	.3	4.2	27,638	.8	.4
122 Claremont-Springfield, N.H.-Vt.	26	12,649	5.8	4.1	.7	3.5	3,375	9.9	1.8
129 Fitchburg, Mass.	40	20,957	4.9	4.0	.1	4.3	8,409	6.8	(c)
133 Hartford, Conn.	55	67,993	5.7	3.4	1.2	2.3	23,420	8.2	1.5
140 Lewiston, Maine	17	9,173	7.5	6.8	.2	6.2	3,928	9.1	.3
145 Manchester, N.H.	19	10,878	5.9	4.6	.3	5.8	5,055	7.9	.4
154 New Haven, Conn.	55	39,991	6.2	4.7	.4	5.0	15,535	7.7	.2

See footnotes at end of table.

Turnover rates for establishments reporting turnover data on ES-270, by labor market area, August 1944

Labor market area by adequacy of labor supply a/ and region	All employees: Number of establishments	All employees: Employment September 1944	All employees: Turnover rates: Separations: Total	All employees: Turnover rates: Separations: Quits	All employees: Turnover rates: Separations: Layoffs	All employees: Turnover rates: Accessions	Women: Employment September 1944	Women: Separation rates: Total	Women: Separation rates: Layoffs
Group II b/ - continued									
Region VIII - continued									
826 Omaha-Council Bluffs, Neb.-Iowa	33	36,141	8.0	6.7	.3	7.1	13,420	8.8	.3
834 Sioux Falls, S.D.	3	4,072	12.2	11.4	(c)	7.0	2,092	16.4	0
836 Waterloo, Iowa	10	13,420	8.7	7.4	.2	6.6	2,355	12.4	(c)
Region IX									
924 Pine Bluff, Ark.	4	9,674	10.0	5.9	.3	7.7	4,313	12.0	.6
936 Wichita, Kans.	34	51,545	9.0	7.4	.3	6.1	19,335	11.3	.5
Region X									
014 Beaumont, Texas	12	43,696	9.6	7.1	(c)	5.0	4,811	11.8	.2
026 Fort Worth, Texas	10	32,067	12.2	9.1	1.1	8.3	10,181	12.5	.8
028 Galveston, Texas	9	9,401	14.6	11.4	.2	8.8	1,269	9.3	1.6
042 New Orleans, La.	14	48,558	17.7	8.4	6.0	9.2	8,798	30.8	13.3
Region XI									
X14 Great Falls, Mont.	4	3,866	8.6	4.4	0	3.4	947	8.4	0
X18 Pocatello, Idaho	7	1,724	14.8	12.6	0	16.5	378	14.6	0
X20 Provo, Utah	6	4,352	7.8	6.5	.1	10.9	597	8.2	.2
Region XII									
R04 Bakersfield, Calif.	12	4,343	12.7	10.5	.2	12.2	1,874	11.1	.2
R18 Everett, Wash.	5	6,317	9.6	8.3	1.7	4.7	1,072	2.5	.6
R20 Fresno-Madera, Calif.	10	3,804	11.1	8.1	1.7	9.9	1,693	5.6	.6
R24 Las Vegas, Nev.	7	4,210	17.6	11.0	2.6	6.4	1,145	13.9	.9
R34 Phoenix, Ariz.	9	14,155	10.3	9.1	.2	14.4	5,255	11.2	.2
R38 Reno, Nev.	4	2,735	20.9	19.3	.3	20.7	806	19.2	.2
R42 San Bernardino-Riverside, Calif.	21	26,119	11.5	9.4	(c)	11.3	10,624	11.5	(c)
R48 San Jose, Calif.	12	10,146	12.8	9.2	1.5	12.4	2,033	13.0	1.7
R56 Spokane, Wash.	11	5,707	15.3	13.8	.1	13.9	1,705	17.7	.3
R58 Stockton, Calif.	18	11,600	19.3	13.1	1.9	17.7	2,437	20.1	2.3
Group III b/	1,615	1,428,633	8.8	6.2	1.1	6.7	477,100	10.5	1.3
Region I									
101 Ansonia, Conn.	18	11,632	4.8	3.4	.7	3.3	3,193	7.1	1.0
116 Brockton, Mass.	32	15,819	4.8	4.0	.3	3.8	7,879	6.6	.1
123 Concord, N.H.	7	1,209	7.6	6.9	.1	4.9	849	8.7	.1
128 Fall River, Mass.	22	15,408	4.9	4.1	.2	4.0	8,854	6.1	.2
142 Lowell, Mass.	31	17,108	7.4	5.8	.3	7.1	8,700	8.7	.3
143 Lynn-Salem, Mass.	32	46,829	4.8	3.8	.1	2.7	16,094	6.5	.3
151 Nashua, N.H.	11	9,600	5.7	3.9	1.2	2.9	4,521	6.6	.4
162 Norwalk, Conn.	16	6,885	8.1	6.9	.1	6.3	2,751	10.4	.1
166 Pittsfield, Mass.	16	18,446	3.8	2.9	.4	2.0	6,246	5.8	.9
182 Stamford, Conn.	23	18,177	6.4	4.6	.9	3.8	6,962	9.1	1.1
198 Worcester, Mass.	70	44,948	4.7	3.3	.6	3.8	13,906	8.1	1.5
Region II									
210 Binghamton, N.Y.	24	38,849	4.8	3.6	.1	3.2	14,832	6.3	.1
218 Dunkirk, N.Y.	13	6,065	2.5	1.8	.4	2.6	1,512	3.3	.5
220 Elmira, N.Y.	26	31,001	10.2	5.4	3.3	7.4	11,142	14.2	3.9
232 Jamestown, N.Y.	21	9,144	7.5	4.2	2.5	4.2	2,238	13.0	4.1
258 Utica-Rome, N.Y.	61	53,400	5.9	4.0	.3	4.3	20,087	7.9	.7
Region III									
324 Long Branch, N.J.	17	18,769	6.0	4.9	.3	4.9	7,684	8.2	0
350 Williamsport, Pa.	36	27,899	6.1	4.4	.6	4.5	7,771	8.9	.3
354 York, Pa.	41	21,981	4.2	3.2	.2	3.7	6,122	5.4	.1
Region IV									
406 Burlington, N.C.	14	8,386	17.4	5.1	10.9	4.6	3,365	12.9	6.4
416 Danville, Va.-N.C.	19	21,456	8.0	6.8	.3	6.1	11,445	8.1	.5
418 Durham-Raleigh, N.C.	27	17,909	6.6	5.3	.2	6.0	8,331	7.4	.4
422 Hagerstown, Md.-W.Va.	14	12,685	3.2	2.0	.1	4.6	4,675	3.9	(c)
428 Lynchburg, Va.	13	9,408	5.4	3.4	.3	6.8	4,842	5.3	.2
440 Roanoke, Va.	10	7,366	4.5	3.7	(c)	4.7	2,507	5.2	.1
442 Rocky Mount-Wilson, N.C.	10	2,782	6.9	6.1	(c)	7.3	1,675	7.5	0
Region V									
512 Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.	98	110,697	7.6	5.9	.2	5.9	38,779	10.2	.2
528 Holland, Mich.	12	4,060	7.6	6.0	.5	7.1	1,545	10.1	.3
530 Hamilton-Middletown, Ohio	19	19,735	5.9	4.0	1.0	5.5	4,785	7.8	1.5
531 Ionia-Belden-Greenville, Mich.	5	4,402	8.5	6.2	1.0	9.7	2,117	9.6	1.2
554 Newark, Ohio	5	7,356	7.3	5.2	.2	5.4	2,176	9.6	.3
572 Steubenville, Ohio-W.Va.	20	24,082	4.3	2.9	.5	3.1	3,403	7.5	.8
Region VI									
610 Bloomington-Burns City, Ind.	11	12,890	7.8	6.2	0	8.7	5,316	11.3	0
618 Columbus, Ind.	15	10,199	9.9	8.2	.2	9.6	4,079	14.3	.1
620 Danville, Ill.-Ind.	17	7,591	10.5	9.1	(c)	8.1	1,773	19.1	.1
624 Eau Claire, Wis.	8	4,648	6.2	4.8	.6	12.7	1,764	6.9	.2
630 Evansville, Ind.-Ky.	34	54,600	8.2	6.7	.3	8.3	11,039	8.7	.6
651 Lafayette, Ind.	9	8,346	8.4	6.6	(c)	10.4	2,138	11.3	(c)
659 Manitowoc, Wis.	15	9,664	19.9	5.4	13.8	4.2	2,193	20.5	14.3
676 Quincy, Ill.	13	6,790	14.4	8.6	4.7	9.0	2,374	13.5	2.9
689 Terre Haute, Ind.-Ill.	27	17,854	8.4	7.1	.5	6.2	3,325	15.1	.4
Region VII									
704 Anniston, Ala.	18	14,025	12.0	9.4	.3	13.7	4,526	13.9	7.2
710 Birmingham, Ala.	60	61,840	11.7	6.2	3.5	6.5	8,208	21.6	11.0
716 Chattanooga, Tenn.-Ga.	61	31,739	11.3	8.4	.9	10.7	11,296	12.7	.9
720 Columbia, S.C.	9	10,434	8.0	6.3	.6	5.6	4,842	8.1	0
724 Florence, Ala.	6	7,967	15.4	8.0	4.7	4.6	1,265	23.4	18.8
726 Gadsden, Ala.	12	15,561	10.2	7.7	.3	8.9	4,085	12.2	.4
728 Greenville, S.C.	40	23,127	8.2	6.9	.2	7.7	10,561	9.4	.3
730 Huntsville, Ala.	5	12,453	10.8	5.8	(c)	6.4	4,795	13.9	(c)
748 Miami, Fla.	28	30,697	9.5	7.0	.6	9.5	11,329	10.6	.4
754 Montgomery, Ala.	11	7,548	6.5	4.4	.2	8.2	3,135	5.0	0
756 Nashville, Tenn.	39	26,418	7.6	6.1	.2	8.1	11,422	8.2	.2
758 Orlando, Fla.	5	3,509	9.7	7.1	.4	6.0	1,275	10.5	1.0
770 Spartanburg, S.C.	38	24,468	8.8	7.4	.1	8.4	10,780	9.4	(c)
772 Talladega, Ala.	8	15,552	9.2	7.3	.6	11.7	6,048	11.6	1.7
778 Tuscaloosa, Ala.	8	3,717	7.1	5.9	.1	5.6	848	4.0	0

See footnotes at end of table.

Turnover rates for establishments reporting turnover data on ES-270, by labor market area, August 1944

Labor market area by adequacy of labor supply a/ and region	All employees						Women		
	Number of establishments	Employment September 1944	Turnover rates				Employment September 1944	Separation rates	
			Separations			Accessions			
			Total	Quits	Layoffs			Total	Layoffs
Group II b/ - continued									
Region I - continued									
155 New London-Groton, Conn.	13	16,616	10.3	8.3	0	2.1	4,083	12.0	0
157 Newport, R.I.	6	13,910	5.1	4.4	(e)	2.1	3,735	8.5	(e)
163 Norwich, Conn.	16	7,318	5.6	4.5	.2	4.0	3,286	7.5	.3
167 Portland, Maine	20	28,290	9.8	6.0	.1	3.0	5,570	14.4	.2
168 Portsmouth, N.H.-Maine	6	1,390	9.2	6.0	.3	8.8	520	11.3	0
169 Providence-Pawtucket-Woonsocket, R.I.-Mass.	232	133,300	5.7	4.3	.4	4.9	51,343	8.0	.6
180 Springfield-Holyoke-Northampton, Mass.	86	81,179	5.7	4.1	.8	4.3	31,324	7.0	.7
185 Torrington, Conn.	12	9,970	3.9	3.0	.3	2.1	3,349	5.4	.8
Region II									
202 Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N.Y.	88	108,420	4.1	2.6	.2	2.9	32,888	5.4	.3
206 Auburn, N.Y.	14	8,985	5.6	3.3	.2	4.2	3,507	7.2	.4
208 Batavia, N.Y.	11	7,120	9.9	7.3	2.0	13.3	2,752	15.1	3.9
224 Geneva, N.Y.	20	8,894	5.8	4.5	.1	7.3	2,960	6.7	.2
236 Massena, N.Y.	6	7,519	10.2	5.1	3.5	4.5	1,544	18.6	5.6
252 Rochester, N.Y.	83	66,601	7.0	6.1	.2	5.9	26,375	7.9	.4
256 Syracuse, N.Y.	63	57,738	7.1	5.5	.6	5.6	20,511	9.7	.7
Region III									
304 Allentown, Pa.-N.J.	75	69,471	3.7	2.9	.2	3.0	17,299	6.8	.4
311 Bridgeton, N.J.	28	24,932	6.1	4.3	.5	6.6	7,567	8.7	(e)
312 Chambersburg, Pa.	12	16,874	3.8	2.5	0	1.9	8,464	3.8	0
314 Erie, Pa.	49	34,431	6.7	4.9	.7	3.9	9,577	9.2	1.2
316 Harrisburg, Pa.	31	47,489	5.5	4.4	(e)	3.2	12,394	8.2	.1
320 Lancaster, Pa.	26	23,010	5.5	4.4	(e)	3.4	8,828	7.7	(e)
326 Morristown, N.J.	22	15,841	3.2	2.3	.1	4.2	2,410	5.9	.2
328 New Castle, Pa.	17	16,175	4.4	3.0	.7	3.0	3,293	5.7	.3
332 Patterson, N.J.	96	107,475	5.5	4.0	.2	2.8	36,262	7.2	.1
334 Perth Amboy, N.J.	56	46,354	5.3	3.5	.2	4.6	14,137	6.2	.6
338 Pittsburgh, Pa.	177	310,290	4.6	3.4	.3	3.4	75,009	6.3	.5
340 Reading-Pottstown, Pa.	75	48,582	6.1	3.6	1.8	3.4	15,985	8.2	1.7
346 Trenton, N.J.	49	46,053	5.3	3.4	.8	3.8	15,935	6.1	.6
352 Wilmington, Del.	50	47,494	7.6	5.3	.8	5.2	13,094	9.1	1.0
Region IV									
402 Asheville, N.C.	23	17,739	6.9	5.3	.6	6.7	7,364	7.7	.6
410 Charlotte, N.C.	108	60,549	7.0	5.8	.2	6.3	35,770	7.1	.1
419 Elizabeth City, N.C.	6	2,177	8.9	6.6	.7	11.9	596	9.4	.2
421 Front Royal-Winchester, Va.	6	4,158	4.4	3.6	0	6.0	1,176	6.6	0
436 Pulaski, Va.	9	14,392	6.7	5.5	0	11.8	5,947	8.9	0
448 Wilmington, N.C.	12	19,320	8.6	4.6	.6	6.1	3,007	12.9	1.0
450 Winston-Salem-Greensboro, N.C.	74	51,152	7.1	5.8	.3	7.9	27,921	7.4	.3
Region V									
506 Battle Creek, Mich.	27	22,997	7.6	6.0	.7	6.2	7,709	11.8	1.3
516 Columbus, Ohio	33	58,867	10.6	8.2	.2	7.7	22,247	10.7	.4
518 Dayton-Springfield, Ohio	41	109,232	7.3	5.7	.2	5.2	40,950	9.2	.4
522 Flint, Mich.	16	60,406	5.6	3.0	1.0	5.4	16,178	10.7	3.4
528 Grand Rapids, Mich.	41	32,236	9.7	6.7	1.3	7.3	12,617	13.8	1.6
532 Jackson, Mich.	29	15,110	7.0	5.9	(e)	6.1	5,372	10.1	(e)
534 Kalamazoo, Mich.	31	15,951	6.0	4.6	.5	5.5	4,944	8.8	.5
536 Lansing, Mich.	21	33,509	8.5	6.5	.4	10.1	8,019	9.9	.7
542 Lorain-Elyria, Ohio	13	22,813	7.0	5.7	.3	4.1	5,960	11.0	.7
544 Louisville, Ky.-Ind.	81	89,231	10.2	8.1	.1	9.6	28,737	14.2	.2
546 Mansfield, Ohio	16	17,300	7.4	6.6	0	6.8	5,517	10.5	0
548 Marion, Ohio	17	9,270	9.5	7.5	1.0	5.3	2,204	14.7	2.0
550 Monroe, Mich.	13	5,968	6.8	3.9	2.0	5.8	1,359	12.1	8.3
557 Owosso, Mich.	9	4,343	10.0	8.3	0	6.4	2,311	11.6	0
560 Piqua-Sidney-Troy, Ohio	18	13,668	8.9	7.4	.2	6.0	5,399	10.8	.2
564 Port Huron, Mich.	16	10,752	7.7	5.3	1.6	4.6	3,302	8.1	.8
568 Saginaw-Bay City, Mich.	32	40,320	6.5	4.2	1.3	5.5	9,826	10.9	4.8
574 Toledo, Ohio-Mich.	37	66,547	6.5	4.8	.6	5.3	21,151	8.8	1.1
576 Youngstown-Warren-Sharon, Ohio-Pa.	54	103,195	5.2	4.2	.1	4.5	27,134	8.0	.4
578 Zanesville, Ohio	10	6,491	12.4	10.0	.6	11.7	2,379	19.3	1.4
Region VI									
603 Appleton, Wis.	23	13,722	5.6	4.0	(e)	3.8	3,942	6.0	.1
608 Beloit-Janesville, Wis.-Ill.	15	15,905	7.9	7.0	(d)	4.1	5,043	13.1	0
619 Connersville, Ind.	8	6,639	9.9	8.0	1.9	5.1	1,976	15.1	3.0
631 Fond du Lac, Wis.	9	4,052	5.3	4.1	.7	2.5	1,721	8.3	1.3
634 Galesburg, Ill.	6	3,161	7.6	6.1	(e)	5.9	1,268	9.7	.1
637 Green Bay, Wis.	13	5,977	7.4	6.2	.2	12.0	1,521	9.6	.5
642 Indianapolis, Ind.	93	103,285	9.0	6.9	.3	7.2	35,982	11.4	.3
647 Kenosha, Wis.	11	15,994	4.8	3.6	.8	2.7	3,598	8.3	2.2
649 Kokomo, Ind.	11	9,773	7.4	6.3	.2	6.2	3,243	9.7	.1
650 La Crosse, Wis.	9	8,618	9.6	8.9	.1	7.7	3,643	16.1	.1
664 Milwaukee, Wis.	146	180,125	6.3	5.4	.2	5.1	58,349	10.2	.3
670 New Castle, Ind.	4	5,040	7.2	5.6	0	7.2	984	16.1	0
672 Oshkosh, Wis.	14	5,133	6.7	6.2	0	5.3	1,774	9.0	0
675 Peoria, Ill.	27	38,752	8.8	7.3	.2	7.1	11,681	14.5	.6
681 Sheboygan, Wis.	14	8,441	4.6	4.0	.2	3.1	2,069	9.0	.5
686 Sturgeon Bay, Wis.	3	5,613	12.3	6.1	3.7	6.5	852	19.6	7.2
694 Wausau, Wis.	13	6,094	12.6	8.0	3.8	8.3	2,211	23.6	9.9
Region VII									
708 Augusta, Ga.-S.C.	24	11,380	11.7	7.8	1.6	8.8	4,588	14.5	1.7
709 Biloxi-Gulfport, Miss.	29	9,807	15.0	12.3	.3	25.3	4,217	14.5	.3
712 Brunswick, Ga.	9	16,635	16.4	7.8	.6	17.6	3,409	16.4	.5
732 Jackson, Miss.	20	6,988	12.3	7.7	.8	9.1	2,828	11.3	1.8
734 Jacksonville, Fla.	27	33,636	12.2	8.0	(e)	12.0	10,002	13.4	0
760 Panama City, Fla.	4	15,076	10.0	8.6	0	9.3	3,325	7.8	0
764 Pensacola, Fla.	8	10,997	8.6	5.3	1.1	5.2	2,484	11.1	.2
766 Rome, Ga.-Ala.	21	15,195	10.4	8.4	.1	8.5	6,911	10.3	(e)
776 Tampa, Fla.	32	32,456	8.5	6.2	.2	7.9	8,842	10.4	(e)
780 Vicksburg, Miss.	6	1,981	10.7	7.9	.5	9.4	551	14.4	1.1
Region VIII									
804 Cedar Rapids, Iowa	16	14,039	8.7	7.7	.1	6.1	4,391	13.1	.3
812 Duluth-Superior, Minn.-Wis.	27	21,890	6.3	4.9	.6	6.0	2,656	10.4	1.2
816 Grand Island, Neb.	3	3,908	17.6	16.0	.3	19.2	1,797	21.2	.1
820 Lincoln, Neb.	12	8,239	13.2	9.5	2.5	11.1	3,978	15.2	3.2
824 Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	91	93,365	8.0	6.8	.4	6.6	32,687	9.4	.7

See footnotes at end of table.

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Turnover rates for establishments reporting turnover data on WS-270, by labor market area.
August 1944

Labor market area by adequacy of labor supply a/ and region	All employees: Number of establishments	All employees: Employment September 1944	All employees: Turnover rates: Separations: Total	All employees: Turnover rates: Separations: Quits	All employees: Turnover rates: Separations: Layoffs	All employees: Turnover rates: Accessions	Women: Employment September 1944	Women: Separation rates: Total	Women: Separation rates: Layoffs
Group III b/ - continued									
Region VIII									
802 Burlington, Iowa-Ill.	7	7,224	9.3	8.1	.3	9.7	2,723	11.6	.4
832 Sioux City, Iowa-Neb.	11	7,909	12.9	11.1	.5	9.6	2,772	15.3	.4
Region IX									
916 McAlester, Okla.	3	7,086	8.7	7.6	0	13.5	2,684	12.3	0
920 Oklahoma City, Okla.	29	48,237	11.4	10.0	.1	8.[illegible]	21,158	11.2	(c)
934 Tulsa, Okla.	43	32,549	6.4	4.9	.3	5.0	9,914	6.4	.4
Region X									
008 Amarillo, Texas	3	5,051	14.7	12.5	.5	11.5	2,201	17.5	.5
012 Baton Rouge, La.	7	12,161	5.2	3.2	.6	4.3	1,054	7.0	.3
020 Corpus Christi, Texas	5	9,141	8.4	7.2	(c)	4.6	2,582	10.0	0
022 Dallas, Texas	13	37,326	26.1	12.8	11.2	5.9	11,606	35.0	16.5
024 El Paso, Texas	6	3,343	8.0	6.3	.4	6.1	1,233	7.5	.2
030 Houston, Texas	25	57,751	13.1	7.9	.2	9.9	6,586	15.8	.6
032 Lake Charles, La.	6	4,147	10.9	8.6	.6	8.3	627	9.3	1.1
050 Shreveport, La.	6	13,112	16.1	14.5	.6	14.5	4,773	16.2	.3
Region XI									
X04 Boise, Idaho	13	3,772	8.3	5.8	1.3	7.2	1,485	9.2	.7
X10 Colorado Springs, Colo.	14	4,685	16.4	11.6	3.2	12.6	1,771	26.8	5.0
X12 Denver, Colo.	105	37,389	11.9	8.5	1.8	10.9	15,303	12.1	.8
X22 Pueblo, Colo.	14	9,862	8.2	7.0	.2	7.6	1,754	11.2	.5
Region XII									
R40 Sacramento, Calif.	13	16,905	8.0	5.8	(c)	6.7	6,742	9.6	(c)
R60 Tucson, Ariz.	3	5,991	9.9	8.6	.1	9.4	2,334	9.8	0
Group IV b/	1,320	1,359,861	7.5	5.3	.7	6.8	431,328	9.4	.7
Region I									
139 Lawrence, Mass.	27	28,389	9.0	4.6	4.1	6.9	13,711	11.0	4.9
149 Middletown, Conn.	15	6,080	6.4	3.4	1.6	8.1	2,260	8.5	1.9
Region II									
244 New York, N.Y.	344	502,112	6.3	3.8	.6	5.4	166,370	7.4	.5
Region III									
306 Altoona, Pa.	19	26,596	2.9	2.4	(c)	2.6	5,852	7.8	3.1
308 Atlantic City, N.J.	8	5,294	4.4	3.7	.4	8.2	2,851	4.9	(c)
318 Johnstown, Pa.	33	32,351	2.5	1.6	.1	2.0	1,642	5.1	.4
342 Scranton, Pa.	130	83,916	3.2	2.6	.2	3.8	18,738	6.0	.3
Region IV									
408 Charleston, W.Va.	26	28,896	5.1	4.0	.3	4.8	3,478	4.3	(c)
412 Clarksburg-Fairmont-Morgantown, W.Va.-Va.	35	21,794	4.6	3.1	.8	4.2	2,802	4.7	.1
414 Cumberland, Md.-W.Va.-Pa.	8	17,478	4.7	3.5	.1	4.6	5,209	5.7	.3
426 Huntington, W.Va.-Ohio-Ky.	18	15,965	8.4	6.3	.9	9.7	6,475	11.4	.8
446 Wheeling, W.Va.-Ohio	33	23,165	5.9	4.4	.7	6.0	5,759	9.3	1.8
Region V									
538 Lexington, Ky.	11	7,777	12.7	7.3	4.3	6.8	2,962	18.7	9.8
Region VII									
706 Atlanta, Ga.	101	65,114	8.5	7.0	.3	8.6	23,747	8.6	.3
723 Decatur, Ala.	6	5,783	13.8	10.7	.6	12.8	1,732	16.3	.5
736 Kingsport-Bristol, Tenn.-Va.	39	33,173	7.6	5.4	.8	7.6	13,583	8.6	.3
744 Memphis, Tenn.	48	43,280	14.3	10.4	1.0	12.4	14,573	16.8	1.4
Region VIII									
808 Des Moines, Iowa	24	19,142	9.4	7.2	1.2	9.5	7,727	11.0	1.2
Region IX									
912 Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	92	110,905	10.4	8.4	.4	8.7	40,986	11.4	.6
914 Little Rock, Ark.	12	19,298	13.0	11.0	.2	13.0	11,612	14.3	(c)
926 St. Joseph, Mo.	15	6,982	12.9	9.8	1.6	13.1	2,407	19.1	3.6
928 St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	252	225,849	9.7	7.5	.8	8.9	65,529	11.7	.8
930 Springfield, Mo.	7	2,237	13.9	10.8	1.1	15.6	1,382	11.5	0
932 Topeka, Kans.	9	6,804	13.1	9.6	1.7	10.2	3,087	13.6	3.7
Region X									
010 Austin, Texas	3	2,162	6.8	5.8	.1	7.0	654	6.7	0
048 San Antonio, Texas	3	18,139	4.4	2.3	0	6.1	5,964	7.2	0
Unclassified	3,038	1,626,725	7.5	5.7	.6	6.7	561,627	9.7	.8
Region I	329	156,765	5.8	4.4	.5	3.8	61,761	7.5	.7
Region II	174	90,462	5.8	4.1	.6	5.0	35,092	7.2	.6
Region III	330	246,358	4.2	3.0	.5	3.6	51,814	6.8	.8
Region IV	389	227,096	7.0	5.1	.6	6.4	72,002	8.4	1.0
Region V	307	154,072	6.8	5.5	.5	6.7	42,345	9.6	.7
Region VI	189	115,962	7.0	5.9	.2	6.2	37,057	10.4	.1
Region VII	665	332,563	9.5	7.3	.8	8.5	153,725	10.3	.8
Region VIII	116	59,162	8.5	6.9	.5	6.9	20,335	11.3	1.0
Region IX	280	140,720	10.5	8.5	.8	10.1	61,362	12.8	.8
Region X	57	44,105	10.0	6.8	1.4	7.7	10,946	13.7	.8
Region XI	125	23,736	8.9	7.2	.6	10.5	3,725	11.8	1.2
Region XII	77	35,724	13.4	9.5	.8	13.0	11,603	15.4	.6

a/ Labor market areas are classified according to adequacy of labor supply to meet demands over the next six months as follows:
Group I - Areas of current acute labor shortage.
Group II - Areas of labor stringency and those anticipating a labor shortage within six months.
Group III - Areas in which a slight labor surplus will remain after six months.
Group IV - Areas in which a substantial labor surplus will remain after six months.

b/ Data for labor market areas reporting fewer than 3 firms are not shown; hence the totals do not equal the sum of the individual items.

c/ Less than 0.05 percent.

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(MAT)

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Total employment and employment of women and nonwhites in ES-270 reporting establishments in munitions industries, by industry group
September 1944

Code	Industry group: Title	All establishments: Number	Employment: Total	Women: Number	Women: Percent of total	Employment in establishments reporting number of nonwhites employed: Total	Nonwhite: Number	Nonwhite: Percent of total
	Total	6,473	8,806,618	2,567,238	29.2	7,086,473	642,369	8.0
19	Ordnance and accessories	799	1,187,920	434,204	36.6	1,075,987	91,833	8.5
191	Guns, howitzers, mortars and related equipment	112	182,448	45,149	24.7	158,632	11,337	7.1
192	Ammunition, except for small arms	398	557,834	235,312	42.2	522,082	58,482	11.2
193	Tanks	77	96,896	19,365	20.0	72,021	5,491	7.6
194	Sighting and fire-control equipment	48	77,779	29,249	37.6	77,779	2,479	3.2
195	Small arms	72	125,074	43,470	34.8	98,672	3,378	3.4
196	Small arms ammunition	37	90,833	40,463	44.5	90,182	7,102	7.9
199	Ordnance and accessories, n.e.c.	55	57,056	21,196	37.1	56,619	3,564	6.3
28	Chemicals and allied products	263	268,514	70,527	26.3	266,333	22,471	8.4
2882	Primary coal-tar products	2	2,036	459	22.5	27	0	0
2883	Plastic materials	49	42,826	10,410	24.3	42,826	3,346	7.8
2884	Explosives	52	87,236	28,856	33.1	87,236	5,902	6.8
2886	Compressed and liquefied gases - not made in petroleum refineries or natural gasoline plants	9	9,165	2,778	30.3	9,165	1,527	16.7
2889	Industrial chemicals, electrochemical and electrometallurgical products, n.e.c.	137	121,406	24,610	20.3	121,234	11,475	9.5
2897	Fireworks and pyrotechnics	14	5,845	3,414	58.4	5,845	221	3.8
30	Rubber products	134	215,244	79,489	36.9	206,996	13,787	6.7
301	Tires and inner tubes	31	72,854	20,687	28.4	65,020	6,212	9.6
302	Rubber footwear, heels, soles, and related products	19	13,993	7,593	54.3	13,993	1,049	7.5
309	Miscellaneous rubber industries	84	128,397	51,209	39.9	127,983	6,526	5.1
33	Iron and steel and their products	1,462	1,155,685	202,368	17.5	1,130,669	129,929	11.5
331	Blast furnaces, steel works, and rolling mills	167	490,296	55,444	11.3	489,929	58,923	12.0
332	Iron and steel foundry products	418	177,578	17,925	10.1	168,128	41,369	24.6
333	Tin cans and other tinware	61	37,084	17,850	48.1	37,084	4,508	12.2
338	Fabricated structural metal products	93	37,927	4,407	11.6	36,516	3,389	9.3
	All other a/	723	412,800	106,742	25.9	399,012	21,740	5.4
34	Transportation equipment (except automobiles)	1,090	3,435,900	898,599	26.2	2,972,634	268,000	9.0
341	Railroad equipment	43	66,834	7,925	11.9	57,190	5,031	8.8
3421	Aircraft (airframes)	130	769,153	306,993	39.9	607,386	27,150	4.5
3422	Aircraft engines and engine parts	216	655,619	195,857	29.9	486,009	42,543	8.8
3423	Aircraft propellors and propellor parts	29	58,087	17,714	30.5	48,187	1,443	3.0
3429	Aircraft parts, n.e.c.	285	394,244	149,525	37.9	362,326	21,921	6.1
343	Ship and boat building and repairing	378	1,485,351	219,336	14.8	1,404,924	169,468	12.1
344	Motorcycles, bicycles, and parts	3	3,412	767	22.5	3,412	4	.1
349	Transportation equipment, n.e.c.	6	3,200	482	15.1	3,200	440	13.8
35	Nonferrous metals and their products	394	302,679	66,521	22.0	292,115	32,019	11.0
351	Primary smelting and refining of nonferrous metals	77	50,417	4,099	8.1	50,417	4,712	9.3
352	Secondary smelting and refining of nonferrous metals and alloys	22	10,228	1,075	10.5	10,015	3,573	35.7
353	Rolling, drawing, and alloying of nonferrous metals (except aluminum)	47	60,141	11,950	19.9	60,141	5,441	9.0
356	Aluminum and magnesium products (including rolling and drawing)	88	107,538	23,240	21.6	99,408	13,436	13.5
	All other b/	160	74,355	26,157	35.2	72,134	4,857	6.7
36	Electrical machinery	704	912,791	462,635	50.7	822,106	34,538	4.2
361	Electrical equipment for industrial use	220	315,397	131,276	41.6	274,406	7,905	2.9
364	Automotive electrical equipment	34	56,527	28,648	50.7	48,131	2,267	4.7
366	Communication equipment and related products	326	411,040	236,911	57.6	379,171	18,371	4.8
	All other c/	124	129,827	65,800	50.7	120,398	5,995	5.0
37	Machinery (except electrical)	1,282	913,546	214,575	23.5	857,359	29,857	3.5
371	Engines and turbines	90	149,420	36,267	24.3	126,879	3,351	2.6
372	Agricultural machinery and tractors	70	98,034	19,185	19.6	96,434	4,173	4.3
373	Construction, mining, and related machinery	106	56,063	8,079	14.4	56,063	1,051	1.9
374	Metalworking machinery	352	183,130	38,436	21.0	177,030	3,547	2.0
375	Special-industry machinery (except metalworking machinery)	105	39,616	7,101	17.9	38,190	1,542	4.0
376	General industrial machinery	507	355,626	96,830	27.2	331,106	15,698	4.7
377	Office and store machines, equipment and supplies	19	11,701	4,152	35.5	11,701	137	1.2
378	Household and service-industry machines	33	19,956	4,525	22.7	19,956	358	1.8
38	Automobiles and automobile equipment	175	233,273	54,316	23.3	189,792	15,726	8.3
381	Motor-vehicles	60	115,057	25,367	22.0	91,332	7,032	7.7
382	Motor-vehicle bodies	28	11,124	2,311	20.8	10,681	1,276	11.9
383	Motor-vehicle parts, body parts, and accessories	84	106,176	26,517	25.0	87,281	7,393	8.5
384	Automobile trailers	3	916	121	13.2	498	25	5.0
39	Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	170	181,066	84,004	46.4	172,482	4,209	2.4
391	Professional and scientific instruments photographic apparatus and optical goods	170	181,066	84,004	46.4	172,482	4,209	2.4

a/ Includes wire products (334), cutlery, tools and general hardware (335), heating apparatus (except electric) and plumbers' supplies (336), metal stamping, enameling, galvanizing, japanning and lacquering (337), and miscellaneous iron and steel products (339).

b/ Includes clocks and watches (354), jewelry, silverware and plated ware (355), plating and polishing (metal) 357, lighting fixtures (358) and nonferrous metal engraving products, n.e.c. (359).

c/ Includes electrical appliances (362), wire and cable, insulated (363) electric lamps (365), and miscellaneous electrical products (369).

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(MRS)

Turnover rates for establishments in munitions industries reporting turnover data on ES-270
August 1944

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Industry group		All employees						Women		
Code	Title	Number of establishments	Employment September 1944	Turnover rates: Separations: Total	Separations: Quits	Separations: Layoffs	Accessions	Employment September 1944	Separation rates: Total	Separation rates: Layoffs
	Total	6,437	8,789,235	7.7	5.5	0.7	6.1	2,521,112	10.2	1.0
19	Ordnance and accessories									
191	Guns, howitzers, mortars and related equipment	112	182,448	6.5	4.7	.7	4.9	44,405	9.2	.9
192	Ammunition, except for small arms	396	556,485	9.5	7.5	.4	9.3	230,554	11.7	.5
193	Tanks	77	96,896	7.9	5.4	.9	7.4	19,365	13.0	2.7
194	Sighting and fire-control equipment	48	77,779	7.0	4.3	1.7	3.9	29,249	9.8	2.2
195	Small arms	72	125,074	6.2	4.6	.6	5.2	43,470	9.1	1.0
196	Small arms ammunition	37	90,833	6.7	4.1	1.2	7.1	34,063	7.2	.8
199	Ordnance and accessories, n.e.c.	55	57,056	7.5	5.8	.4	9.1	21,196	10.3	.5
28	Chemicals and allied products									
2882	Primary coal-tar products	2	2,036	4.5	4.1	0	4.2	459	11.5	0
2883	Plastic materials	49	42,826	5.9	4.5	.2	4.7	10,410	7.3	.1
2884	Explosives	52	87,236	7.2	5.2	.7	10.3	26,630	10.9	1.4
2886	Compressed and liquefied gases - not made in petroleum refineries or natural gasoline plants	9	9,165	10.0	5.7	0	5.4	2,778	14.8	0
2889	Industrial chemicals, electrochemical and electro-metallurgical products, n.e.c.	137	121,406	6.5	4.8	.2	6.3	24,610	9.3	.3
2897	Fireworks and pyrotechnics	14	5,845	12.2	8.4	1.8	9.1	3,414	13.4	2.5
30	Rubber products									
301	Tires and inner tubes	31	72,854	8.1	7.0	.1	9.6	20,687	10.4	.1
302	Rubber footwear, heels, soles and related products	19	13,993	10.2	9.0	.3	8.0	7,593	12.1	.3
309	Miscellaneous rubber industries	84	128,397	9.1	7.7	.4	6.9	51,209	12.1	.7
33	Iron and steel and their products									
331	Blast furnaces, steel works, and rolling mills	167	490,296	4.1	3.3	.1	3.4	55,444	6.9	.2
332	Iron and steel foundry products	417	177,377	7.6	5.9	.3	7.0	17,892	9.3	1.1
333	Tin cans and other tinware	61	37,084	15.7	12.8	.3	16.3	17,850	17.1	.4
338	Fabricated structural metal products	93	37,927	11.9	7.4	2.1	7.9	4,113	20.4	8.1
	All other a/	722	412,623	6.9	5.0	.6	5.4	105,712	10.4	1.0
34	Transportation equipment (except automobiles)									
341	Railroad equipment	43	66,834	6.3	4.3	.7	5.1	7,210	8.8	1.0
3421	Aircraft (airframes)	130	769,153	9.0	6.1	1.6	4.7	294,152	10.7	1.9
3422	Aircraft engines and engine parts	215	653,618	6.6	4.4	1.0	3.7	194,503	10.4	2.1
3423	Aircraft propellers and propeller parts	29	58,087	7.0	5.5	.3	5.5	17,714	8.3	.6
3429	Aircraft parts, n.e.c.	285	394,244	8.3	5.7	1.0	7.3	147,084	11.5	1.7
343	Ship and boat building and repairing	377	1,471,696	9.9	6.4	.9	7.7	208,099	12.2	.8
344	Motorcycles, bicycles, and parts	3	3,412	4.9	3.9	.7	4.8	767	9.1	.8
349	Transportation equipment, n.e.c.	6	3,200	6.1	4.4	.3	4.9	482	9.1	1.5
35	Nonferrous metals and their products									
351	Primary smelting and refining of nonferrous metals	77	50,417	11.1	7.8	1.9	6.3	4,099	15.1	3.3
352	Secondary smelting and refining of nonferrous metals and alloys	22	10,228	7.8	6.2	.2	5.4	1,075	9.5	.8
353	Rolling, drawing, and alloying of nonferrous metals (except aluminum)	47	60,141	4.4	3.5	.1	4.0	11,950	7.0	.4
356	Aluminum and magnesium products (including rolling and drawing)	88	107,538	9.9	6.4	2.0	5.8	23,240	14.0	3.8
	All other b/	160	74,355	9.3	6.9	.6	8.2	26,157	10.6	.7
36	Electrical machinery									
361	Electrical equipment for industrial use	220	315,397	6.2	4.8	.2	4.3	129,713	8.4	.3
364	Automotive electrical equipment	34	56,527	8.1	4.7	1.0	5.2	28,648	10.7	1.5
366	Communication equipment and related products	326	411,040	8.0	6.0	.4	6.3	236,911	9.5	.5
	All other c/	124	129,827	8.5	7.3	.1	8.2	65,800	10.7	.1
37	Machinery (except electrical)									
371	Engines and turbines	90	149,420	6.4	4.4	.5	4.6	36,267	9.3	.7
372	Agricultural machinery and tractors	70	98,034	6.8	5.7	.3	5.8	19,115	9.4	.6
373	Construction, mining, and related machinery	106	56,063	6.1	4.7	.1	4.8	8,079	7.9	.3
374	Metalworking machinery	352	83,130	4.8	3.3	.5	3.6	38,436	7.8	1.0
375	Special-industry machinery (except metalworking machinery)	105	39,616	6.0	4.2	.6	5.0	7,101	9.1	1.2
376	General industrial machinery	507	355,626	6.3	4.7	.3	4.4	96,788	8.6	.4
377	Office and store machines, equipment and supplies	19	11,701	6.7	5.2	.2	9.0	4,152	11.3	.4
378	Household and service-industry machines	33	19,956	7.4	5.7	.4	7.0	4,525	13.6	1.0
38	Automobiles and automobile equipment									
381	Motor-vehicles	60	115,057	6.2	4.5	.6	5.9	25,367	7.1	.8
382	Motor-vehicle bodies	28	11,124	11.1	6.4	2.1	11.6	2,311	13.7	1.2
383	Motor-vehicle parts, body parts, and accessories	84	106,176	7.1	5.5	.3	6.8	26,517	9.1	.5
384	Automobile trailers	3	916	8.1	4.9	2.0	49.1	121	12.4	.8
39	Miscellaneous manufacturing industries									
391	Professional and scientific instruments, photographic apparatus and optical goods	170	181,066	5.5	4.3	.2	4.7	83,626	7.0	.3

a/ Includes wire products (334), cutlery, tools and general hardware (335), heating apparatus (except electric) and plumbers' supplies (336), metal stamping, enameling, galvanizing, japanning and lacquering (337), and miscellaneous iron and steel products (339).
b/ Includes clocks and watches (354), jewelry, silverware and plated ware (355), plating and polishing (metal) (357), lighting fixtures (358) and nonferrous metal engraving products, n.e.c. (359).
c/ Includes electrical appliances (362), wire and cable, insulated (363), electric lamps (365), and miscellaneous electrical products (369).

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(MRS)

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Current employment in ES-270 reporting establishments in munitions industries, by State
September 1944

State	Total munitions	Ordnance	Aircraft	Shipbuilding	Electrical machinery	Machinery (except electrical)	Rubber	All other
Total.....	8,806,618	1,187,920	1,877,103	1,485,351	912,791	913,546	215,244	2,214,663
Alabama.....	129,727	17,341	6,640	41,814	0	3,309	3,751	56,872
Arizona.....	16,554	0	10,100	0	0	116	0	6,338
Arkansas.....	24,489	21,212	0	0	0	0	0	3,277
California.....	648,826	9,174	251,646	281,664	12,412	27,467	16,599	49,864
Colorado.....	18,581	4,769	1,057	1,497	133	2,239	68	8,818
Connecticut.....	331,218	86,271	71,810	11,531	21,290	55,055	8,690	76,571
Delaware.....	34,582	2,382	3,036	12,039	58	1,397	1,172	14,498
District of Columbia.	22,164	21,166	0	0	340	0	0	658
Florida.....	59,152	1,950	2,678	52,326	281	270	0	1,647
Georgia.....	79,557	10,801	26,623	32,087	773	3,215	150	5,908
Idaho.....	2,119	796	0	0	0	59	0	1,264
Illinois.....	676,589	128,862	86,964	20,664	116,287	12,946	3,342	207,524
Indiana.....	422,632	62,513	100,458	21,980	58,077	27,543	12,684	139,377
Iowa.....	59,115	22,521	4,968	93	7,317	16,684	455	7,077
Kansas.....	89,852	5,936	65,995	1,582	1,975	2,183	0	12,181
Kentucky.....	84,077	17,562	4,636	11,887	6,799	4,088	0	39,105
Louisiana.....	62,497	10,348	8,642	38,175	0	0	0	5,332
Maine.....	39,291	3,152	407	32,399	0	1,590	0	1,743
Maryland.....	205,458	16,294	49,570	59,153	19,562	9,068	3,605	48,206
Massachusetts.....	402,729	49,798	11,487	90,078	119,048	48,569	22,421	61,328
Michigan.....	878,824	141,999	426,860	8,475	15,394	92,676	9,575	183,845
Minnesota.....	77,353	31,950	12,252	7,668	4,904	9,281	567	10,731
Mississippi.....	20,987	4,846	1,241	11,282	742	832	823	1,221
Missouri.....	160,103	50,658	41,064	1,562	16,151	17,904	1,319	31,445
Montana.....	5,015	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,015
Nebraska.....	32,570	12,984	12,471	105	1,531	0	1,007	4,472
Nevada.....	7,139	3,749	0	0	0	0	0	3,390
New Hampshire.....	6,532	280	2,301	0	1,121	1,537	484	809
New Jersey.....	534,962	54,564	90,686	96,568	129,366	40,988	13,157	109,633
New Mexico.....	902	0	0	0	0	0	0	902
New York.....	832,066	87,316	162,726	131,683	152,325	64,482	4,086	229,448
North Carolina.....	42,463	11,906	3,514	17,368	5,089	1,550	640	2,396
Ohio.....	852,846	106,635	177,133	9,505	74,197	131,214	34,527	269,635
Oklahoma.....	55,128	832	40,877	0	80	4,685	22	8,632
Oregon.....	89,245	0	1,514	82,495	703	1,463	0	3,070
Pennsylvania.....	893,452	78,522	75,144	117,564	103,715	120,912	9,495	388,100
Rhode Island.....	83,908	22,931	718	19,783	10,402	13,111	6,152	10,811
South Carolina.....	28,646	0	0	27,127	0	677	0	842
South Dakota.....	438	0	0	0	0	438	0	0
Tennessee.....	92,957	15,760	16,164	2,795	1,202	2,696	7,083	47,257
Texas.....	170,866	19,721	58,446	68,241	0	3,224	0	21,234
Utah.....	9,010	0	298	0	485	233	0	7,994
Vermont.....	15,260	2,721	173	0	381	9,923	729	1,333
Virginia.....	101,569	12,082	3,650	62,782	0	515	1,018	21,522
Washington.....	101,460	55	3,163	89,839	110	1,946	0	6,347
West Virginia.....	56,578	3,262	1,034	1,511	2,992	711	0	47,068
Wisconsin.....	247,130	32,299	38,957	20,029	27,549	76,750	1,623	49,923

War Manpower Commission
Reports and Analysis Service
(1B4)

WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION

AREA OFFICE

407 Grand Theatre Building
Atlanta, Georgia
March 31, 1945

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

Gentlemen:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of March 29, 1945 attaching a memorandum relative to the purpose, structure, activities and financing of your organization.

On the basis of the information contained in this memorandum, indicating that your Council is primarily engaged in research and educational work, this office has determined that your work may properly be considered essential under Group 33 of the List and Index of Essential Activities covering educational and scientific research agencies.

Inclusion of an activity on the National List and Index of Essential Activities in itself, is not sufficient to warrant considering the individual establishment engaged in essential work. You must also meet one or more of the following criteria:

A. Fulfilling a contract of the Army, Navy, Maritime Commission, or other government agencies engaged directly in the war effort;

B. Performing governmental services directly concerned with promoting or facilitating war production;

C. Performing a service, governmental or private, directly concerned with the maintenance of indispensable civilian activities, health, safety, welfare, or security;

D. Supply material under subcontracts for contracts included in A, B, or C above;

E. Producing raw materials, manufacturing materials, supplies or equipment or performing services necessary for the fulfillment of contracts (including necessary clothing and other supplies required by workers employed in these contracts) included in A, B, C, or D above.

This designation of essentiality applies only to the activities and individual establishments meeting the criteria listed above and only for the period of time during which all of these activities and criteria are true for your establishment.

This office has also determined that your activity would properly fall under Section C.

It is the responsibility of the employer to notify the Area WMC Office of any change in status under this determination.

Very truly yours,

Sloan G. Springfield
Area Director

_____ Period

_____ Office

(City and State)

WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION
U. S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
REPORT OF PLACEMENTS

Form ES-212. (Rev. 1-44)
Budget Bureau No. 11-R045.

A. AGRICULTURAL PLACEMENTS

Total (01-07) I	Agriculture and similar services (07) II	Farms (01) III	TYPE OF FARM ACTIVITY: Grain (011) IV	Cotton (0121) V	Sugar (0122) VI	Tobacco (0123) VII	Fruit and tree nut (013) VIII	Vegetable (014) IX	Dairy (015) X	Livestock and poultry (016) XI	Hay and peanut (017) XII	Nurseries and greenhouses (018) XIII	General (0191) XIV	Crop specialty n. e. c. (0199) XV

B. NONAGRICULTURAL PLACEMENTS

Total I	Short time II	Women III	Non-White IV	V	Line number	Classification VI	MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS: Professional and mgr. VII	Clerical and sales VIII	Service IX	Skilled X	Semi-skilled XI	Unskilled and other XII
						INDUSTRY						
					1	Total (08–99)						
					2	Forestry and fishing (08–09)						
					3	Mining (10–14)						
					4	Contract construction (15–17)						
					5	Total manufacturing (19–39)						
					6	Ordnance and accessories (19)						
					7	Food and kindred products (20)						
					8	Tobacco manufacturers (21)						
					9	Textile mill products (22)						
					10	Apparel and related products (23)						
					11	Lumber and tbr. basic prod. (24)						
					12	Furn. and fin. lumber prod. (25)						
					13	Paper and allied prod. (26)						
					14	Printing, Pub. and allied (27)						
					15	Chemicals (28)						
					16	Products of pet. and coal (29)						
					17	Rubber products (30)						
					18	Leather and its products (31)						
					19	Stone, clay, and glass prod. (32)						
					20	Iron and steel and their prod. (33)						
					21	Railroad equipment (341)						
					22	Aircraft and parts (342)						
					23	Ship and boat building & rep. (343)						
					24	Other trans. equip. (344–349)						
					25	Nonferrous metals and prod. (35)						
					26	Electrical machinery (36)						
					27	Metalworking mach. (374)						
					28	Other mach. (37 except 374)						
					29	Autos and auto equip. (38)						
					30	Miscellaneous mfg. (39)						
					31	Interstate railroads (40)						
					32	Other public utilities (41–49)						
					33	Wholesale and retl. trade (50–59)						
					34	Finance, ins., and real estate (60–67)						
					35	Service exc. pvt. household (70–86)						
					36	Private households (90)						
					37	Regular Government estab. (94)						
					38	Special Government projects (95)						
					39	Establishments n. e. c. (99)						
						SELECTED WORKER GROUPS						
		x x x x	x x x x		40	Women						
			x x x x		41	Nonwhites						
					42	Veterans						
					43	Physically handicapped						

(Office number) (Office street address) (Signature) (Title)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—39061-1

October 3, 1944

Dept. of Justice
Ruling

Mr. Carter Wesley
The Informer Newspapers
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 28. Since I wrote you on September 19, one of our staff members has had the privilege of an interview with Mr. Biddle. We have not had a full report on the interview as yet, but we feel that it was highly successful. We have reason to believe that either the Attorney General's ruling will be released, or that federal action will be taken soon to implement the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case. I shall probably be writing you again soon as to what additional steps might be taken.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

The INFORMER Newspapers

P. O. BOX 3086 • HOUSTON 1, TEXAS

• FAIRFAX 8347

The Market:

- 2,000,000 People
- Plenty Money
- Willing to Buy
- Awaiting Invitation

The Means:

- THE DALLAS EXPRESS
- NEW ORLEANS INFORMER
- FORT WORTH MIND
- THE INFORMER

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 28, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I returned from New York Saturday and found your letter of September 19. I concur in the belief that the Justice Department should release its findings on the study of the application of the Supreme Court decision. I think that you should write a letter directly to Attorney Francis Biddle, setting out the importance to our organization of having the information, ask him for a release either publicly or confidentially to you. I think if this is done, some of the rest of us, such as Mr. Young of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, and myself, on behalf of my paper, should also write to him, asking for the findings to be released. It might be possible to have somebody on the field in Washington go in and see Mr. Biddle personally on the matter. I will do nothing until I hear from you as to whether this idea is acceptable.

But I will hold myself in readiness to cooperate in any way possible.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/ers

Mr. Wesley was obliged to leave his office before the above letter, dictated by him, was ready for his signature.

Dept. of J.
Ruling

October 3, 1944

PERSONAL

Mr. McClellan Van der Veer
The Birmingham News
Birmingham 2, Alabama

Dear Mr. Van der Veer:

Thank you for your note of September 30. I am very sorry to learn of the passing of your father, and I want to extend to you my deepest sympathy.

I think you will be glad to know that since I wrote you on September 19, one of our staff members has had the privilege of an interview with Mr. Biddle. We have not had the full report on the interview as yet, but we have reason to believe that the outlook is encouraging for some kind of federal action to clarify the white primary situation.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

EVENING - MORNING - SUNDAY

VICTOR H. HANSON
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THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS CO.
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The Birmingham News

THE BIRMINGHAM AGE-HERALD

THE SOUTH'S GREATEST NEWSPAPERS

BIRMINGHAM 2, ALA.

September 30, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Since receiving your letter of September 19th I have been very much preoccupied with the last illness and death of my father. Consequently I have not been able to give the question you asked the thought it calls for. Even now I am not yet able to consider it as thoroughly as I should like to do. However, my offhand view is that unquestionably the ruling should be released promptly.

Sincerely,

McClellan Van der Veer

McClellan Van der Veer.

bbd.

Dept. of Justice Ruling

October 3, 1944

PERSONAL

Mr. D. Hiden Ramsey
Asheville Citizen-Times Company
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Ramsey:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 22. My inquiry of September 19 dealt with a rather tough problem, and I want you to know that we appreciate your frank and constructive comments.

Let me report, in confidence, that we were recently invited to an interview by the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle. One of our staff members has spent several days in Washington, and although we do not have a full report of the discussion as yet, we have reason to believe that the government intends to do something soon to clarify the situation with respect to the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case.

We shall move ahead as wisely as we can and shall keep you informed of any important developments.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES
SUNDAY
THE ASHEVILLE CITIZEN
MORNING
THE ASHEVILLE TIMES
EVENING
Published by
ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES CO.
ASHEVILLE, N.C.

September 21, 1944

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I have your confidential letter of September 18th which I am answering in confidence.

Personally, I gravely doubt the wisdom of pressing for an early release of the Department of Justice findings. If these findings are as epochal as we have every reason to expect, then their publication at any time before the presidential election might have the profoundest effects in the Deep South.

The situation in most of the states of the lower South has quieted down very markedly. The only rancorous divisions within the Democratic party seem to be confined to Texas.

I would dislike extremely to see the Deep South rearoused at this particular moment when we apparently are heading into one of the most bitter presidential campaigns in modern times and when public sentiment is naturally tense to the breaking point.

I am, as you probably suspect, a "gradualist" in the field of race relationships. I have seen our own state accomplish so much by easy stages, bringing along with it the public opinion of both races, that I flinch from violent, jerky change.

I agree that we in the South must admit the Negro to a larger participation in the franchise. We must do this because the Supreme Court is in effect

commanding it. We must do it also because the true welfare of our section demands a broadening of the suffrage base.

But even this change must come slowly. The sudden enfranchisement of too many Negroes would, I fear, result in social disorders that would benefit neither race.

I appreciate the exceedingly helpful work which you are doing. I regret that I can not travel along with you in your thinking now. But my own thinking and fears will not permit me to do so. The race situation is so inflammable at this moment that I do not wish to run the risk of adding fresh tinder. Any explosion now might cancel out much of the progress which we have made in recent years.

I am writing you in confidence. While the whole problem lies heavy on my mind nowadays, I fear so much and know so little that I deem it wise and proper to keep silent on most occasions. There is enough mischievous confusion without my adding further confounding.

Cordially yours,

D. Hiden Ramsey

D. Hiden Ramsey:M

Dept of Justice
Biddle

October 3, 1944

PERSONAL

The Rev. Frank S. Persons, II
Christ Church Rectory
Bastrop, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Persons:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 23. My inquiry of September 19 dealt with a rather tough problem, and I want you to know that we appreciate your frank and constructive comments.

Let me report, in confidence, that we were recently invited to an interview by the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle. One of our staff members has spent several days in Washington, and although we do not have a full report of the discussion as yet, we have reason to believe that the government intends to do something soon to clarify the situation with respect to the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case.

We shall move ahead as wisely as we can and shall keep you informed of any important developments.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Rt. Rev. John L. Jackson, D. D., Bishop
509 Louisiana Building
New Orleans 12, La.

Rev. Edwin L. Conly
Rev. Howard S Giere
Very Rev. William H. Nes, D. D.

Rev. Frank S. Persons, II,
Chairman,
Bastrop, La.

Rev. Frank W. Robert,
Secretary,
Natchitoches, La.

Rev. George P. Pardington
Mrs. Carl F. Dahlberg
Harvey Lee Marcoux

Forward In Service Commission
Diocese of Louisiana

Christ Church Rectory,
Bastrop, Louisiana,
September 23, 1944.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

May I acknowledge and thank you for your letter of the 19th.

I quite agree with you that the ruling referred to is of the utmost importance and that the Department of Justice findings should be made public at the earliest possible time. There is apt to be less confusion when the public is in possession of the facts.

Yet, as to the method to be used in securing that release I am frankly at sea. I only wish that it were possible to make some constructive suggestion.

With every good wish for you and your staff, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frank Persons

Frank Persons.

D. of J. Ruling

October 3, 1944

PERSONAL

Mr. Francis P. Locke
Miami Daily News
Miami 30, Florida

Dear Mr. Locke:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 23. My inquiry of September 19 dealt with a rather tough problem, and I want you to know that we appreciate your frank and constructive comments.

Let me report, in confidence, that we were recently invited to an interview by the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle. One of our staff members has spent several days in Washington, and although we do not have a full report of the discussion as yet, we have reason to believe that the government intends to do something soon to clarify the situation with respect to the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case.

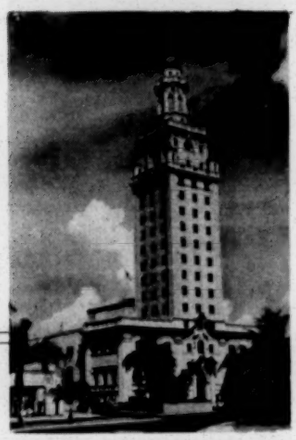
We shall move ahead as wisely as we can and shall keep you informed of any important developments.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

AFTERNOON
AND
SUNDAY



MIAMI DAILY NEWS
MIAMI, 30, FLORIDA

September 23, 1944

Miss Margaret L. Fisher
Director of Public Relations
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Fisher:

With regard to your query of September 19, I am afraid I cannot be very helpful to you.

I don't seem to come forth with any bright ideas about how to blast loose the report which you say is being hoarded by the Department of Justice.

Undoubtedly the delay is due to a feeling on the part of Mr. Biddle and other members of the administration that the issuance of the report before the election would embarrass Mr. Roosevelt. Now that the Texas situation seems to have been tamped down, I am not sure that I would be one to rock the boat either.

I think everything possible should be done to bring the Negro into the franchise, and I believe it can be done with more ease than many people suspect-- and on a token basis in ~~South Carolina and~~ Arkansas and even Texas, it has already been done, and without bloodshed.

However, we must consider long range goals, and if anything short range we should do now were to contribute to the election of Mr. Dewey, could we count on a liberal climate for the next four years? I confess I am uncertain about the proper strategy.

Sincerely yours,

Francis P. Locke

RADIO STATION
WIOD
NBC AFFILIATED
OWNED AND OPERATED
BY
MIAMI DAILY NEWS

October 3, 1944

Dept of Ruling

PERSONAL

Mr. Louis I. Jaffe
Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Jaffe:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 21. My inquiry of September 19 dealt with a rather tough problem, and I want you to know that we appreciate your frank and constructive comments.

Let me report, in confidence, that we were recently invited to an interview by the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle. One of our staff members has spent several days in Washington, and although we do not have a full report of the discussion as yet, we have reason to believe that the government intends to do something soon to clarify the situation with respect to the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case.

We shall move ahead as wisely as we can and shall keep you informed of any important developments.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

NORFOLK VIRGINIAN-PILOT
MORNING AND SUNDAY

NORFOLK LEDGER-DISPATCH
EVENING EXCEPT SUNDAY

NORFOLK NEWSPAPERS, INC.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

Personal

September 21, 1944.

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This is in reply to your letter of September 19.

I assume from your reference to the Department of Justice study as to the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case that it will deal with the question of its enforcement in localities where the decision is being ignored or circumvented. I think the early release of this study would serve a clarifying purpose. However, I do not think it would be advisable for the Southern Regional Council, as such, to bring pressure to bear upon the Department of Justice to expedite the release of this study. News of such acts of intervention usually leaks out and I am very spprehensive about the reaction against the Southern Regional Council that might follow such disclosure. We will make better progress toward our goal by qualifying as a liberal agency of education and enlightenment and by avoiding giving any color to the charge that we are a pressure group.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis I. Jaffe

Louis I. Jaffe.

Dept. of Justice
Ruling

October 3, 1944

PERSONAL

Mr. R. B. Herbert
310-312 Palmetto Building
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Herbert:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 21. My inquiry of September 19 dealt with a rather tough problem, and I want you to know that we appreciate your frank and constructive comments.

Let me report, in confidence, that we were recently invited to an interview by the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle. One of our staff members has spent several days in Washington, and although we do not have a full report of the discussion as yet, we have reason to believe that the government intends to do something soon to clarify the situation with respect to the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case.

We shall move ahead as wisely as we can and shall keep you informed of any important developments.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

R. BEVERLEY HERBERT

GEORGE L. DIAL, JR.

HERBERT & DIAL
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
310-312 PALMETTO BUILDING
COLUMBIA, S. C.

Sept. 21, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have your letter of Sept. 19th. I am frank in saying I do not know how to answer you.

It has seemed to me that the bringing forward of the negro is going about as fast as it can in South Carolina. In other words, we have a very large negro population here and we cannot afford to go as fast as in Virginia or North Carolina, and it is a process of educating white people as well as the negro.

It is quite possible the Department of Justice thinks we should wait until after the election before there is any more agitation and I am not wise enough to say that another course would be better.

I am entirely in sympathy with what you have in mind. I believe we are making some progress and that at another election this State would be more ready to give the negro the vote than at the present time. I wish I could give you a more intelligent answer.

Yours sincerely,

R. B. Herbert

R. B. Herbert.

Ignore of J. Ruling

October 3, 1944

PERSONAL

Rabbi Julian B. Feibelman
Temple Sinai
St. Charles Avenue at Calhoun
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Rabbi Feibelman:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 21. My inquiry of September 19 dealt with a rather tough problem, and I want you to know that we appreciate your frank and constructive comments.

Let me report, in confidence, that we were recently invited to an interview by the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle. One of our staff members has spent several days in Washington, and although we do not have a full report of the discussion as yet, we have reason to believe that the government intends to do something soon to clarify the situation with respect to the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case.

We shall move ahead as wisely as we can and shall keep you informed of any important developments.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

TEMPLE SINAI
ST. CHARLES AVENUE AT CALHOUN
NEW ORLEANS

OFFICE OF THE RABBI
JULIAN B. FEIBELMAN, M. A., PH. D.

September 21, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have just this minute received your confidential communication of September 19, regarding the Department of Justice study of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas White Primary case.

It is difficult to give you any positive or constructive ideas, for it may well be that the Department of Justice is deliberately withholding these findings until after the election. If so, it may be a pretty hopeless undertaking on your part.

Nevertheless, I would be in favor of asking for the findings , prodding the Department, and keeping the irons of your interest white hot in pursuit of such a statement.

Have you anyone in Washington who can get closer to the heart of this matter, and bring pressure to bear to find out at least why the findings are held up?

I don't expect that this helps you very much, but I hardly know what else to say at this time. Wishing you every success, and with good greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Julian B. Feibelman

JBF:rbf

Dept of Justice Ruling

October 3, 1944

PERSONAL

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear V.:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 21. My inquiry of September 19 dealt with a rather tough problem, and I want you to know that we appreciate your frank and constructive comments.

Let me report, in confidence, that we were recently invited to an interview by the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle. One of our staff members has spent several days in Washington, and although we do not have a full report of the discussion as yet, we have reason to believe that the government intends to do something soon to clarify the situation with respect to the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case.

We shall move ahead as wisely as we can and shall keep you informed of any important developments.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

September 21, 1944.

Personal

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

I am interested to know of the Department of Justice's role in the white primary matter.

I share your feeling that the department's report ought to be made public promptly. I see nothing to be gained by withholding it. It isn't even politically desirable for Mr. Roosevelt, as I see it, since I judge the report would win him votes in the North.

I do not feel very sure of myself in making suggestions as to this, but would it be a good idea for either the Council's executive committee, or the full board of directors, if they concur by mail, to send a statement to Attorney General Biddle urging him to release the report at once? If he doesn't do so, we might issue a public statement in an effort to put pressure on him. Perhaps it would get better results if we approached him quietly in the first instance, and then turn the heat on if that method failed.

Still no showing of "Americans All" in Richmond, and there evidently isn't going to be any. I take it the same is true of Atlanta.

Thanking you for writing, I am

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

D. of J. Ruling

October 3, 1944

PERSONAL

Mr. Tarleton Collier
The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Collier:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 22. My inquiry of September 19 dealt with a rather tough problem, and I want you to know that we appreciate your frank and constructive comments.

Let me report, in confidence, that we were recently invited to an interview by the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle. One of our staff members has spent several days in Washington, and although we do not have a full report of the discussion as yet, we have reason to believe that the government intends to do something soon to clarify the situation with respect to the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case.

We shall move ahead as wisely as we can and shall keep you informed of any important developments.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

BARRY BINGHAM, *President & Publisher*

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, *Vice President & General Manager* LISLE BAKER, JR., *Treasurer*

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES

LOUISVILLE, KY.

September 22, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am sorry I have seemed to delay a response to your special delivery letter, but I have been away from the city -- watching the show in Texas and being much elated over its c ourse.

As to means of obtaining release of the ruling to which you refer, I can only say that appeals for assistance to Senators Mead and Wagner have proved effective in other instances. I am not quite sure from your statement of the case whether the delay is intentional, perhaps for purposes of campaign strategy, or whether it is simply lost in the inordinate accumulation of official matter, or whether there is a disposition to let it slide in the thought that there will be no primary election inwhich to apply it for a long time to c ome.

Certainly I believe that the quicker we obtain clear guides in the matter, the better for all. You know that most Southern States are contemplating revision of Party status, on the lines of South Carolina's action, and if the ruling should demonstrate the pointlessness of this, we might become started the sooner on accomplishment of the inevitable.

Yours very truly,

Tarleton Collier

Tarleton Collier

Dept. of Justice
Ruling

October 3, 1944

PERSONAL

Rabbi Stanley R. Brav
Anshe Chesed Congregation
Vicksburg, Mississippi

Dear Rabbi Brav:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 22. My inquiry of September 19 dealt with a rather tough problem, and I want you to know that we appreciate your frank and constructive comments.

Let me report, in confidence, that we were recently invited to an interview by the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle. One of our staff members has spent several days in Washington, and although we do not have a full report of the discussion as yet, we have reason to believe that the government intends to do something soon to clarify the situation with respect to the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case.

We shall move ahead as wisely as we can and shall keep you informed of any important developments.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

SAM ALBRECHT, PRESIDENT
DAVID B. FRIED, VICE-PRESIDENT
ISADORE MARCUS, SEC'Y-TREAS.-WARDEN
MISS DAISYE BLOCH, ASSISTANT SECRETARY

ANSHE CHESED CONGREGATION

VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI

STANLEY R. BRAV, PH. D.
RABBI

TRUSTEES
L. L. SWITZER
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HENRY KLINE
ABE KIERSKY
FRANCIS LEYENS
ISAAC SCHWARTZ
MAURICE EMMICH
MRS. DAVID B. FRIED
MORRIS ROTSTEIN
DR. NATHAN B. LEWIS
HON. LEONARD E. NELSON
LEON FISCHEL

September 22,1944.

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council,
710 Standard Bldg.,
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Re yours of September 19th -

Of course the ruling should be released promptly. Unhappily, I am so far removed from knowledge of court procedure that I have not the faintest notion as to how it should be gone about.

On the other hand, any attorney practicing before the Supreme Court could provide you with the history of precedents, as well as with counsel regarding the immediate situation. I should advise such consultation at once.

Sincerely,

Stanley R. Brav.

Rabbi Stanley R. Brav.

srb:aj

Dept. of Justice
Ruling

October 4, 1944

PERSONAL

Mr. P. B. Young Sr.
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I want to thank you for your letter of September 22. My inquiry of September 19 dealt with a rather tough problem, and I want you to know that we appreciate your frank and constructive comments.

Let me report, in confidence, that we were recently invited to an interview by the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle. One of our staff members has spent several days in Washington, and although we do not have a full report of the discussion as yet, we have reason to believe that the government intends to do something soon to clarify the situation with respect to the applicability of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas white primary case.

We shall move ahead as wisely as we can and shall keep you informed of any important developments.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

P. S. I am very sorry that you did not receive a copy of our Executive Committee ballot. We will be very careful to address your mail hereafter to P. B. Young, Sr., and mark it "Personal." We have been trying to line up Mr. Henry Wallace and Mr. David Lilienthal as speakers for our public sessions. As soon as we have something definite to report, we shall ask the Executive Committee to set a date for the annual meeting.

P. B. YOUNG, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE 25319

The Journal and Guide

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Published Weekly by
THE GUIDE PUBLISHING CO. INC.
711-723 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VA.

September 22, 1944

Confidential

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I agree with you that the Department of Justice should release the results of its study on the Texas primary decision as soon as possible. I am not quite sure, however, that we would accomplish anything by urging the release of this report prior to the November election.

The most practical step toward getting it released would be to exert the pressure of the Southern Regional Council, the Northern Council established last spring in Chicago, and various other groups simultaneously on the Attorney General. I doubt, however, if the Attorney General would be responsive to this pressure prior to the election.

I am realist enough to understand that the present Administration wants to win the forthcoming election, and that it would not be interested in stirring up further dissension in the party, North and South, by making any immediate moves in the matter of the Texas primary decision.

I hesitate, therefore, to suggest that any immediate action be taken toward having this report released.

The alternative to this is for Negroes in Georgia and Arkansas who have been subjected to violations of the intent of the Supreme Court decision to immediately move toward bringing these violations into Federal District Courts. If the Department of Justice has anything up its sleeve it would come out when this action is taken.

I did not receive a notice, or rather a copy of your poll of the Executive Committee on setting a date for the fall

meeting. I have a memorandum dated September 18th. In view of all the circumstances it seems that your idea about deferring the meeting until around December 1st is good.

There is considerable unrest up this way concerning the apparent inactivity of the Council. This is manifested by several of our strong supporters in this area. I think as soon as the election is over something tangible should be undertaken.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG

PBY:LHL

Form letter

6/44

Draft of a letter which we thought of sending to all state & county officials in Ga. After Dem. Exec. Com. announced that primary would be for white only, we knew there would be relatively little effort by Negroes to vote. We changed our plans and did intensive work in Atlanta to prevent race trouble on July 4. BJ

Dear _____:

Many of us who are interested in seeing the South make sound progress in social, economic, political and racial affairs are distrubed over signs that considerable race tension is building up around the July 4 Democratic primary in Gerogia.

During the recent registration of voters in Georgia, there was very little friction, because both white and colored people conducted themselves with commendable restraint. Lately, however, the tension seems to be rising. We know, for example, that certain white people around Atlanta, and perhaps in other places, are circulating rumors to the effect that race riots have recently occurred and are betting that "there is going to be a lot of blood spilled on the Fourth of July." We also know that there have been meetings of groups of white people at which incendiary speeches have been made.

Furthermore, there have been various intemperate public statements made, and there have been resolutions such as those which were adopted on May 18 by the Municipal League of South Fulton County. These latter resolutions have not been made public, but you have no doubt received a copy. They are based on the assumption that civilization in Georgia is dependent upon keeping the Democratic primaries 100% pure white, and they urge the Governor to call a special session of the legislature in order to repeal all laws regulating primaries, on the theory that such a course will enable the state to "get around" the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court.

Ignore question of federal authority

We believe that the above-mentioned trends are not representative of the Christian people of Georgia who have the real interests of the state at heart. Many of our church leaders have expressed themselves. For example, Bishop Arthur Moore of Atlanta, speaking at the Methodist Quadrennial Conference

in Kansas City recently, said that many colored citizens are still "accorded a sub-Christian status" and added that he hoped that we were moving toward "a better day in which discrimination and injustice give way to respect and cooperation." At the recent meeting of the Southern Baptists in Atlanta, the Social Service Commission of the church urged "all our Baptist people to cultivate and maintain the finest Christian spirit and attitude toward the Negro race, to do everything possible for the welfare of the race, both economic and religious, and for the defense and protection of all civil rights of the race."

On April 14 the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation passed a resolution urging that "no qualified citizen of the State of Georgia be denied his right to participate in the primary and the general elections of the State." On April 28, the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, an organization composed of some of the most respected and prominent people of the South, adopted resolutions calling on "all fair-minded citizens of the South to respect the letter and spirit of the Court's decision," and declaring that "to deny the vote to qualified Negro citizens is inconsistent with the American ideal of justice and equality before the law."

To the end that we may have justice, fair play, and peace between the races, we urge you to consider seriously the following propositions:

(1) If Georgia follows the course of South Carolina and repeals all statutory regulation of primaries, it will not be long before our elections are a disgraceful mess. Furthermore, the odds are that before many years have passed, the Supreme Court will hold that party primaries, statutes or no statutes, are integral parts of election machinery and are therefore subject to the provisions of the federal Constitution. In fact, the decision of the Court in 1941 in the case of U.S. v. Classic already points strongly in this direction.

(2) We have postponed too long the real solution of this problem, namely, to set up reasonable literacy or educational qualifications for voting, and to apply them fairly to all citizens.

(3) The smartest thing the white people can do in this situation is to allow responsible and qualified Negroes to take part in the Democratic primaries. These Negroes would take their responsibility very seriously, and in the long run would cast their votes with white people who believed in sound government. The result would be to eliminate a good deal of the loose talk and demagoguery which now goes on in both races.

(4) Can we afford to go on delaying the fair solution of this problem, always being morally on the defensive because we are in the position of being forced to do something which we should have done anyway?

Our observation is that on the whole our Negro citizens are behaving with admirable forbearance. Most of their leaders are advising them as follows: "The Supreme Court decision apparently gives you the right to vote in the Democratic primary. Go to the polls and ask for a ballot. If you are refused, keep your temper and leave quietly. Don't start any trouble." There is probably greater danger of violence being provoked by certain white hangers-on around the polls than by the Negroes themselves, and alert and fair policing of the areas around the polling places will do much to bring us through this critical time without any outbreaks.

You are a citizen with more than ordinary responsibility and influence. Will you not do everything in your power to promote a just and Christian solution of the vexing problem which confronts us? We beg ~~that at the very least,~~ are confident that you will use your broad influence to encourage the toward discouraging any tendencies to provoke race disturbances on July 4.

As Americans, we cannot lend our approval at home to intolerance and conflict between races, while our sons and brothers are fighting and dying ~~to uphold our~~ for peace and justice among all people -

We are confident that you will use your broad influence to discourage

3/2/45

Dr. Johnson:

Miss Wilkins said that you wanted the attached material.

Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement

2/14/45

White Primary
Georgia

ABOUT MR. J. ROY MCGINTY - GEORGIA STATE SENATOR FROM GORDON COUNTY

Editor and Owner of The Calhoun Times, Calhoun, Georgia, one of the most influential and widely read weeklies.

Past president of the Georgia Press Association.

Among the first newspapers in Georgia to advocate abolition of "white primary." See copy attached - "Mack's Colyum" - June 22, 1944 - the month before the last primary election in Georgia.

Was running for State Senate at the time of June 22 editorial - as result of editorial, some 300 people struck his name from ballot (it stood alone as he was without opposition).

Was awarded the Shope Trophy by Georgia Press Association in its annual awards in July 1944 for the most courageous editorial (on Negro's Civil Rights - June 22, copy of which is attached) of the year.

For years has helped lead fight in Georgia to get rid of poll tax.

Was co-author of the Bill to repeal poll tax, just passed by this General Assembly.

During the recent debate on the poll tax in the Senate, Mr. McGinty made a strong plea for passage of the Bill. During his speech efforts were made to embarrass him on account of his position regarding Negro participation in primary elections. Senator Grayson of Savannah (Chatham County), a leader among the group opposing repeal of the poll tax, asked McGinty: "Are you in favor of the white primary?" McGinty replied, "Well, I am not like the distinguished Senator from Chatham, afraid of the people. I have full confidence in the judgment of the people and when I say people, I mean all of the people."

McGinty made a lone fight in Senate yesterday for retention of Primary regulation in Georgia state constitution. Standing alone he argued against the effort to deprive Negroes of the franchise, and made a courageous plea for their right to vote. He received no oral support and was loudly voiced down. (Copies of clippings attached.)

C
O
P
Y

Copy of editorial

THE MACON NEWS

Macon, Ga., Tuesday, February 20, 1945

Saluting J. Roy McGinty

Last week the lone figure of a man stood in the Georgia Senate and fought a good fight that he knew from the beginning was hopeless.

The knowledge that he was defeated before he began to fight did not deter him, because he knew he was right and because he possessed to the utmost the courage of his convictions.

The man was State Senator J. Roy McGinty of Calhoun, Gordon County, Georgia, owner and editor of The Calhoun Times, one of the best weekly newspapers in Georgia.

The fight was on a proposal to eliminate from the state Constitution all reference to primary elections so that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Texas primary case will not apply in this state and Negroes can still be debarred from participation in Georgia primaries.

Mr. McGinty's vain but courageous fight against this prejudice-inspired proposal was no sudden flareup. He is recognized as a liberal in all his thinking on public questions; was one of the authors of the recent poll tax repeal bill. And his stand on the primary measure arose out of a considered conviction of right and wrong.

Last summer, when he was running for the Senate and knew it would cost him votes, he published an editorial in his paper uring that Negroes ought to be allowed to vote in Georgia primaries, in which he stated the faith that was in him in these words:

> In my opinion it is neither justice nor democracy to require of the Negro all the obligations of citizenship and deny him the rights of citizenship. Let us try to get rid of our worn-out prejudices and attempt to solve this problem in the light of democracy, justice and Christianity.

This courageous editor-senator lost his fight in the Senate last week; his argument was shouted down by a voice vote adopting the proposal. But the defeat was temporary.

It was temporary because a man like McGinty can't always be shouted down on this issue. He is no wild-eyed Yankee reformer telling Georgians what to do; he is himself a Georgian, living his life and doing his work among us, and he can't be dismissed contemp-

tuously as a "nigger-lover". He is a past president of the Georgia Press Association by which he was awarded a trophy for the editorial quoted from above as the most courageous editorial of the year. And he knows the true meaning of American democracy from bitter experience because his son died for it in this war.

Besides, McGinty is fundamentally and eternally right on this question. We can't continue in Georgia to sound the praises of democracy in sonorous phrases and at the same time cynically deny civil and political rights to a third of our population. A majority of the people of this state now know that McGinty is right and in a year or two the politicians also will wake up and find it out.

The Macon News salutes Roy McGinty for the keeness of his intelligence, the forwardness of his vision and the steadfastness of his courage. More power to him, and more of his kind and stature, are the best wishes that any Georgian can have for Georgia.

* * * * * * *

THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1944 THE CALHOUN TIMES, Calhoun, Georgia
J. Roy McGinty, Editor and Owner

MACK'S COLYUM by j. r. m.

NEGRO'S CIVIL RIGHTS

Stephen Nettles, distinguished attorney of Greenville, S. C., with whom your columnist has had the pleasure of serving in the work of the War Labor Board, recently wrote a letter to the Greenville News on the subject of the civil rights of the Negro. He sent me a clipping of the letter, and I think it will be of interest to that growing number of people who are showing a disposition to rise above prejudice in their thinking about the race problem.

Mr. Nettles is a South Carolina Democrat than which there are none more southern. The views he expresses merit a wider consideration throughout the South. His letter to the News is as follows:

Editor the News:

A great many members of the democratic party in South Carolina are disturbed over the efforts of some Negro leaders to obtain for their race the right to become members of the party. There was much loose and irresponsible talk about the matter at the recent state convention, both on and off the floor. The signs are plain that our leading and everlasting demagogues are all set to fan race feeling in the coming campaign, regardless of the effect their action may have on the excellent relations now existing between the races.

The time has come when the sober and sensible leaders of both races must get together and work out a plan which assures the Negro the effective exercise of his civil rights, including his right to vote. It will probably be easier to do it now than later. We white people should remember that, after all, we live under the law, even in racial matters, and the last word as to the law will be spoken by the Supreme Court of the United States.

It will be well for us to recall in this connection that there was a time in the history of our democratic party when we needed and sought the Negro vote, and when enough of them voted with us to carry an election that meant more to us than any election before or since. I refer to the campaign of 1876 to elect the Wade Hampton ticket. The Negroes who voted for Wade Hampton in 1876 were recognized as regular party members, and remained such under the party rules until the privilege was taken from them by the action of the recent state convention.

I think that your readers will be interested in the enclosed excerpt from Reynolds' "Reconstruction in South Carolina." We cannot blink the facts of history, and he is

not wise who tries to do so. If the white democrat of another generation could, with due regard to the welfare of the State, call upon the Negro to join their party and vote with them, why should the white democrats of our generation see red and go to reviling the Negro when he merely asks the same privilege? I put that question to the thinking members of our democratic party.

STEPHEN NETTLES

Greenville, S. C.

I wish space were available to print the article about the Wade Hampton campaign in 1876 attached to Mr. Nettles' letter. It shows how the Negroes voting with the White Democrats, helped to redeem South Carolina from the carpetbaggers, under assurances that their civil rights would be protected. It is an ironical commentary that later generations deprived the Negro of some of these civil rights.

It may be that I am "sticking my neck out," but in my opinion it is neither justice nor democracy to require of the Negro all the obligations of citizenship and to deny him the rights of citizenship.

Let us try to get rid of our worn-out prejudices and attempt to solve this problem in the light of democracy, justice and Christianity.

- - - - - - - -

Remarks of Senator J. Roy McGinty before Georgia State Senate, 2/13/45

I know I am sticking my neck out . . . have no illusions as to its fate. However, I have strong convictions on subject, and would not be doing my duty if I did not express them.

But while I am sticking my neck out, in my humble opinion those who are in favor of withdrawing all legal safeguards are doing ostrich act of burying their heads in the sand.

If this General Assembly passes this Constitution without providing some safeguards for primaries, it will be doing this State a tremendous disservice.

What we are about to do here, if we do not adopt this amendment, is to leave our primary laws in the hands of the politicians, those who direct the affairs of the parties, party executive committees, state and county, and I shall be surprised if we do not wind up with machine-dominated party conventions, with the voice of the people completely silenced in the selection of candidates for public office. If some constitutional safeguards are not thrown around our primaries, it will mark a backward step in democratic government in Georgia of far-reaching consequences.

I know what those say who oppose mentioning the word "primary" in our state constitution. They say it will open the polls to the Negro citizens of this state. And I can understand the feelings of those who live in counties with a predominant Negro population. But if I regarded their argument as valid, my answer would be that the Negroes can vote now -- if they are otherwise qualified (rigid qualifications) -- in the general elections, and they could choose their own candidates, and elect them in a general election much easier than they could in a primary. And some day they are likely to do that very thing, with the aid of the Federal Government, if we continue to deny them any voice whatever in the Government which rules over them.

In the course of the debate on the poll tax issue here the other day, the distinguished Senator from the 24th, for whom I have the highest esteem and admiration, asked about my views on the white primary. Because I declined to be sidetracked from the question under discussion, which had no connection with the white primary,

I think my action may have been construed to an unwillingness to state my position. I could not have dodged the issue if I had wished to do so, because I am already on record.

Last June, Hon. Stephen Nettles of Greenville, S.C., with whom I have been associated in Panel hearings for the War Labor Board, wrote a letter to the Greenville News, which that good paper published. Mr. Nettles sent the letter to me, and because I thought it was such a sound and reasonable presentation of the question of Negro voting, I printed it in my personal column on the editorial page of my paper, The Calhoun Times. It is a fair presentation of my own views, and with your indulgence I should like to read it:

Editor the News:

A great many members of the democratic party in South Carolina are disturbed over the efforts of some Negro leaders to obtain for their race the right to become members of the party. There was much loose and irresponsible talk about the matter at the recent state convention, both on and off the floor. The signs are plain that our leading and everlasting demagogues are all set to fan race feeling in the coming campaign, regardless of the effect their action may have on the excellent relations now existing between the races.

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I think that your readers will be interested in the enclosed excerpt from Reynolds' "Reconstruction in South Carolina." We cannot blink the facts of history, and he is not wise who tries to do so. If the white democrat of another generation could, with due regard to the welfare of the State, call upon the Negro to join their party and vote with them, why should the white democrats of our generation see red and go to reviling the Negro when he merely asks the same privilege? I put that question to the thinking members of our democratic party.

This article was widely republished, and of course aroused a great deal of adverse comment. Incidentally, you might be interested to know that at GPA convention, Dr. Raymond Nixon, director Journalism at Emory, chairman of the GPA committee on awards, announced that the Theron S. Shope trophy for the most fearless editorial printed in a Georgia newspaper for the year had been awarded to my newspaper for this article. I had never thought of the matter as being in the realm of the "fearless", and it occurred to me that if it required fearlessness and extraordinary courage to publish such an editorial in a Georgia newspaper, a greater degree of intolerance existed in Georgia than I had thought.

In my opinion the Negroes do not want to be forced into a separate party; many of them are not concerned about the matter at all. But there are quite a number who would like to go along and support the candidates of the Democratic Party, and I cannot see how that participation could harm any white person.

I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that our forefathers, those who wrote the constitution of 1887, made no attempt to bar the Negroes from the vote, and some of them did vote in all of our elections up until 1908. During all that time, the only trouble we had was not with the Negroes, but with our own race, who plied them with liquor and used them as pawns in the elections of that day. I think that, subconsciously, perhaps, it is these same white people and not the Negroes that we fear so much now in connection with the ballot.

I was born in the deep South, in the red hills of Alabama, and have spent most of my life in Georgia. Generations of my ancestors sleep beneath Southern sod, and I yield to no one in my devotion to Georgia and the South and all the inspiring and ennobling ideals which are our heritage as Southerners. But, and I say it reverently, I hope the Lord will deliver me from the unreasonable prejudices which would cause me to deny the rights of citizenship to any of our citizens. We cannot always deny to those who support our government and fight and die for our liberties, a voice in that Government.

What Georgia needs is not less but more and stronger primary laws. They should be conducted by the State and at State expense as general elections are. The amendment I have offered is not as strong as it should be, but it is the same section that appears in the present Constitution, and I offer it as the very minimum of primary regulation.

* * * *

White Primary

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

January 23 1946

I have known about this since yesterday morning, when I had a telegram, but waited for the printed word. It's the end of a long fight for Florida, and I think we all have reason to rejoice.

J. H.

RECEIVED
JAN 24 1946
Southern Regional Council

The Weather

JACKSONVILLE AND VICINITY: Cloudy and rain this afternoon, tonight; colder tonight; Wednesday cloudy.

High yesterday, 71; a year ago, 62.
Low yesterday, 50; a year ago, 48.

	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
H	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
T	59	58	57	57	54	53	51	50	50	50	50	49	48

(Additional Weather on Page 3)

Jacksonville Journal

HOME EDITION

VOL. 59 NO. 111 | WJHP—1320 KILOCYCLES | JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA, TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1946 | Member of THE ASSOCIATED PRESS and NEA | PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Way Is Cleared For Negro Voters In May Primary

Democratic History Made By Omitting One Word 'White'

BY JIM MASSEY
Jacksonville Journal Staff Writer

TAMPA, Jan. 22—By the simple omission of one word from the resolution setting up the May primaries, the state Democratic committee made history at its session here yesterday afternoon.

That one word was "white" and it always had been used in describing those persons who are eligible to vote in the Democratic primaries.

Negroes to Vote

By eliminating it, the Democratic party in Florida today permits negroes to register and vote in its primary elections.

The omission of the word "white" follows the ruling of the U. S. supreme court that negroes had the right to vote in Texas Democratic primaries. The Florida supreme court then held that they are entitled to participate in primary elections in this state. The action of the state committee yesterday was an inevitable result.

At the same time the committee, assembled in the Hillsboro hotel here, asked all counties to provide separate polling places for white voters and negroes in the primaries.

Florida Democrats were defined as all voters registered as such who "believe in the principles of the Democratic party and will support and vote for the nominees of the said party in the ensuing (November) general election."

The resolution allowing negroes to qualify as Democrats drew only a few "No's" from the more than 100 state committee members. Here is the resolution in full:

"WHEREAS, the supreme court of the United States has ruled that Negroes are entitled to participate in primary elections in the State of Texas; and

"WHEREAS laws governing primary elections in the State of Florida are similar to those of the State of Texas and

"WHEREAS the supreme court of the State of Florida has ruled that Negroes are entitled to participate in primary elections in such state;

"NOW THEREFORE be it resolved that the county commissioners in the several counties of the State of Florida be, and they are hereby, requested to provid separate voting places for suc

(Turn to Page Three, Please

TUE

Way Is Cleared For Negro Voters In May Primary

(Continued from Page One)

Negro citizens who qualify as members of the Democratic party and entitled to participate in the primary elections to be held in May, 1946."

The meeting was attended by many of Florida's best known political figures. Former Governors Fred Cone and Spessard L. Holland, Jerry Carter, a member of the state railroad commission, Fuller Warren, of Jacksonville, former gubernatorial candidate, Attorney General Tom Watson, Polly Rose Balfe, former national committeewoman and now opposing Holland in the senate race, Mrs. Neil Alford, of Jacksonville, national committeewoman, Mrs. Louise McGregor, of DeLand, vice-chairman of the state committee, and many other veterans of the political wars were present and spoke.

Two Represent Duval

Carl M. Taylor and Mrs. Helen H. Barrs, represented Duval county at the meeting. Mrs. Barrs is the woman member of the state committee from Duval and Taylor held the proxy of Sam Foor, the other Duval member.

The committee set at two per cent of one year's salary of the office sought the party fee to be paid to the state committee by any Democrat seeking state office which was defined as an office requiring that votes be cast in two or more counties.

The first primary will be held on May 7 and the second on May 28.

Truman Supported

The committee also adopted a resolution pledging President Truman "unanimous cooperation in the struggle in which this nation is now involved." It also approved plans for Jackson Day dinners on May 23, with 25 per cent of the revenues to go into the committee's treasury.

Fuller Warren, who spoke during the afternoon session, protested against the "discrimination" against Democratic women in filling appointive jobs of the state and county.

He said there should be more recognition given to the women and added they have been "shamefully, disgracefully and almost reprehensively discriminated against."

He said the state board of control, which directs state schools including the Florida State College for Women, should have one or more women among its members.

Supports Cone Stand

He endorsed a previous statement made by former Governor Cone that the state comittee appoint a group to check on state office holders and Florida Congressmen. Warren ended his talk with a tribute to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Democrats Face Decision Today On Negro Voters

Resolutions Body To Urge Separate Polling Places

By JIM MASSEY
Jacksonville Journal Staff Writer

TAMPA, Jan. 21 — The all-important question of whether Florida Democrats will allow negroes to cast ballots in the party's primaries in May was to be decided by the state Democratic executive committee in session here today.

As the committee went into session this morning in the Hillsboro hotel, Judge E. B. Donnell, West Palm Beach, chairman of the Resolutions committee, said the official call for the primary would omit the declaration that the primaries be restricted to white voters only, but would recommend that separate polling places be maintained on May 7 and 23 for white and negro voters.

Two Parties Meet

Judge Donnell said this would be the recommendation of the committee which met yesterday afternoon to formulate the resolutions to be presented today.

The executive committee recessed shortly before noon until this afternoon before adopting the resolution concerning negro voters and six other resolutions to be presented by Judge Donnell's committee.

Democrats and Republicans almost collided head on in meetings here today. As Democrats met in the Hillsboro hotel, Republicans were assembling for a session this afternoon in the nearby Tampa Terrace hotel.

Miles H. Draper, Tampa, who once was the Republican nominee for U. S. Senator, was to preside this afternoon over a meeting of Republicans of the First Congressional district. Judge Allen Walker, Winter Haven, chairman of the GOP Platform committee, was to meet with his committee also. Republican leaders from over the state were to attend, including C. C. Spades, state chairman, St. Augustine, and C. H. McNulty, Melbourne, national committeeman.

Court Ruling Cited

As far as the meeting of the Democratic state committee was concerned, all was to be more or less a formality with the exception of the resolution taking down the bars against negroes voting in the party primary.

In view of decisions by the U. S. and Florida Supreme Courts that negroes are entitled to participate in primary elections, members of the executive committee said this morning they saw no other alternative but to go ahead and adopt the resolution committee's recommendation. The U. S. Supreme Court decision was in a Texas case.

The resolution will call on the various boards of county commissioners, who have charge of the details of holding primary elections, to provide separate polling places for negro voters.

It will further recommend that supervisors of registration prepare duplicate lists of qualified voters so that the separate poling places will have no difficulty or delay in checking the voters, it was said.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ORDER NUMBER

This Clipping from

Atlanta Ga Journal
February 1, 1946

Johnny Herring fell and hu
and Mrs. John G. Herring J
bureau of the Servicemen's
home. Johnny's dog, Jiggs,

Cook and Aides To Hear Appeal On Negro Voting

Four members of the State Legal Department will be present when the case involving the right of a Negro to vote in a Georgia primary is heard by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans February 19.

Attorney General Eugene Cook Friday said a brief would be filed in the case. Cook said that he and three assistants, Claude Shaw, R. A. McGraw and Daniel Duke, would appear at the hearing.

The case originated in Muscogee County several months ago when Primaus E. King, a Columbus Negro, filed suit in U. S. District Court contending that he had been denied the right to vote in the Democratic primary of July 4, 1944.

Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis subsequently rendered a verdict in Macon in favor of King and allowed him damages of $100. An appeal was then taken to the higher court.

Mr. Cook says the state agrees with the statement of facts made by the appellants but disagrees with the conclusions of law arrived at by the Lower Court.

The basic question involved, the attorney general says, is whether or not a primary held by the Democratic primary July 4, 1944, is to be considered an action by the state of Georgia.

"As we view the Georgia law," the brief states, "the primary is not an integral part of the state electoral machinery and neither is the Democratic party an agency of the state for the selection of public officials."

white primary

February 13, 1946

Mr. Grady Farley
1010 Dryades Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Farley:

The State of Georgia is appealing the decision of Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis, of Macon, giving Negroes the right to vote in Georgia primaries. The appeal is to be heard by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans on February 19.

I am sure you will be interested in this case, and I am writing with the thought that you or some of your friends wou d want to be present when the appeal is heard on February 19th.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

white primary

February 13, 1946

Rev. Jerome A. Drolet
St. Matthias Church
3924 General Taylor Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Rev. Drolet:

The State of Georgia is appealing the decision of Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis, of Macon, giving Negroes the right to vote in Georgia primaries. The appeal is to be heard by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans on February 19.

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Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

White primary

February 13, 1946

President A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans 19, New Orleans

Dear Dr. Dent:

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Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

white primary

February 13, 1946

Miss Florence ~~Sykes~~ Sykes
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Miss Sykes:

The State of Georgia is appealing the decision of Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis, of Macon, giving Negroes the right to vote in Georgia primaries. The appeal is to be heard by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans on February 19.

I am sure you will be interested in this case, and I am writing with the thought that you or some of your friends would want to be present when the appeal is heard on February 19th.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

WP

DILLARD UNIVERSITY

NEW ORLEANS 19, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 16, 1946

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

I appreciate your calling to my attention the fact that Judge Davis' decision is being appealed by the state of Georgia in the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals here on February 19th. I must be in Chicago on that date but I am passing the information on to a few of our teachers whom I am sure will want to be present to hear the arguments.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:McA

ous types. For good or ill, they are here to stay. The one world of tomorrow must first pass through a stage of the federation of nation states. . . . In the building of positive nationalism, Palestine can play a vital role. . . . The prophets of Israel were at one and the same time passionate nationalists and ardent universalists" Of that kind of discussion, most sensible people will say, let there be more and more.

* * *

Official Links Liquor And Crime

The idea that there might be some connection between alcohol and crime is one which it is hard to keep from coming up. Charles J. Fleck, chairman of the Illinois liquor control commission, recently called Chicago "one of the worst liquor-controlled cities in the United States" and urged a midnight curfew on saloons. Most brawls, shootings, murders and breakups of homes, he said, "either occur in or emanate from taverns," and most occur "in the small hours of the morning. It is then that sales are made to minors, that individuals no longer masters of themselves draw guns or knives, that controls of normal living no longer hold, that men and women, boys and girls, half befuddled, make contacts which have tragic consequences, and gin-crazed individuals act like beasts." Stricter liquor laws may cause the city to lose some revenue, he said, but the cost in human lives of the present methods is far higher.

* * *

Moody Bible Institute Notes Anniversary

The 60th anniversary of Moody Bible Institute is being celebrated in connection with the annual Founders Week program. Some 50 speakers are here. Confined to bed with a cold, this correspondent tuned in to hear the story of how Henry Parsons Crowell, president of the Quaker Oats company and long president of the board of trustees of Moody, took the institute when it was quite small and having a hard struggle back in 1902 and made it a going enterprise. Crowell left the Presbyterian church when Henry Sloane Coffin was elected moderator of the General Assembly. The story is to be published under the title *Breakfast Table Autocrat* by Richard E. Day.

* * *

And So Forth

Gerald L. K. Smith and Fr. Arthur Terminiello, former priest who calls himself the "Father Coughlin of the south," spoke here Feb. 7 under the auspices of the "Christian Veterans of America." A 1,500-person picket line rioted. There were numerous arrests, each side blaming the other.

Six men and women who have attended the Yale summer school of alcohol studies will present the work of the school and some of the results of the studies at an open conference at the Midland hotel here, March 12 at 7:30 p.m.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

Sponsor Missions on University Campuses

A series of 14 Christian missions will be sponsored on university campuses during the next four months by the Federal Council of Churches and the United Student Christian Council.

Alabama Negroes Prepare to Vote

Prospective Registrants Must, However, Pass Written Test by Local Boards on Meaning of Constitution

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Feb. 4.—For the first time since 1870, Democratic primaries in Alabama are officially opened to qualified Negroes, both as voters and as candidates. At their meeting a few days ago, state Democratic committee members voted with only two dissenting voices to strike the word "white" from the quadrennial resolution calling the party primary. Reporting the meeting, *Alabama* magazine says: "His big frame shaking with emotion, Chairman Gessner McCorvey told his colleagues they had no alternative, in view of the U. S. Supreme Court's 1944 decision in the Texas case outlawing white primaries. Lamented he: 'We have to bow to the law of the land, no matter how much we disagree with the court's decision.'" Now the committee will give its full support to a movement inaugurated by the 1945 legislature to establish a tighter registration setup. It endorsed the Boswell amendment to the state constitution which would require prospective voters to be able to understand and explain any section of the U. S. Constitution to the satisfaction of registration boards. This amendment will be before the voters in November, and party leaders are predicting voter-approval of the plan to "keep the Democratic party in Alabama a white man's party." The state chapter of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and some of the state's union labor leaders are attacking the amendment.

* * *

Negroes Flock To Register

Since the state Democratic committee has opened primary elections to qualified Negro voters, Negroes have been flocking to registration booths. Two days after the action of the state committee more than 30 Negroes appeared before the Mobile county board of registrars seeking to qualify as voters. The applicants were given a written examination testing their ability to read and comprehend the federal Constitution. The chairman of the board has reported that only one of three applicants whose papers have been graded qualified. The test required about an hour and a half, and was given to both white and colored voters who had had little educational training. Several Negro veterans were in the group. Under a 1945 state law veterans are exempt from paying the state poll tax, but must meet registration requirements.

* * *

Urges More Aid for European Jews

Sharply criticizing statements made by Lt. Gen. Sir Frederick Morgan, UNRRA chief for the British zone in Germany, that the Jews coming out of Poland were "well fed" and "rosy-cheeked" and were identified with a plot involving their mass migration to Palestine, Chaplain Judah Nadich of Baltimore, former special adviser on Jewish affairs to General Eisenhower, declared here that American Jews must give more aid to European Jews. The chaplain was addressing 300 delegates to the southeastern regional conference of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. He said the sin would be upon American Jewry if the victims of nazism continue in suffering and want. "I saw hundreds of those Jews enter Bavaria in a desperate effort to reach the American zone," he said. "They were a ragged, penniless, pitiful lot, who needed all the help that the military authorities, UNRRA and the Joint Distribution Committee were able to give them." Chairman Engel of the southeastern regional conference reported that $132,000 was raised in Birmingham for the relief fund last year, and that pre-campaign pledges this year total $172,000.

* * *

Birmingham Catholics Launch Building Program

Roman Catholic Bishop T. J. Toolen of the Mobile diocese has announced an unprecedented postwar building program of $4,255,000 there. According to an Associated Press dispatch, the program is one of the most ambitious ever undertaken by the diocese in its long history; it will extend over three to five years. To build churches and rectories $1,300,000 will be spent. More than one-fourth of the construction already planned is hospitals and schools for Negroes. Bishop Toolen points out that this is a demonstration that "we in the south . . . are solving our own problem and are doing something definite about the situation, whereas some outsiders who have appeared critical of us have been doing nothing but agitate."

* * *

And So Forth

The Southside Baptist Church of this city celebrated its 60th anniversary last Sunday with J. E. Dillard, its pastor for 16 years and now promotion director of the Southern Baptist Convention, as guest speaker.

Congressman John Sparkman of Alabama, new majority whip of the House, recently explained to the local Kiwanis club the American Legion plan of peacetime military training. He said he expects the House military affairs committee, of which he is a member, to report a bill in February that will provide for military training for young men without interference with their education or business careers. He gave assurance that the bill will look out for moral conditions and seek to protect youth in every possible way through safeguards at the training centers.

Alabama conference Methodists, ministers and laymen, met in special session in Montgomery last week to adopt plans to pay a hospital debt of several years' standing.

ACTON E. MIDDLEBROOKS.

Texas Churches Prosper

Finance Building Programs, Announce Gifts to Denominational Schools

WACO, TEX., Feb. 7.—At the annual Methodist ministers' week being held in Dallas, Henry P. Van Dusen is speaking on the Fondren foundation and Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam on the Peyton foundation.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

South Carolina Retains Poll Tax

Legislature Rejects a Former Repeal Resolution; Considers Lifting of Various 'Blue Laws'

DAVIDSON, N. C., Feb. 6.—The South Carolina lower house voted 69 to 40 on Jan. 15 to reject the poll tax repeal resolution which had been passed by the state senate last year. The majority was mostly silent, practically the only speaker against the resolution being Mr. Thomas of Beaufort, a county where Negroes outnumber whites 2 to 1. His argument was simply that abolishing the poll tax would cause many more Negroes to vote in general elections. He begged the house "not to bring about the possibility" of racial trouble "in our low-country counties." Poll tax repeal, he said, would lead to a two-party system in the state. Representatives from the upland counties supported the resolution for repeal. No woman in South Carolina has to pay the poll tax, and it does not apply, of course, to the Democratic primary, which is all-white and in any case decides the election. Little interest is shown in general elections in South Carolina, partly because of the one-party system, but also because jury duty is required only of men who are registered for the general election. Most business men evade the bother of jury duty by simply never registering.

* * *

Ease 'Blue Laws'

"South Carolina has been taken over by the underworld," Governor Ransom told newsmen on Jan. 18; "the liquor interests told me they were out to get the constabulary." Meanwhile the attitude of the state's lower house on social quesions is indicated, perhaps, by (1) its vote on the poll tax, above mentioned; (2) its refusal to appropriate needed funds for the constabulary; (3) a proposal to legalize betting (now under local option); (4) killing a bill banning the sale of wine and beer outside incorporated towns; (5) introducing a bill to permit Sunday baseball, moving pictures and concerts in cities of more than 60,000 (i.e., Charleston, Columbia) after 2 p.m.

* * *

New Baptist Magazine Appears

The first issue of *Christian Frontiers,* a journal of Baptist life and thought, has appeared from Chapel Hill. Its aim is to deal honestly with such subjects as racial tensions, industrial strife, trends in higher education, international relations, the rural church and biblical scholarship. Its sponsors "are under the strong conviction that Baptists, by their nature and mission, confront opportunities for doing much constructive pioneering. . . . *Christian Frontiers* seeks the light of day because of its faith in the genius of the Baptist people to extend into the marginal areas of current life principles that are liberating and enduring." Not a house organ in any sense, this journalistic venture "would be limited in its freedom by nothing save the demands imposed upon it by truth and the Christian spirit."

* * *

Presbyterians Hold First Training Conference

The first of several experimental regional conferences under the department of leadership training of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., open to pastors only, was held at Montreat early in January, ministers from five synods taking part. Seminar topics, with their leaders, included: "Development of Protestant Parochial Schools," by A. W. Dick; "How to Reach New People and Shifting Populations," by James W. Jackson; and "The Strife of Faiths," by Shelton Smith.

* * *

Commute Negro's Sentence

The action of Governor Cherry of North Carolina in commuting to life imprisonment the death sentence of a 14-year-old Negro boy convicted of rape should not convey the impression that the governor is a liberal. His action, however, is perhaps the more impressive since he was elected as a machine candidate, his opponent in the primaries having received most of the liberal vote. Even the most conservative sentiment in the state is behind the governor, and his action in this case has raised no protest anywhere. In commuting the sentence, the governor pointedly raised the question whether the community at large (including the state) had done its full duty by the boy and whether in failing to do so the community should not bear a large share of the blame.

* * *

Duke to Hear Lectures

The Duke University convocation, Feb. 11-13, will gather a distinguished list of speakers. Henry Sloane Coffin gives three lectures on "God's Word for Today." Editor Henry W. Luce speaks on "Ethical Issues Confronting America," Reinhold Niebuhr on "Protestantism and the Future of America," Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam on "The Church and the International Order," Senator James W. Fulbright on "The Role of the United States in the International Order." Hazen G. Werner leads a forum on pastoral counseling, and Harold Cooke Phillips of First Baptist Church, Cleveland, leads the worship.

* * *

And So Forth

North Carolina Baptists showed a membership growth in 1945 of over 23,000, with 39 new churches. Gifts to all benevolent causes increased 18 per cent; to local needs, 35 per cent. The denomination includes two Indian associations in this state, with 39 Indian Baptist churches.

William F. Stinespring, professor of Old Testament at Duke, has been appointed technical adviser to the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine, which will spend 120 days in Europe and Palestine attempting to survey the Jewish problem.

The 7th annual institute of religion at the United Church in Raleigh is being held on successive Monday nights from Jan. 21 through Feb. 25. KENNETH J. FOREMAN.

Discuss Church in The Atomic Age

Alden-Tuthill Lectures Given by Four Leaders in as Many Fields—New President Is Installed

CHICAGO, Feb. 8.—The Chicago Theological Seminary invited T. R. Hogness, Charles E. Merriam, Charles Clayton Morrison and Ernest Fremont Tittle to give the Alden-Tuthill lectures this year at its 15th annual ministers' week. The subject was the church in the atomic age. Professor Hogness, University of Chicago chemist, portrayed the terror of atomic warfare, declared that there is no defense against it and urged cooperation for peace. Professor Merriam, the political scientist, discussed the problems of world government as raised by the release of atomic energy. Dr. Morrison, editor of The Christian Century, declared that the scientist must now turn to the church because the Christian faith alone can show the way to changing the nature of sinful man so that he can live with his fellows in peace. Dr. Tittle discussed the situation confronting the local church in the new age.

* * *

McGiffert Heads Chicago Theological Seminary

Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Jr., was formally installed as the fifth president of the Chicago Theological Seminary on Feb. 4, in a ceremony which brought an overflow crowd to the large chapel at the University of Chicago. President McGiffert comes to this responsibility from the presidency of the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley. He succeeds Albert W. Palmer, who is now radio minister of the First Congregational Church, Los Angeles. The Chicago Theological Seminary is a part of the Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago. In his inaugural address President McGiffert said the seminary would continue to make the training of men for the parish ministry its most important responsibility. This ministry, he said, requires intellectual competence, concern for social welfare and training to meet the needs of people in our kind of society, ability in personal counseling and effectiveness in leading worship. He described the mission of the seminary as appreciation and appropriation of our Christian heritage and bringing it to bear effectively on our "contemporary pagan world."

* * *

Rabbis Hold Friendly Debate on Zionism

A discussion on Zionism that cannot but be productive of good because of the manner in which it is being carried on is that between Rabbis Jacob J. Weinstein and Louis L. Mann. Rabbi Mann, whose Sinai congregation is worshiping in Rabbi Weinstein's K. A. M. Temple until their own new temple can be built, preached a vigorous sermon against Zionism. In complete amity Rabbi Weinstein took exception. "Is it fair to define nationalism as something evil?" he asked. "Nationalisms are of vari-

March 8, 1946

Mr. Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.
Fisk University
Social Science Institute
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lawrence:

Could you tell me how we could reach Dr. Charles S. Johnson by letter or cable? Our Executive Committee wishes to send him a message of best wishes, etc.

I presume you have seen the news stories about the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. Apparently, it is a clear-cut picture for the right of Negroes to take part in Georgia Democratic Primaries not only for the election of federal officials but state officials.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Air Mail - Special

March 5, 1946

Mr. Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.
Fisk University Social Science Institute
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lawrence:

Thank you for your letter which arrived yesterday. Here are some brief comments and some clippings which I hope will answer your questions.

The hearing in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans, which was begun on February 19, is an appeal and a cross appeal. That is, the the Muscogee County Democratic Committee and the State Democratic Party officials in Georgia appealed the decision which Judge Davis rendered at Macon last year, and the original plaintiff, Primus E. King, entered a cross appeal on the ground that the Macon decision had not gone far enough. The clipping from the Macon Telegraph of February 20 is I believe a good summary of the situation. I am watching the New Orleans papers, but so far have seen no announcement of the Court's decision.

As for the recent special election in the Fifth District of Georgia to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Ramspeck, it is quite true that the Negro vote in Atlanta put over the election of Mrs. Helen Mankin. As you will see from the enclosed clipping, one of the voting districts which was almost 100 per cent Negro gave Mrs. Mankin 956 votes and Mr. Camp only 7. There was no pre-election stir made by the people who were promoting Mrs. Mankin's candidacy among the Negro voters. Mrs. Mankin made no speeches and no promises to Negro supporters. However, several Negro leaders worked on the matter quietly and instructed a large number of people on the proper way of marking the ballot. There was some talk that the election would be contested on the grounds of irregularities in the Negro voting, but this was soon dropped. Since Mrs. Mankin was elected to fill an unexpired term, she will be up for a regular term later this year. We are hopeful, of course, that her opposition will not be able to cook up enough support to defeat her. While she is not an extremely liberal person, she was undoubtedly the best in the field of 18 candidates in the special election.

I hope that this material will be of some use to you. If you need any further details, we shall try to dig them up.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

Special Delivery

March 2, 1946

MONTHLY SUMMARY OF
EVENTS AND TRENDS IN
RACE RELATIONS

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

STAFF
PEARL L. WALKER
CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, JR.
RACHEL B. NOEL
ALMA G. FORREST

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We noted in an Associated Negro Press release dated February 13 that the case involving the right of a Negro to vote in a Georgia primary was to be heard by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans on February 19.

We wonder if you could procure a report on the hearing to send to us.

Also, a Negro Press release dated February 20 credited the predominantly Negro third Ward-B as the deciding factor in the election of Mrs. Helen Mankin (who had the endorsement of Negro leaders, and, unofficially, the CIO-PAC) rather than Mr. Thomas L. Camp in the race for State Congressman from Fulton County. Negroes reportedly served as precinct managers and clerks in that ward.

Could you verify for us the importance of the Negro ward in determining the election outcome?

We hope that we may hear from you by March 6 if possible.

Thank you very much for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Charles R. Lawrence, Jr. (per BB)

CRL:dt

Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.

CU P

April 12, 1946

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

Thank you for the Savannah Morning News report of your recent remarks on the subject of suffrage. Your talk was timely and courageous, and I am sure that it will do much good.

With every good wish,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:t

before execution, according to reports received in Budapest. Conversions are believed due largely to Father Karvassy, Franciscan priest, who serves as chaplain to those awaiting trial or execution on war crime charges . . . The **Evangelical Church of Slovakia** has joined the World Council of Churches, bringing to 93 the total of Protestant and Orthodox churches united in this organization.

Education

▲ THE First Methodist Church in Oklahoma City, Okla., has opened a **pre-school center for children of working mothers** as part of a balanced, coordinated program of religious training and activities for all age groups of the church . . . A California court has upheld the **legality of free bus transportation** for students to parochial schools. The court ruled that any benefit incurring to religious or private schools was incidental and "does not prevent the state carrying out its major objective of promoting general education" . . . The Home Missions Council has urged an enlarged Congressional appropriation to meet the **educational needs of the American Indians** . . . The board of trustees of **Wake Forest College** have unanimously approved moving the school to Winston-Salem, N. C., in order that it might receive a gift of $10,750,000 from the Reynolds Foundation. The move was requested by the Foundation before the gift would be granted . . . Chinese colleges and universities are beginning their **long trek back to home campuses** from refugee sites in Free China which they used during the war . . . A special grant has been created by Boston University to unite the University and the Church School of Wesley Church, Worcester, Mass., **in a program of religious education** . . . Opening of a **test school for ex-servicemen** and others who wish to train for the ministry, but who are not qualified educationally or vocationally for admission to the theological colleges, will be proposed as a project for the Episcopal Church in Scotland.

Cooperation

▲ THE Atlanta, Ga., Council of Churchwomen has endorsed Gov. Ellis Arnall's stand in accepting the Negro's right to vote and are **opposing the "white primary,"** urging instead that educational qualifications rather than racial should be the basis for voting . . . **The first Institute on Judaism** held at Temple Emanu-El in New York was attended by 400 Protestant church women who heard rabbis interpret the beliefs, rituals, and traditions of Judaism . . . **President Truman** will address the largest interfaith meeting ever to be held in Michigan when he speaks at the open-air rally in Detroit on June 2 . . . The **Methodist Church Committee on Overseas Relief** has given $10,000 to the United Jewish Appeal. Bishop Welch, presenting the gift said it was a "token of the spirit in which we join with you in the common task of bringing relief to the suffering and hope to the oppressed and despairing" . . . The first **international conference of Christians and Jews** is scheduled for Oxford, England, this summer. About 120 delegates are expected.

Relief Projects

▲ THE American Friends Service Committee last month inserted ads in 18 leading newspapers throughout the country asking for **relief funds to be used in Central Europe.** A similar project four months ago brought over 55,000 replies . . . The Church of the Brethren, appealing for an **increase in relief giving,** has urged church members to set aside 15% of their total farm produce as a donation to the world's needy . . . Proceeds from the showing of the motion picture, "He Restored My Soul," which **pictures devastation in Europe** and the means by which church supported agencies are attempting to alleviate those conditions, will be given to church agencies for continuation of their relief work . . . In the Episcopal Diocese of New York the World Responsibility Committee of the Commission on Christian Social Relations is **urging re-establishment of "Wheatless Days"** as a means of conserving flour for the relief of Europe.

News of the Missions

▲ DR. EMORY ROSS, secretary of the Africa Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, will **leave this month for a tour of Africa** where he will study post-war problems in education, medicine, literacy, and literature supply . . . In announcing adoption of a $4,158,978 budget by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Rev. Dr. John A. Mackay said that an increase was needed over last year's receipts as many **missionaries are returning to their posts to reopen fields abroad.**

In The United States

▲ A NATIONAL Patriot's Shrine is being planned for the **National Cathedral in Washington** . . . The Salvation Army is **launching a nation-wide program** designed to strengthen America's facilities for meeting both material and spiritual needs of the postwar years . . . A Round Table Group in St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, Lyndhurst, N. J. has studied "The Anatomy of Peace" by Emery Reeves as the project of their season's meetings. A vote at the final meeting **urged adoption of World Government** . . . The **Association of Community-Centered Churches** will hold a national convention in Columbus, O., this month . . . American Protestant churches will send **a gift of 50,000 hymnals** to the Church of Christ in Japan . . . A poll conducted by the **Minneapolis Star-Journal** reveals that Minnesotans **rate their churches first in public service.** Radio stations were rated second, schools third, newspapers fourth, and local government last . . . Annual report of the **Planned Parenthood Federation** shows that 583 clinics and services are at work throughout the United States. Not all centers report classification of patients to religion, but in those so reporting it was found that 53% of the patients were Protestant, 18% were Jewish, 27% were Catholic.

Names in the News

▲ DR. CARLYLE ADAMS has been appointed full time editor of **The Presbyterian Tribune,** monthly, and **The Church Times,**

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Jacksonville, Fla.
Times Union
6-6-46

NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY HEAD—Joe Hill Williams, of Lake Butler, newly elected chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, is congratulated by Mrs. Louise McGregor of DeLand, vice chairman of the retiring group and presiding officer at yesterday's reorganization meeting, as he takes his seat as the party's new head.

Party Group Seeks White Primary Law

State Democratic Committee Names Lake Butler Man to Chairmanship

New leaders for Florida's Democratic Party were selected yesterday at a day-long reorganization session of the State Executive Committee which was featured by an appeal to the State Legislature to "repeal laws which prevent the Democratic Party from remaining an exclusively white party."

The resolution, which was introduced by William Albury of Monroe County, chairman of the organization's resolution committee, also instructed the group's legislative committee to "work with the Legislature of the State of Florida and the Bar Association" in passing such law or laws that might be needed to authorize white primaries in this State.

The party took cognizance of the U. S. Supreme Court decisions holding that the party cannot bar any person from participating in a State financed and conducted primary election by offering "to call and hold white Democratic primaries for the nomination of the candidates for office fo the Democratic Party." Such action would be taken, the resolution set forth, "if the Legislature sees fit to pass legislation by which the Democratic Party would be permitted to control its own affairs."

New officers of the committee named yesterday included Joe Hill Williams, of Lake Butler, chairman, Mrs. Lucille C. Tally, of Tavares, vice chairman, and Irvin Walden, of Sarasota, secretary-treasurer. Under the terms of another resolution adopted by the committee, the new leaders will hold office for only two years, instead of the former four-year term.

Williams was elected by a vote of 56 to 42 over Judge E. B. Donnell of West Palm Beach, his only opponent, while Mrs. Tally defeated Mrs. Myrtle G. Brown, of Lake City for the vice chairmanship by a 60 to 35 count. Walden, the incumbent secretary-treasurer, was re-elected to his post by a 77 to 15 vote over Floyd Land of Orlando.

The committee also recognized the importance of the party's women's division by voting to make available a drawing account of $1,000 per year for the vice chairman, to be used in directing the work of her division. The proposal was made by Mrs. Helen H. Barrs, of Jacksonville, and unanimously adopted.

Yesterday's committee session was opened with an address of welcome by Mayor C. Frank Whitehead, and during the day many brief talks were made by State officials and others in attendance at the meeting. These speakers included former Gov. Fred P. Cone, J. M. Lee, State Comptroller; former Congressman R. A. (Lex) Green, Mrs. Hortense Wells, former National committeewoman, Mrs. Neil Alford, incumbent National committeewoman, Senator S. D. Clarke, of Monticello, president-designate of the State Senate and Senator John E. Mathews of Jacksonville.

Mrs. Louise McGregor, of DeLand, vice chairman of the retiring committee, presided at the opening of yesterday's session and relinquished her chair to Williams following his election at the morning session. She was not a candidate for re-election to her post.

The committee adopted only three resolutions during its session here, the third one directing its chairman within 30 days following his election to appoint a campaign committee of six members to conduct the party's general election campaign.

The committee meeting was held in the banquet hall of the George Washington Hotel.

White Primary

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. George Hatcher, The Atlanta Journal

From: Guy B. Johnson

Date: July 1, 1946

Today we are witnessing in the South the greatest political upheaval since Reconstruction days. The white primary question is the burning political issue now. The Supreme Court decision in the Texas case of Smith v. Allwright in 1944 brought this whole question into the limelight. The Supreme Court clearly recognized that the primary is an integral part of the election machinery and that nomination in the Democratic primaries in the South is equivalent to election. It also said that where any party which is recognized or regulated in any way by state law holds a primary which discriminates against Negroes, then the party is guilty of violating the United States Constitution.

What is the effect of this Supreme Court decision? Here is a brief factual survey. In certain states, such as Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Virginia, and North Carolina the Supreme Court decision in Smith v. Allwright made very little difference. This is true because in these states the white primary was no longer of much significance. Negroes had been voting more or less in white primaries in all of these states for many years. Of course there were occasional cases where local party officials or registrars tried to keep Negroes out, but the general trend was that the white primary was breaking down.

In the other states, the results have been quite varied. In South Carolina, for example, the legislature was called into special session and was stampeded into repealing every statute regulating the conduct of primaries in South Carolina. The purpose of this, of course, was to enable the Democratic Party to say that there is no state action on the subject of primaries and ~~so we have~~ that it has the right as a purely private political association to behave exactly as we please. Incidentally, many South Carolinians are realizing by this time that the repeal of the primary laws has put the political situation into a real mess. Since Negroes have been denied a chance to register as regular Democrats, they found the Progressive Democratic Party and they are building up quite a political machine. However, the Negroes are still trying to crack

the regular Democratic primary, ~~and they found~~ on the ground that even though there is not any state law regulating the primary, the Federal Constitution would cover the right of Negroes to participate in such primaries. The Negroes in South Carolina are going to make a test on this point. Legal opinion varies as to the probable decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in a case where there is no state action involved, but many people believe that eventually the Supreme Court will interpret the Federal Constitution to cover such a situation. It might also be pointed out here that in the absence of state regulation of primaries, as is the case now in South Carolina, the way is open for all sorts of graft, corruption, and fraud in the conduct of primary elections. The people of South Carolina are beginning to have a real headache over this situation. The Richland County Democratic Committee has recently passed a resolution asking the State Democratic Committee to admit qualified Negroes to Democratic primaries.

In Florida, there was general compliance with the Supreme Court decision, and Negroes took part in the primaries which were held recently in Florida. However, the State Democratic Executive Committee, meeting in Jacksonville on the fifth of June, 1946, passed a resolution in favor of requesting the state legislature to repeal the primary laws of Florida. In other words, there is some sentiment in Florida in favor of following the lead of South Carolina. However, it is our belief and prediction that the Florida legislature will not repeal the primary laws.

In Georgia, there has been a very interesting development since the decision in the Texas case. Governor Arnall took the position that it was clear that the Texas decision applied to Georgia. A court case was brought by a Columbus Negro, Primus King, who was refused the right to vote in a Democratic primary in 1945. The Federal court at Macon decided in favor of the Negro. The Muscogee County Democratic Committee, assisted by state officials, appealed the decision to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans on March 6, 1946. This Court upheld the decision of the Federal District Court at Macon. Thus, Georgia had a clearcut Federal Court decision saying that Negroes could not be barred from Democratic primaries in Georgia. Governor Arnall accepted this situation and stated that he would do his best to see that the rights of Negroes were protected. The fact that the poll tax had also been abolished in Georgia opened the way for a great increase in registration, not only of Negroes but of whites. Georgians are showing more interest in politics than they ever have before. There are nearly one million registered voters in the state, of whom about one-seventh are colored.

In Alabama, there has been only partial compliance with the Supreme Court decision. Many local registrars have managed, in one way or another, to keep Negroes from registering as Democrats in large numbers. Also, an amendment to the State Constitution has been proposed and will be voted on this

fall. It is known as the Boswell Amendment and it would provide certain educational qualifications which must be met before a person is permitted to register. It is frankly aimed at reducing the number of Negroes who can qualify, and there is going to be an interesting fight over this amendment. In the meantime, however, the Democratic gubernatorial primary has been held, and "Big Jim" Folsom, a man who seems to be liberal in his views, has been nominated on the Democratic ticket. If Folsom gets rid of the poll tax in Alabama and throws his weight against the adoption of the Boswell Amendment, then we may expect to see Negro participation in the Democratic primaries in Alabama to the same extent as Georgia.

In Mississippi, there has been very little dent made in the traditional white primary. A few Negroes have been permitted to register here and there, but the real showdown has not yet come.

In Louisiana, the picture is somewhat mixed, In many places Negroes are not permitted to register as Democrats, although in the New Orleans area there is considerable participation in the primaries by Negroes.

In Arkansas, there was at first pretty fair compliance with the Supreme Court decision, and Negroes voted in considerable numbers in the 1945 elections. However, Arkansas, during the present year, has taken steps to evade the full consequences of the Supreme Court decision. It has separated its primaries into state and local, on the one hand, and federal on the other. In other words, a person might be permitted to register as a Democrat for purposes of voting for federal officers, but might be barred from registering as a Democrat for purposes of voting for state and local officers. That is exactly what Arkansas hopes to do with regard to the Negro vote. Her move is based on the assumption that the Supreme Court decisions apply only to elections involving Congressmen and Senators. Our own opinion is that this arrangement will not stand up. There seems to be enough in Federal Court decisions already to make it clear that the Federal Constitution applies not only to elections for national officers but also to state officers.

In Texas, which we should have mentioned first of all, perhaps, there has been very good compliance with the Supreme Court decision in the Smith v. Allwright case which originated in Texas. We do not know how many Negroes have registered in Texas as Democrats, but the number is said to be around 100,000.

At present there are two very hot political campaigns which involve the question of the white primary. One of these is in Mississippi, where Senator Bilbo is campaigning for re-election. Bilbo is using some of the most vicious anti-Negro propaganda which he has ever used in his long career. The outcome of this race for re-election to the United States Senate is being watched with the greatest interest. In Georgia, the gubernatorial campaign involving two former governors, Eugene Talmadge and E. D. Rivers, along with a newcomer to Georgia politics, James V. Carmichael, is

developing into a showdown fight over the question of the white primary. Eugene Talmadge says that all of the platforms are alike except for his main plank, namely, the restoration of the white primary. He advocates following the course of South Carolina, that is, repealing all of the white primary laws, because he thinks that this will solve the primary problem and as he says, "Keep Georgia a white man's state."

Since Talmadge has injected the white primary issue into the present gubernatorial campaign in Georgia, the campaign has become the first real test of the way in which mass voting will line up on the question of following the Supreme Court decision. Can Talmadge get enough people to believe his talk about Negro domination and the abolition of all forms of segregation to put him in the Governor's chair again? If so, the cause of progress and good government will receive a great setback, not only in Georgia but elsewhere in the South. The eyes of the nation will be on Georgia when the people vote to choose their candidate for governor on July 17. Many observers believe that the race is really between Talmadge and Carmichael, and that if there is any run-off primary, it will be between these two men. Others point out that there is a distinct possibility that the presence of former Governor E. D. Rivers in the race may so split up the anti-Talmadge vote that Talmadge will have a good chance to come back. At any rate, the voters of Georgia have a clear challenge confronting them: Talmadge-ism vs. the continuation of the progressive policies of Governor Ellis Arnall.

Now let me discuss a few common misconceptions surrounding this whole question of Negro voting:

1. Many people feel that the Negroes will swamp the white people. It is well to bear in mind that there is no longer any ~~South~~ State in the South which has a Negro majority. I know that a great many white people believe that several states have Negro majorities, but this simply is not true. There are quite a few counties, especially in the deep South and in the Mississippi Delta, where Negroes outnumber whites. It is quite true that if Negroes registered up to their full strength and used it, they could elect local officials and representatives to the state legislature from such counties. However, in those states where Negroes have been voting as they pleased for many years, such as North Carolina and Virginia, there has never been any serious effort made by Negroes to control political offices. There have been ~~a~~ a few candidates for city councils, but so far only one such Negro has been elected.* The truth seems to be that Negroes, like a great many white people, are not greatly interested in politics, and that as long as they can get a fair deal from white officials, they are not going to be much inclined to try to

even in counties having Negro majorities,

* Sewanee, Tennessee

elect officials of their own race.

2. Another common misconception is that Negroes will tend to vote as a block. There have been one or two instances where Negroes tended to vote as a block in a particular precinct, but these are far outweighed by the general fact that Negroes have tended to divide their vote in very much the same way that the white people do. Take the present Georgia gubernatorial campaign for example. It is well known that the Negro vote is going to split between Carmichael and Rivers. Even Gene Talmadge is going to get a few Negro votes!

3. It is claimed by people like Talmadge and Bilbo that if Negroes are permitted to participate freely in politics, they will soon turn the whole social order upside down in the South. This is absurd, of course, in view of points 1 and 2 above. It is also ridiculous from the standpoint of the common sense realities of race relations and politics in the South. Since Negroes do not have a majority in any state and since they have a majority in only a limited number of counties in the South, there are certain limits to the sort of reforms or changes which they can bring about by their vote alone. I think that Negroes will learn a very wholesome lesson, namely, that in order to get the sort of policies and changes which they want, they have to line up sufficient white friends to vote with them.

I believe that the South is now at a crucial point in politics and race relations. If we listen to people like Talmadge and Bilbo, we are in for a period of greater confusion, demagoguery, and race conflict than we have had in many a year. If we really want to go forward, we must settle this question of the Negro's right to vote in the only way that it can really be settled. That is, we must acknowledge his right to vote and see that that right is protected. This will bring certain problems, of course, but they will be nothing compared to the conflicts which will face us if we try to prevent qualified people from voting in the primaries simply because they are colored.

My own views on this question of the white primary are expressed in an editorial which I wrote two years ago and which is reprinted on pages 1 and 2 of the enclosed leaflet. The official stand of the Southern Regional Council with regard to the white primary and the injection of the race issue into politics is stated in two resolutions which are reprinted in the same leaflet on pages 3 and 4.

Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 Auburn Ave. $

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

July 6/46

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

MR. TOM CLARK
U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL
DEPT. OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON D.C.

IN AT LEAST TWENTY GEORGIA COUNTIES THERE IS SYSTEMATIC CHALLENGING OF NEGROES WHO HAVE REGISTERED TO VOTE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY. THIS MOVE IS BACKED BY ONE OF THE CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR WHO HAS OPENLY AVOWED HIS INTENTION OF TRYING TO PREVENT NEGROES FROM VOTING. IN ONE COUNTY TWO MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE TO HEAR THE CHALLENGES HAVE RESIGNED IN DISGUST. AS DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, WHICH IS A NON*PARTISAN ORGANIZATION INTERESTED IN CIVIL RIGHTS, I URGE YOU TO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT CONCERNING THIS SITUATION AND TO TAKE AS STRONG ACTION AS POSSIBLE TO PROTECT THE RIGHT OF QUALIFIED CITIZENS TO VOTE.

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

White primary

July 10, 1946

Mr. John T. Cowart
United States District Attorney
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cowart:

I am sure that all fair-minded people in Georgia will applaud the statement which you made to the press yesterday concerning your intention to discover and prosecute violators of the Civil Rights Section of the Federal Code with respect to the right of suffrage.

As the Director of the Southern Regional Council, a South-wide, non-partisan organization, composed of members of both races, I have felt a good deal of concern recently over the obviously unfair methods which are being used by certain persons to eliminate the names of Negroes from the voting lists. I sent a telegram expressing this concern to the United States Attorney General last Saturday. It is good to know that a large number of citizens have registered their protest against the unfair methods which are being used to deprive qualified Negroes of their right to vote in the Democratic Primary.

I am sure that your public statement will act as a wholesome antidote to the tactics of those persons who are trying their best to subvert the civil rights of a large segment of Georgia citizens.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

White Primary

July 11, 1946

Mr. Neil Andrews
U. S. District Attorney
Old Post Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Andrews:

Last Saturday night I sent the following telegram to Mr. Tom Clark, United States Attorney General:

> "In at least twenty Georgia Counties there is systematic challenging of Negroes who have registered to vote in the Democratic Primary. This move is backed by one of the candidates for Governor, who has openly avowed his intention of trying to prevent Negroes from voting. In one County two members of the Committee to hear the challenges have resigned in disgust. As Director of the Southern Regional Council, which is a non-partisan organization interested in civil rights, I urge you to make a public statement concerning this situation and to take as strong action as possible to protect the right of qualified citizens to vote."

I was glad to see in the Sunday newspapers that a number of citizens of Georgia had registered protest with the Department of Justice against the unfair practices which are now being used to eliminate Negroes from the voting list. I was also glad to see the statement made yesterday by Mr. John T. Cowart, United States District Attorney for the Middle District of Georgia.

As a non-partisan agency, we take no direct part in political campaigns, but we are concerned with the protection of the civil rights of all citizens, regardless of race or creed, and we wish to offer you our cooperation in your efforts to enforce the provisions of the Federal Constitution and Federals Statutes concerning civil rights.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Anti-white Primary

September 27, 1946

Mr. Arthur S. Link
School of Public and International Affairs
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Link:

Thanks for your letter of September 24. I am sorry that I was so much on the run at Chapel Hill that I did not get to see you again.

We have some material on the Negro and Southern Politics and we are sending this under separate cover, along with a few other SRC publications that you might be interested in.

Professor William Carleton, Department of History, University of Florida, has written some special articles on Southern politics, and I am sure that he would be glad to send you reprints.

The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, which was set up under the wing of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1940, has had an office at 127 B Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. However, the Committee has recently been absorbed by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and my impression is that they closed the Washington office. At any rate, it might be wise to write to their new headquarters at 808 Perdido Street New Orleans, and ask them for copies of their anti-poll tax material.

The Southern Electoral Reform League operated for several years with headquarters here in Atlanta, but I believe it is not active now. The man who served as secretary of it is Mr. Frank McCallister, who is a very able and liberal person. He is now director of the Georgia Workers Education Service, and the address is 353 Courtland Street, N. E. He might be able to give you copies of the leaflets which were published by the Southern Electoral Reform League.

Professor Luther Jackson, Virginia State College, Petersburg, has made several studies of the poll tax in Virginia, and you would certainly want to get hold of them.

We absorbed the Interracial Commission so you can strike it off your list. During 1944-45 we continued to publish The Southern Frontier, which the Commission started, but in January, 1946, we changed the name to New South. You will notice that some of the material we are sending you is in The Southern Frontier and some in New South.

I hope that the literature and these comments will be of some help to you. If there is anything else we can do, just let us know. With very best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

September 24, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
SEP 26 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am sorry that I did not get to see you more than I did when I was in Chapel Hill. Somehow you seemed to have disappeared into thin air after our first meeting and when I turned around to look for you you were not to be found.

I am writing specifically to ask if you or your staff might not be able to give us some help. I am directing in the School of Public Affairs this fall a Conference on the Negro and Southern Politics and am anxious to obtain as much pamphlet and other recently published material on the question as I possibly can. What we are interested in specifically is the whole question of the Negro's participation in southern political life, not only his participation of course but usually his failure to participate, and the reasons therefor. If, therefore, you have any materials on the white primary, or the poll tax, or any other thing pertaining to the subject, I would greatly appreciate it if you could send me a list of such publications. Perhaps it would also be a good idea to include any other materials relating even indirectly to the subject.

Incidentally could you possibly tell me the official name and address of the Anti-Poll Tax League? I have looked high and wide for it but can't seem to find it and I know that they publish a good many pamphlets on the poll tax question.

I am writing also to the NAACP, the National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination and the American Civil Liberties Union, to see what material they might have. Do you know of any other agencies or organizations to which I should write? How about the Southern Inter-Racial Commission? Is it still functioning and does it still publish its usual literature? Thank you very much for any help that you might be able to give us in this matter.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Arthur

Arthur S. Link
Conference Director

December 4, 1946

Mr. William D. Rogers
411 Cuyler Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Rogers:

We have received your letter of November 22 after some delay. Our present address is 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., instead of 710 Standard Building.

Attached is a list of the most important federal court cases on the white primary. There is one other case which should be included, namely, U.S. v. Classic. I am sorry that I am not able to lay hands on the exact citation, but I am sure you can find it without much trouble. It was a Louisiana case, and was decided in April 1941.

If you are not familiar with Charles S. Mangum's book, The Legal Status of the Negro, I suggest that you consult it. There you will find discussions of the major laws and court decisions up to the time the book was published in 1940.

To the best of my knowledge, there has never been any modification of the Supreme Court's stand on the Grandfather Clauses. As for the cases relevant to economic, property, and educational requirements in the state constitutions which are now being drafted, I am sorry to say that I do not have sufficient information available to be able to give you anything worthwhile. Of course the Boswell Amendment, which was passed in Alabama recently, gives election registrars a great deal of power. This amendment is a deliberate effort to keep Negroes from voting in the primaries. I recently sent some clippings on this subject to a couple of your colleagues at Princeton. I am sure that they will be glad to share the use of the clippings with you. In the Mangum book you will find some material on the property and educational requirements for voting.

I hope that this information will be useful to you. If we can be of further service, please let us know.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:mp

LEADING FEDERAL COURT CASES ON THE WHITE PRIMARY

Nixon v. Herndon, 273 U.S. 536, 47 Sup. Ct. 446 (1927)

Nixon v. Condon, 226 U.S. 73, 52 Sup. Ct. 484 (1932)

Grovey v. Townsend, 295 U.S. 45, 55 Sup. Ct. 622 (1935)

Lane v. Wilson, 59 Sup. Ct. 872 (U.S. 1939)

Smith v. Allwright, 321 U.S. 649, 64 Sup. Ct. 757 (1943)

King v. Chapman, 154 Fed (2d) Reporter 460 (1946)

U.S. v. Classic a La. Case, 1941

411 Cuyler Hall

Princeton University

Princeton, New Jersey

November 22, 1946

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1946
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

710 Standard Building

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I would like to enlist your aid in gathering material for my paper on "Federal Courts and Negro Suffrage". Could you send me a list of the important cases which the Supreme Court has decided that have relevance to this subject?

More specifically, what are the important cases which have bearing on the primaries in the southern states?

Has there ever been a case in any federal court on the poll tax? I relize that the decision would have been that there was no jurisdiction to decide the matter but I would like to know the name and number of the case if such exists.

Is there any modification of the stand the Supreme Court took on the Grandfather Clauses in Guinn vs. United States?

And most difficult for me to find were cases relevant to the economic, property, and educational requirements in the state consitutions now being drafted. Would you please send me the names of some cases deqling with this subject.

I would appreciate any help at all in this matter. All I need is the name of the cases; this will leave the digesting of them to me. Also, only federal court cases have relevance to my problem. Thank you again for any assistance in this work.

Yours very sincerely,

William D. Rogers

William D. Rogers
411 Cuyler Hall
Princeton, New Jersey

FOR RELEASE - December 24, 1946

RECEIVED
DEC 26 1946
Southern Regional Council

U.S. COURT IN ALABAMA
DENIES DISCRIMINATION
VS. NEGROES IN PRIMARY

December 23, 1946

Birmingham, Ala., Dec 18th--In a crowded court room today, Judge Charles Kennamer of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Alabama dismissed the suit of William Mitchell against Mrs. George Wright and Virgil Guthrie, registrars of voters in Macon County, on the grounds that no discrimination against the plaintiff, Mitchell, had been shown by the evidence.

In a pre-trial hearing, the Judge ruled against the class-action feature of the plaintiff suit. Today, on the trial, he indicated that discrimination against Negroes generally by defendants had been shown by the evidence, and stated that if this were a class action, he would have ruled for the plaintiff, but the evidence failed to show any discrimination against Mitchell as an individual.

All of the registration rolls and application blanks of Macon County from 1942 through 1945 had been subpoenaed by the plaintiff. It was demonstrated that, while Macon County had a population of 27,650, of which 22,000 were Negroes, less than 2 per cent of the Negroes had been registered, while over 47 per cent of the white voters had been registered during the registration period, in July, 1945, on which this suit was based.

Ninety-three Negroes and seven whites presented themselves to the registrars and were registered forthwith. Ten Negroes were registered, twenty-three failed outright, and application blanks for the remaining sixty who attempted to vote were certified as qualified by Mrs. Wright, the chairman of the registration board. The defendants failed to place these sixty Negroes on the registration roll, however, giving as an excuse the fact that they had failed to produce the necessary persons to vouch for themselves. Actually, evidence was produced to indicate that vouchers for some of these applicants had presented themselves to the board, but were not permitted to vouch for the Negro applicants. The evidence also showed that <u>any one</u> was permitted to vouch for a white applicant, although the registration board insisted that all Negroes know the person who vouched for them.

One white witness stated that he had merely given the names of several persons to the registration board who could vouch for him, although he never consulted these people about it and had no idea which of the persons had signed his form in the registration office.

As counsel, the defense had the services of E. C. Boswell, the author of the infamous Boswell Amendment to the Alabama Constitution, which was passed on in November, 1946, by the voters of Alabama. It requires applicants for registration to be able not only to read and write any section of the Federal Constitution, but be able to understand and interpret any section to the satisfaction of the registrar--a subtle method of disqualifying otherwise qualified Negro voters.

~~(Continued)~~

February 1, 1947

Senator Everett Millican
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Senator Millican:

I am glad that you are a member of the Senate Special Committee on Judiciary, which is considering the "white primary" bill, for I am sure that you will do all that you can to oppose the passage of this iniquitous legislation. Georgia seems to be trying hard to set the clock back twenty-five years and earn the ridicule of the rest of the nation. You and all of the others who have stood firm against all of the offenses against democracy and constitutional government that have been committed lately deserve the eternal gratitude of all right-thinking Georgians.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-political organization dedicated to the cause of a better South, including justice and understanding between the races. While it does not agitate for or against legislation, it has taken an official stand against the "white primary" because it believes that such an arrangement is a clear violation of the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the Supreme Court. The Council numbers among its members many of the outstanding churchmen, educators, business men, and civic leaders of both races in the South.

Enclosed are some materials for your information. They include a brief memorandum on the "white primary" question in other states, a brief analysis of the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Smith v. Allwright, a copy of the Council's resolution on the "white primary," the resolution of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation (affiliated with us), an article by the man who helped to organize South Carolina Negroes into a Progressive Democratic Party when South Carolina repealed its primary laws, an article by a white South Carolinian which is an excellent statement of the moral and practical issues, and several miscellaneous items.

We have been doing what we can to line up people from all over the State to attend the hearings next week and express their views on the proposed bill. Perhaps the battle is absolutely hopeless, but one <u>must</u> keep on fighting!

I was born and raised in Texas. Before coming to Georgia three years ago, I taught for nearly twenty years at the University of North Carolina. Naturally I cannot help seeing certain contrasts between Georgia and North Carolina in politics, social progress, and race relations. North Carolina has almost a million Negroes --Georgia has a little more than a million. Georgia is a bigger state and, as far as I can see, has just as good potentialities for economic development as North Carolina --perhaps better-- yet it seems to want to do the very things which will hold it down and keep it from realizing its possibilities. North Carolina has not had a demagogue as governor or congressman since Reconstruction days. The Negro has not been made a political issue since about 1900, and the educational system has never been a political football. After some minor flurries over the "white primary" in the 1920's, things quieted down under wise leadership, with the understanding that qualified Negroes should be allowed to become Democrats. There was no great agitation one way or the other, no sudden great spurt of Negro voting to scare the whites. Today the Negro as a participant in Democratic primaries is accepted, and political conditions are healthier because of his interest.

From such reflections I conclude that political leadership and ideas make the difference between the two states. A small political gang in Georgia has hypnotized a lot of people into believing they were threatened with a dread disease ("Negro domination") and then has sold them a quack prescription ("white supremacy" and "white primary") to cure their imaginary ailment. It is not just a political problem, but also a moral problem, and we are not going to have peace and progress in Georgia until we solve it.

It has seemed obvious to many Southerners for a long time now

1. That we can't rig the game against Negroes without endangering the rights of all people and fouling up the operation of normal democratic processes;
2. That inevitably the Negro is going to have the right to vote as he pleases; and
3. That the only sensible thing to do is to take him into the Democratic Party, help him, guide him, and make him want to vote <u>with</u> us because of our common interests in good government rather than <u>against</u> us because he had to win the right to vote over our bitter opposition.

Again let me express appreciation for what you have done in this current Battle of Georgia. If we can be of help, we are at your service.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

A MEMORANDUM ON THE STATUS OF THE WHITE PRIMARY QUESTION IN VARIOUS SOUTHERN STATES:

TEXAS

In Texas, the State in which most of the important Supreme Court cases on the White Primary originated, there has not been any concerted effort to evade the consequences of the Supreme Court decision in the case of Smith v. Allwright. It is estimated that between 50- and 75,000 Negroes took part in the Texas Democratic primaries last year. There have been occasional suggestions that Texas change its statutes so that the primaries will be removed from all statutory recognition and regulation, but so far this movement has not gained much ground.

ARKANSAS

In Arkansas there was, at first, a pretty good compliance with the Supreme Court decision and Negroes voted in considerable numbers in the 1945 elections. In 1946, however, Arkansas took steps to evade the full consequences of the Supreme Court decision. It separated its primaries into State and local on one hand and Federal on the other, and requires voters to register separately for these primaries. This move is based on the assumption that the Supreme Court decisions apply only to elections involving Federal officers, This is, of course, a very doubtful assumption, in view of the various Federal court decisions.

LOUISIANA

There has not been much agitation on the White Primary question in Louisiana. In many places Negroes are not permitted to register as Democrats, although in the New Orleans area there is considerable participation in the primaries by Negroes.

MISSISSIPPI

In Mississippi there has been a long tradition that practically no Negroes have been permitted to register as Democrats. This tradition, plus the anti-Negro agitation during the Bilbo campaign last year, held the Negro Democratic vote down to a few hundred people. Suggestions have been offered that Mississippi follow the South Carolina plan of divorcing primaries from State control, but so far there has not been any definite movement toward this end. Since Negroes comprise 49% of the population of Mississippi, it is probable that the white people will think twice before doing anything which may drive the Negro voters into a Negro Party, which could, if it really tried, out-vote the whites in many Mississippi counties.

ALABAMA

Alabama has chosen to work out its problem in another way. The Boswell Amendment, which was passed at the general election last November, gives extraordinary powers to the County Board of Registrars in deciding who shall be eligible to vote. The main provision of this amendment is that the person who applies for registration must be able "to understand and explain" any section of the Federal Constitution. If the Registrars are not satisfied, they can refuse him the right to register and there is no appeal. Of course, this provision can be - and probably will be - administered in such a way as to prevent practically all Negroes from registering as Democrats. However, it is not nearly as pernicious an arrangement as the arrangement adopted in South Carolina and which seems about to be adopted in Georgia.

FLORIDA

In Florida there was general compliance with the Supreme Court decision and Negroes took part in the primaries in Florida in 1946. However, the State Democratic Executive Committee, meeting in Jacksonville on June 5, 1946, passed a resolution in favor of requesting the State Legislature to repeal the primary laws of Florida. A great deal of opposition to this move has developed in the newspapers and in various organized groups in Florida. The main proponent of the repeal move is Sen. Matthews of Duval County. It remains to be seen how much support Sen. Matthews can get for his proposal. The Florida Legislature meets in April. It is currently rumored that Sen. Matthews is working out a "deal", whereby he will get the support of the counties in north and west Florida in return for his support of their move to change the marriage laws so that these counties can compete with the south ~~Florida~~ Georgia counties.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Shortly after the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the case of Smith v. Allwright the South Carolina Legislature was called into special session. The Legislature repealed every statute regulating the conduct of primaries in South Carolina. One immediate result of this was the organization of the Progressive Democratic Party by Negroes in that State. The exact strength of this Party is not known but it is steadily growing and, of course, it could out-vote the white voters in practically all of the low country counties if it ever reaches the point that it can consolidate the Negro vote. Many South Carolinians feel that they have got themselves into a real mess. The Richland County Democratic Committee passed a resolution in the spring of 1946, asking the State Democratic Executive Committee to admit qualified Negroes to Democratic Primaries. Many legal experts are of the opinion that the South Carolina arrangement will not stand up before the U. S. Supreme Court. The legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been studying the matter thoroughly for many months and, just this week, they have announced that they have found what they considered to be real loopholes

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MADE IN U.S.A.

SOUTH CAROLINA (continued)

in the South Carolina situation and that they are proceeding to file a test case in the near future.

OTHER SOUTHERN STATES

In other states, particularly Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Virginia, and North Carolina, the Supreme Court decision in Smith v. Allwright made very little difference. In these states the White Primary was no longer of much significance - Negroes had been voting, more or less, in all the primaries in these states for many years. Of course, there have been occasional cases where local party officials or registrars tried to keep Negroes out, but the general trend was toward the admission of qualified Negroes to the Democratic Primaries.

A NOTE ON NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina settled this question so sensibly that Georgia might do well to look to that State for an example. North Carolina has almost as many Negroes as Georgia and the proportion of Negroes in its population - 24.7% - is not a great deal lower than the proportion of Negroes in Georgia's population - 34.7%. The question of the Negro vote has not been a subject of agitation in North Carolina since about 1900. Of course, for many years the number of Negro voters was held to a minimum by custom and various other devices, including the poll tax. The poll tax was repealed about twenty-five years ago. Gradually, the interest of Negroes in the ballot increased and, during the days of the New Deal, it increased very noticeably. With wise leadership in both races, many Negroes were permitted to register as Democrats, with the result that in the last few Presidential elections from 40,000 to 60,000 of them have voted in North Carolina. There has been no friction and no charge that the Negroes vote as a bloc. This is the sort of situation that seems to develop when the Negro voter is allowed to vote as he pleases. He becomes an ally rather than a threat to good government.

GEORGIA'S CRISIS

By DON WEST

(From a radio speech over WATL, Atlanta, Feb. 5, 1947)

Fellow Georgians:

I speak to you as one of many thousands who have been stirred by the startling recent developments in our state. I am moved to speak up as a native Georgian who realizes that these are times when no public spirited citizen can afford to keep quiet.

We have witnessed recently, and are witnessing, no ordinary squabble of politicians, no ordinary stealing of an election in our state. And although Georgia has become the brunt of many radio and stage jokes, what is happening here is certainly no joking matter. The next few days may determine whether our great state will continue onward along the road of progress it has begun to travel under the leadership of former Governor Ellis Arnall or whether it will become the first spot in which the creeping disease of fascism takes its roots and begins to spread.

JUST WHAT HAS HAPPENED?

First, may we ask, just what has happened to us in Georgia? Simply this: in the recent period we have witnessed an attempted nazi-like seizure of power in our state by the Talmadge forces. In 1932 I was a student traveling in Europe and I heard Hitler make a speech one day. The similarity of Hitler's program and what is now being advocated for Georgia by the Talmadge-Harris forces causes me to shiver with cold fear for the future of Georgia. Not only does this concern Georgians, but every freedom-loving citizen in the entire United States.

Hitler's speeches in 1932 put forth the same ideas against the Jews as the Talmadge-Roy Harris machine now puts forth against the Negro people in Georgia. Because I do not want to see my state and my people end up in the same manner as Germany, I urge that you think soberly and act with both wisdom and speed to prevent it.

Neither Hitler nor Talmadge had a majority of votes. Both used thugs and force to take power away from the people. Both used prejudice and hatred to split in order to divide and conquer. What has actually happened in Georgia is an attempted nazi-like putsch or seizure of power by force. I want to warn you, my fellow-Georgians, that unless we alert ourselves to the tremendous importance of what goes on, we too, will be the victims of an open fascist dictatorship!

THE FASCIST NATURE OF WHITE PRIMARY

Already we see the fruits of this attempted dictatorial seizure of power in the proposed white primary bill, a nazi tactic to maintain power by those who illegally claim it. The result of this bill would be to turn the most important election in our state over to a little clique of power-mad politicians. It would result in disfranchising, first of all, the Negro people, and at the same time, large sections of the white people of Georgia. It already carries with it the threat of re-introducing the poll-tax, the proceeds of which would go into the coffers of a corrupt political machine closely resembling the Hitler pattern.

Hitler first attacked organized labor, then the Jews, the Catholics and Protestants — all people who failed to bow to the nazi yoke. In Georgia the Talmadge forces direct their first attack against the Negro people. They do so under the banner of the Hitler race theory.

They want to deprive the Negro people of their constitutional right to vote, a right that has been won by the sacrifice and struggle of the Negro people on behalf of American democracy in both peace and war. Thousands of Negro soldiers and sailors fought and died bravely and gallantly to defeat Hitlerism and to maintain democracy in this land.

Is their reward now to be a denial of their fundamental rights as American citizens to vote?

The conscience of the people of Georgia will not, must not, permit this to happen.

WHITE PRIMARY STRIKES AT WHITES AND NEGROES

The Talmadge-Roy Harris machine claims that they only attack the Negro, that the white primary is to the interest of the white people. But let us not forget that Hitler made similar claims about the Jews in Germany. The truth is that the white primary will also steal the right to vote from the majority of white Georgians as well and will place political power in the hands of a fascist-minded machine controlled by Talmadge and Harris. Many thousands of the white people of Georgia oppose this Harris white primary bill because they simply understand that it will take the right to vote away from them. This is not only true of this particular white primary bill but is true of any and all such bills regardless of their form.

DEFEAT ALL FORMS OF WHITE PRIMARY

Therefore, the only way open for the white people of Georgia to defend their democratic rights is to guarantee that all people, including Negro people, have the right to vote. For, we must realize the basic truth that democracy, like peace, is indivisible. If we choke off the democratic rights of one section of our population this will inevitably result in strangling these rights for the rest of the population. The German people learned that—but too late!

That is why, in addition to simple justice and Christian morality, it is in their own direct and immediate interest that the democratically minded white people of Georgia must take the leadership in resisting and defeating any effort to deny the Negro people the right to vote—whether by this particular Roy Harris white primary or any other type of white primary or poll tax legislation.

As one who was born and brought up in Georgia, and whose ancestors have been here from the time Oglethorpe and the original colonists landed on our eastern shore, I am thoroughly convinced that the more Georgians who vote the better state we will have, and that any form of restriction in voting weakens our forward march of progress and threatens the very foundation upon which General James Oglethorpe and our early fathers established this state.

The experience of all nations under fascist dictatorships has taught us that any attack upon a minority group endangers the entire people. The world paid for that lesson at the cost of 20 million human lives in

the recent war against Hitlerism. We must not sit idly by now and permit the same sort of thing to be foisted upon our own great state.

UNITY FOR A BETTER LIFE

And what does all this mean in terms of bread and butter, of better living standards? In 1932 the German people might have asked the same thing about Hitler's program. The Talmadge machine again, after the Hitler pattern, offers no real program for raising the standards of living of our people. Again, like Hitler, a minority group is dragged out as a scapegoat, and there is certainly an implied threat against labor. But I tell you, the enemy of the White People of Georgia **is not the Negro people.** On the contrary, in the fight for a freer and better life, the Negro people have been and are, the best allies of the democratically minded white people. **The enemy of the people of Georgia is the Talmadge-Roy Harris machine and the Wall Street backers and Georgia corporations it represents!**

NOT THE "WOOL HAT" BUT THE SILK HAT BOYS!

We hear a lot of twaddle about the "wool hat boys" as backers of Talmadge. But I want to say the real enemy of the Negro People is not the common laboring white man whether worker or farmer. This phrase "wool hat" is used to pull the wool over all of our eyes. The real enemies of the Negro people, as well as the whites, are the **silk hat boys.** Don't forget that. The entire economic life of the South is strangled by Wall Street corporation control. While the Talmadge cohorts rail against the "outsiders", the Yankees and the "furriners", they themselves serve the interest of the real outside enemy by raising false issues, by splitting and dividing our people. This weakens our march of progress and permits the railroads, the utilities, the textile interests and the Wall Street banks to continue to suck the life blood out of our state.

The late President Roosevelt, honorary citizen and beloved friend of Georgia, put forward a program which offered hope for our people. Ellis Arnall implemented and expanded this program, leading our state to some of its greatest achievements. The people of Georgia must still continue to work for and demand the expansion of these beginnings from both state and federal legislators. Such a program can be realized only by the greatest harmony, mutual goodwill and common effort of all people, both Negro and white. Such peaceful, positive, constructive progress cannot be made by preaching hatred and prejudice against any section of our population. It demands the fullest unity of all democratically minded citizens regardless of creed, race, color or political belief.

A PEOPLES' PROGRAM FOR GEORGIA

It is my conviction that such a program will include the building of better schools with well paid and well trained teachers so that every Georgia child—without discrimination—will have educational advantages equal to any in the nation. It will include housing so that every family can live in decency, comfort and security—and a special housing program for the veterans. It will guarantee jobs and living wages with collective bargaining rights for all laborers. It will begin to wipe out the wide-scale farm tenancy and sharecropping which create rural slums. It will make farm ownership a reality for all those who till the soil.

These objectives most certainly cannot be achieved by attacking the Negro people, by sowing prejudice and hatred. As a matter of fact they can only be achieved by guaranteeing them for all without discrimination against any section of the people.

WALL STREET BACKS TALMADGE

But the Wall Street backers of Talmadge know very well that such a positive program can never be achieved as long as the negative ideas of destroying our democratic election laws are posed as the main issue.

This is why the Talmadge-Roy Harris gang would rather talk about the white primary. They would rather throw the dust of prejudice in our eyes while leading us down a blind alley to our own destruction. Hitler also raised such false issues in Germany and led the German people to disaster.

We Georgians have a great and glorious heritage. Our founding fathers fought and died for the basic principles of freedom and human decency. We are proud to be a part of that section of the nation that has produced so many stalwart defenders of human rights and freedom. But never since the day Thomas Jefferson signed that immortal document, the Declaration of Independence, has freedom in our state and nation been so dangerously threatened. And freedom, like peace and security, involves eternal vigilance against every restriction upon the rights of any section of the people. If we permit prejudice and hate to rob anyone of his democratic rights, all freedom—yes, all democracy—is threatened. Our fathers defeated the efforts of King George, and in our own day we have defeated the Hitler efforts, to destroy this freedom from the outside. Now this Talmadge machine seeks to do from the inside what King George and Hitler failed to do from the outside.

IT'S UP TO ALL OF US

So what can we as citizens do in this critical hour? We certainly cannot afford to be disinterested. And there are things to be done, things every citizen can do. First, you can continue your organized protest against this forcible seizure of power. You can get your organizations to take action—your club, church, lodge, union. You can insist that the legally elected candidate be seated as governor and that Herman Talmadge be ousted from the office which he is attempting to seize illegally. You can express your opposition to any and every white primary bill and insist that your legislators vote against such bills.

We people of Georgia don't want to work against the Constitution and Bill of Rights of the U. S. A. We don't want to let our state become the proving ground for American fascism! Then we must play our role as loyal Georgians and true Americans by immediately stamping out this nazi effort to conquer our state!

Note: DON WEST is a teacher and writer, author of the current record-breaking best-seller book of poems, CLODS OF SOUTHERN EARTH, published by Boni and Gaer, New York. He was born and reared in Gilmer County, Georgia.

Five cents the copy, $3.00 the hundred, $10.00 the thousand.
Order from Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, P. O. Box 1178, Atlanta, Georgia.

National Office
4103½ Third Avenue South
Birmingham, Alabama.

White Primary

South Carolina Conference of the

J. M. Hinton, President
Post Office Box 1145
Columbia, South Carolina

NAACP

RECEIVED
FEB 12 1947
Southern Regional Council

February 7, 1947.

To Members of the 87th General Assembly of SOUTH CAROLINA.

Dear Sirs:

We are confident that we are not alone in the realization that thousands of white South Carolinians have smarted under the lash of disgrace and outrage occasioned by the acts of the "white supremacy" EXTRA SESSION legislature, sired three years ago by Olin D. Johnston, then governor, to circumvent the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of Smith vs. Allbright, thereby aiming to render the Negro citizens of South Carolina permanently impotent as a part of the State's electorate. Certainly, among those South Carolinians who have been cowed and embarrassed by the acts of that INFAMOUS EXTRA SESSION ASSEMBLY are to be found some of the men who served in it, as well as some members of the present Assembly.

South Carolina congressmen and assemblymen realize and must concede that everything is wrong with a farcical set-up which is styled a unit of democracy - A STATE - in the world's greatest republic, but which conspires to steal the ballot from 43% of its electorate. Honest South Carolina politicians cannot rest comfortably when they remember that they are being paid by all, but represent only a part of THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA. They know that they cannot get by eternally with this subterfuge, chicanery, and thievery. And we know that scores of South Carolina politicians and thousands of their constituents as well as many other thousands of white citizens who would participate in constructive, truly democratic government if it were made available to them in South Carolina, regret that this State gave birth - during the war for THE FOUR FREEDOMS - to the most diabolic scheme of the twentieth century to nullify democracy as it is defined.

It can be only a question of time before South Carolina will be forced to answer in the tribunals of this Nation for the "EXTRA SESSION" outrage, the prize formula of which may now be used by Georgia to plunge that State once more into the depths of political despair, and to disqualify in other countries the efforts of Secretary of State Marshall just as South Carolina jeopardized the diplomacy and nullified the prestige of retiring Secretary Byrnes.

Because we are confident that a way will be found to guarantee the ballot to Negroes in SOUTH CAROLINA in THE ELECTION WHICH DECIDES STATE AND COUNTY OFFICIALS who rule them and whom they help to pay - because we feel that maybe "the time is later than you think" - we are requesting the 87th GENERAL ASSEMBLY to go on record as deploring the action and requesting a recall of the EXTRA SESSION maneuvers by which South Carolina declared itself beyond the province of the highest tribunal of this Nation.

J. M. Hinton, President; B. T. Williams, 1st. V-Pres.; R. E. Brogden, 2nd V-Pres.; Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, Secretary; L. G. Byrd, Treasurer; S. J. McDonald, Sr., Chairman of the Board of Directors.

If South Carolina is to move constructively and uprightly in the postwar world - and there are indications of trends in that direction - the elected leaders of this commonwealth must have the intelligence, the vision, and the fortitude to do the right, proper, and democratic thing for even the least of its citizens, irrespective of group, or of economic or social status. Either - apart - we fall, to remain on lower levels of existence, or - together - we rise to the fullness of political, educational, and economic well-being.

Will you gentlemen continue to smart and quiver under the stigma of your "EXTRA SESSION" DISGRACE, or will you, for all our sakes, acquit yourselves like free men and embrace before a keenly discerning world the democracy in which you claim to believe and for which many of fought alongside American BLACK BOYS whose history is unblemished by the record of a traitor?

It is high time that the "WHITE SUPREMACY GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA" should redeem its 87-year-old history by producing some statesmen

Very sincerely yours,

J. M. Hinton

J. M. Hinton, President

Modjeska M. Simkins

Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, Secretary

THE POLITICAL POT

By Jim Massey

Other Pledges

White Primary

Political Analysis

Lively Prospects

voted exclusively to Jacksonville.

* * *

ONE OF THE LIVELIEST pre-legislature debates in the state seems sure to come off when Senator Mathews tangles with Secretary of State R. A. Gray over the merits of Mathews' bill for separating the primary elections from the state government. The Mike Jacobs of this top-drawer tiff is the Duval county council of the League of Women Voters, which has arranged to have the contenders face each other before an audience of the general public in the Seminole hotel next Friday night, February 21, at 8 o'clock.

Mathews is the father of the bill which would make political parties into private associations, "divorced" from control and financing by the state government. He introduced it first in the 1945 session of the legislature. One of the chief reasons for its defeat there was the impromptu and impassioned plea of Secretary Gray, who said that it would throw Florida's elections open to fraud and

PAGE (s) MISSIN

June 27, 1947

Mr. Robert H. Simmons
712 North Madison Street
Albany, Georgia

Dear Mr. Simmons:

It was a pleasure to receive your letter of June 18 and the clipping which contained your very pointed letter concerning the Wwhite primary." It is well stated.

It was a pleasure to see you again during my recent visit and I trust our paths may cross more frequently in the future.

With kindest good wishes to you and your family, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

Confidential

This came into hands of one of our members through someone who received a copy.

File: ~~Georgia politics~~

White Primary

The Municipal League of South Fulton County, an organization composed of all officials of the Cities of College Park, Hapeville, and East Point does feel that it is both expedient and timely to express itself as an organization and as members thusly:

WHEREAS, we unalterably adhere to the principle that the social, economic and political civilization and culture of the State of Georgia shall be determined by the wishes of the white citizens therein, and

WHEREAS, in determining this question we shall not debate, argue, or counsel with those who are strangers and alien to our blood, but instead shall seek the answer according to our conscience and interest, and

WHEREAS, we shall ever be grateful to our fathers who gave us this ideal as a sacred trust, and

WHEREAS, we shall not break faith with them or their heroic past, but we shall hand this heritage to our children as a meet and proper star for their guidance, and

WHEREAS, we uncompromisingly dedicate ourselves, our lives and our fortunes to the preservation of this ideal and we determinedly and deliberately pledge that no earthly power shall shake us from this stand, and

WHEREAS, the Democratic Party of this State with its agency, the white primary, has been the means by which we have safeguarded the life that seems good to us and as a consequence, this party has received our loyalty and support, and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court of the United States has held recently that negroes cannot be prevented from voting in Democratic White Primaries, and

WHEREAS, such decision is an affront to a peoplle who have made no mean contribution to the nation and is not justified either by law or conscience, and

WHEREAS, such decision is a violation of the fundamental rights of the white citizens of Georgia, in that it denies them the right to organize and exercise their franchise in the manner that pleases them and that it requires them to associate and consort with negroes in a political party when it is not their will so to do, and

WHEREAS, the next holding of the Democratic White Primary is set for the 4th day of July, and

WHEREAS, negroes of this State have publicly declared their intention to vote in said primary which act would be contrary to the customs, traditions, intentions, and laws of the party, and

WHEREAS, it is the studied opinion of reputable legal authority that the repeal of State laws regulating primary elections will remove the official sanction from primaries, leaving to the parties conducting such primaries free and untrammelled control of the affairs of the party, and especially of primary elections, thus rendering innocuous the recent pronouncement of the Supreme Court of the United States on the subject, and

WHEREAS, the Governor and the Legislature of our sister State, South Carolina, whose history is so pleasantly associated with that of our own has followed this course of repeal, and

WHEREAS, the present Governor of Georgia is the titular head of the Democratic Party of Georgia, elected to that post by the white citizens of the State in full confidence and belief that he was in complete sympathy and accord with the most distinguishing trait of the Party in Georgia - the principle of white leadership, and that in the eyes of the white citizens of Georgia, he as such leader, is charged with the full responsibility and duty of preserving and safeguarding this all important tenet of the Party, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED: that the Governor and the members of the General Assembly, be informed of the feeling and attitude of this body, and that they be requested to convene [illegible] the General Assembly in special session immediately and without delay to repeal primary laws necessary to avoid the effect of the recent Supreme Court decision, and in default of such action, that these officials formulate and activate some other plan to protect the purity of the traditional White Primary, or else confess their inability to give the party the leadership it deserves, resign and make way for leaders who will do so, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Governor and each member of the General Assembly, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of these resolutions be mailed to the Mayor of each municipality in Georgia and to the Board of County Commissioners in each County of the State with the request that they consider the seriousness of the problem, and that they write the Governor and members of the General Assembly and demand that they rise to their responsibilities as leaders and protect the people of this State in their sacred rights.

Passed by unanimous vote by the Municipal League of South Fulton County at a called meeting held 18th day of May, 1944.

J.G. Looney, Chmn.

E.L. Cole
Secretary

N.B.
We solicit an' expression from you on this subject, Please address your correspondence to

E.L. Cole, Secretary,
City Hall,
East Point, Georgia.

LEADING FEDERAL COURT CASES ON THE WHITE PRIMARY

Nixon v. Herndon, 273 U.S. 536, 47 Sup. Ct. 446 (1927)

Nixon v. Condon, 226 U.S. 73, 52 Sup. Ct. 484 (1932)

Grovey v. Townsend, 295 U.S. 45, 55 Sup. Ct. 622 (1935)

Lane v. Wilson, 59 Sup. Ct. 872 (U.S. 1939)

Smith v. Allwright, 321 U.S. 649, 64 Sup. Ct. 757 (1943)

King v. Chapman, 154 Fed (2d) Reporter 460 (1946)

U.S. v. Classic La. Case, 1941

7

October 29, 1959

Professor Bell I. Wiley
Department of History
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear Professor Wiley:

Your inquiry of the other day caused interesting and puzzling discoveries. It must have been a sound instinct that led you to ask for reproductions, for, given more time, I decided to make sure that the compilations we have, dated 1945 and 1954, were still valid. They are not.

The Atlanta ordinances requiring segregated restaurants seem to have been dropped in 1949, at least by 1953. I can find no ordinances at all which now apply to restaurants. I called the city attorney's office for confirmation, and, after several hours of checking, a Mr. Bloodworth called back with the same report. He seemed as surprised as I was, and at a loss to explain the legal basis of segregated food establishments (so-called).

My guess would be that this is now somehow handled through discretionary licensing and nuisance abatement powers, but I cannot do more than guess.

Sec. 21.7 of the Charter and Related Ordinances makes it unlawful for any person to remain in a "public room" of any hotel within the city when directed by the manager to leave; I can't be sure whether "public room" includes a guest room, but from the context I would assume not. As you probably know, common law principles obliged innkeepers to accommodate all travellers; a frequent practice of Southern legislatures was, therefore, to legislate discretion for the innkeeper.

Sec. 56.15 requires segregation in theaters, arenas, public halls, auditoriums, or "other places of public assembly." For the last phrase I did not find any definition, but would suppose it does not include eating places.

Sec. 38.31 requires segregated parks, excepting the Grant Park zoo.

Sec. 55.51 requires segregated taxicabs.

Sec. 55.91 and 55.92 deal with streetcar segregation.

Sec. 36.64 and 36.65 require, again, segregation in "places of public assembly."

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 8, 1961

Professor Bell Wiley

I asked Harry Boyte to send you a copy of the attached, but in case he did not I am sending this along.

Member
International Association
of Convention Bureaus

ATLANTA CONVENTION BUREAU

C O P Y

1102 Commerce Building * Phone 525-2088

Atlanta 3, Georgia

C O P Y

April 12, 1961

Orig copy filed Research

Mr. Harry Boyte, Executive Director
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harry:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of April 7th concerning Atlanta's loss of convention business of segregated convention facilities.

Since Atlanta has not yet experienced an overall decline in convention business, it is impossible to estimate the additional business we would have enjoyed had many invitations not been rejected dur to our particular social restrictions. In 1959 our business was up 12.4% and last year we showed on overall increase of 4.7%. At the close of 1961 we will have enjoyed an increase of approximately 15% over 1960. To offset our loss in market created by the increasing number of regional and national organizations who are not restricting membership according to race, this Bureau has intensified to a large degree its sales efforts toward the remaining market. Without making a thorough and detailed study of this subject, it is estimated that we can no longer bid on 25% of all National Conventions and 10% of all Southern or Southeastern Conventions.

This is a complex and involved subject, Harry, and if you will drop by this office some day, I'd be glad to "chin" further with you.

Cordially yours,

Walter E. Crawford
(Signed)
Executive Vice President

WEC/jg

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LWD
JC
PR
PA

November 20, 1959

Talk at Gray's Inn

THE LAW AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

by

Associate Professor Harris Wofford

First let me correct my billing and, more important, Professor Ward's billing. According to your poster he is to present "the lawyer's viewpoint" on this question, and I am to discuss "passive resistance."

Having just seen the grisly picture of Les Advocats by Forain in the current French art exhibit in O'Shaughnessy Hall, I don't know why I am stung by the implication that Professor Ward is the lawyer here tonight and that I am beyond the pale. I could make a case for civil disobedience based on St. Augustine's description of the "melancholy and lamentable judgments" -- the injustices -- inherent in the law in this sinful City of Man; and, with pacifism as a check on the commission of new injustices, call for peaceful resistance to unjust laws. Perhaps Mr. McKiernan, if his billing as a pacifist and anarchist is correct, will make that case.

It is a good American case, defended and demonstrated by Thoreau and by a whole generation of abolitionists. "Unjust laws exist," said Thoreau. "Shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?" Thoreau asked, as I think we each must ask. His answer was: "If this injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go: perchance it will wear smooth... but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine." So he advised the abolitionists not "to wait till they constitute a majority of one." It is enough, he said, "if they have God on their side, without waiting for that other one." And he went to prison for refusing to pay taxes to a government that was upholding slavery by imprisoning and returning runaway slaves. He said that "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also prison." But people did not understand and a distant aunt paid his taxes for him and he was put out of prison after only a one-night stand. Still, I think, his apochryphal answer to Emerson made an imprint on the American mind. When Emerson asked him why he was in jail, Thoreau replied, "Why are you outside?"

But I do not think I am a pacifist and I know I am not an anarchist and I did pass the bar. So tonight I want to make a lawyer's case for civil disobedience. We have been reading Justice Holmes in my class, and as always he has renewed my passion for this jealous mistress, the Law, whose loyal lover I claim to be even as I stand here advocating civil disobedience. By the way,

there is a Thoreau text for this, too. "They are the lovers of law and order who observe the law when the government breaks it."

Now I realize that this involves a paradox -- a central paradox of natural law jurisprudence -- that for many people spells anarchy. One man's natural law is all too often another's poison. For Socrates there was a higher law whispering to him from outside the cave of this world that told him it was the nature of man and the first principle of the teaching profession to ask questions -- to question everything -- and that therefore he should not obey the edict of Athens abridging his freedom of speech. But the Athenians who served him the hemlock were also obeying the highest law they knew, the need to preserve their society from subversion. I think you will agree with me that at least this one act of civil disobedience proved to be effective. For out of the cheerful prison-going and death of Socrates we learn academic freedom and I would say that Socrates also teaches us the first principle of any Republic, the principle established for this Republic by the First Amendment.

I suppose that almost everyone here would agree that civil disobedience would be justified toward any man-made law prohibiting the public worship of God. St. Thomas said that human laws contrary to Divine law ought nowise to be obeyed. The Church has gone to the catacombs before in its exercise of the freedom of religion. And the lives of many martyrs and saints should be enough to convince you of the educational potentialities of such civil disobedience. The question is, Where else in the field of law and on what other occasions is civil disobedience also necessary and proper?

I would cite the second part of the First Amendment, freedom of speech, and the principle of equal protection of the laws in the Fourteenth Amendment as two other areas where any laws in conflict with these commands of the natural law, according to my view of man's nature, ought to be civilly disobeyed.

But as soon as I say this, I have opened a Pandora's box from which many furies may fly, including the present disobedience of the Supreme Court's school decisions by many white citizens in the South. If you doubt that the white resistance to desegregation is based, in part at least, on a firmly-held and often conscientiously-held, though to me wrong-headed, view of natural law, then listen to this colloquoy from the Congressional Record for last September 14th. Senator Eastland asked: "Is not the segregated way of life a better life? Is not that the law of nature?" And Senator Thurmond replied: "Well, that is the way God made the races. I presume it is."

And yet, despite the risks involved in letting loose differing ideas of natural law to contend with each other, I believe that there is a great hope for the law, particularly for the law of a republic, at the bottom of this Pandora's box. That hope is embodied in a view of law that transcends the old idea which says that law is nothing but the command of the sovereign. In a Republic, or with men who like Mark Twain's Connecticut Yankee

have the idea of a Republic in their heads, every command of the law should be seen as a question.

A Socratic philospher of the law, Scott Buchanan, has stated this thesis to show how "law teaches those who make and obey it" -- and I would add, disobey it. "Laws," he says, "are questions asked by God, history, nature, or society to be answered by men individually and collectively. This formulation penetrates the heart of human freedom. It says that no law, not even divine law cancels out human freedom; the answer can be Yes or No or something else. It also tacitly warns of consequences of the answer. ~~But primarily~~ It forces the human being to think about ends, or purposes."

In this view, there is implicit in each law the alternative of obedience, or of civil disobedience with full acceptance of the consequences. Once we no longer see law as a mechanical thing, once we free ourselves from the idea that as good citizens we have no choice but to obey any law passed by the legislature, no matter how bad, then of each law we must ask ourselves, is this a law that I should obey? Is it a just law? Is it so unjust that it needs to be resisted from the very inception, and cannot wait the slow process of parliamentary reform?

So you see we are back with Thoreau, but with a difference. He thought in terms of disobedience serving as a counter friction to stop the whole machine of the law. I am presenting civil disobedience as a natural and necessary part of the great Due Process of our Law, that process of persuasion through which we govern ourselves. Civil disobedience, as I see it, is a kind of persuasion; the persuasion of last resort, within the boundaries of the law, sometimes the only kind available.

Of course any kind of disobedience of law may have the effect of persuasion, just as force can at times be a powerful persuader. The disobedience of the prohibition laws was violent, secret, rather cynical and largely uncivil, yet it finally led to the repeal of the 18th Amendment. But this kind of disobedience was truly beyond the legal pale. By teaching disrespect for this one law, it was indeed subversive of the Law. To have been civil disobedience, the resistance to prohibition would have had to be open, in the sight and knowledge of the authorities, and those thus disobeying the law should have not only been prepared to accept the consequences, but should have deliberately invited them. If those who considered the 18th Amendment a violation of their natural right to drink had courted the jails in protest, if they had, as Gandhi urged his countrymen, entered the prisons "as a bridegroom enters the bride's chamber," I think the 21st Amendment would probably have come sooner. Certainly it would have come better. I do not think we would have had the organized crime that came in the wake of the less respectful forms of persuasion that were used.

Civil disobedience is within the legal pale -- within the Canons of Ethics of our profession, I would say -- because it

involves the highest possible respect for the law. If we secretly violate the law or try to evade it or violently seek to overthrow it, that would be disloyalty to the idea of law itself. But when we openly disobey a law that we hold to be unjust and ask for the penalty, we are saying that we so respect the law that we belong in jail until it is changed. Thus Socrates refused to listen to his friends' plan for his escape from the verdict of Athens but chose instead to peacefully drink the hemlock, giving the respect he considered due to the state and to the laws in which he had lived and had his being.

Is this anarchy? I hope not, for I agree with Justice Brandeis that our government is "the potent, the omnipresent teacher" that "teaches the whole people." And I do not agree with Thoreau that "The law will never make men free." It is through law that we, like Socrates, find our freedom. But the law will play its full role as teacher only when we look upon it as a question. For it is the voice of our body politic with which we must remain in dialogue.

If the proposition to which we are dedicated is self-government, then we must respond to the law, resist it, change it, and fulfill it, even as it challenges, changes, and educates us. Civil disobedience is one way in which we can exercise the choice that law gives us. It is the choice that makes us free.

Now I have not even come to Gandhi, and all I will say here about him is that he, too, was a lawyer -- trained in London's Inner Temple -- and I think he always saw civil disobedience as a constitutional form of persuasion, as a way to reach and move the minds and hearts of people and thus to mould the law.

Nor have I tried to consider the many uses and abuses of this theory. I recall a Kentucky mayor who called on his people to adopt Gandhi's method of fighting injustice, as the only remaining form of resistance to court-imposed integration. The Mayor added that of course the white people wouldn't want Gandhi to come to their town, however useful his idea of civil disobedience might be for their purposes.

This doesn't disturb me. For the beauty of civil disobedience is that, in part at least, it answers a problem of law that has bothered people from St. Thomas to the present. Aquinas held that laws contrary to human good were not binding in conscience except in order to avoid "scandal or disturbance." Since violent disobedience, in the violent centuries that followed, did indeed often cause scandal and disturbance contrary to the common good, St. Thomas's exception has generally proved to be the rule, at least the rule for lawyers. But civil disobedience by its nature avoids the kind of scandal or disturbance that St. Thomas rightly feared.

In fact, what is wrong with the theory of civil disobedience in this country is not that our jails would fill. For jail-going is not the natural disposition of most men. A little jail-going against some of our laws might be good yeast to leaven the lump.

of our modern Leviathan. Civil disobedience could be an antidote to the centralization and standardization of our life, to the sense of fatality of the multitude as well as to the tyranny of the majority. We certainly need some kind of Socratic gadfly to stir society from its dogmatic slumbers.

No, the problem, I fear, is rather that by nature we seem more inclined to disobey not unjust laws but just ones. We all engage in civil disobedience in the form of jaywalking or speeding, to name only two popular varieties. But we hesitate to resist an unjust law. We do not take personal responsibility for injustice. Instead of taking Socrates straight, we seem to prefer the comic version. I am referring to Aritophanes' portrayal in "The Clouds", where the student of Socrates says: "But I wish to succeed, just enough for my need, and to slip through the clutches of law." But there again, we are free to choose which Socrates -- which inner light or higher law -- to follow, and it is the choice that makes us free.

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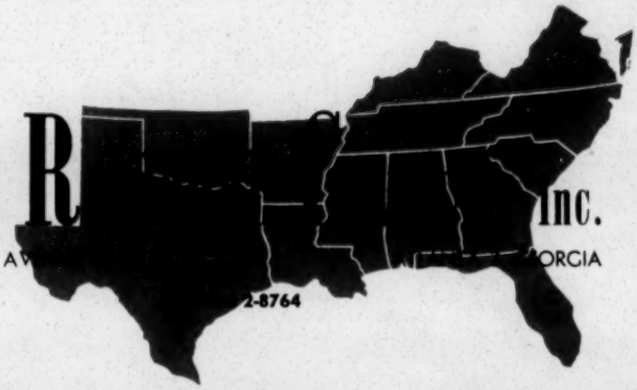

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MA - file

6/8/61 "answering of the Sands"

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I have read with limitless admiration the paper you were kind enough to send me. It is hereunto returned.

Can you possibly have a copy for me at once the enclosed speech I am to make in Greensboro a week from today? Speed is required if it is to reach me in time.

Many thanks.

M. A. W.

Done + mailed - June 9

workers Defense League

July 5, 1945

Bishop Francis J. McConnell
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Bishop McConnell:

Thank you for your communication addressed to the Southern Frontier concerning the situation at Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

The Southern Regional Council is studying this situation and similar ones in other parts of the South. Mrs. Henry Havens, of Jacksonville, Florida, who is one of our field representatives, has made some observations, and I believe has been in touch with a committee from your organization. We are hopeful of finding a point at which some clear-cut legal action may be taken to combat these abuses of police power. We should like to keep in touch with you and be informed of any future action in this situation which is taken by W. D. L.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Study of
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Methodist Building
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N. Y.

June 25, 1945

The Southern Frontier,
710 Standard Bldg.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Friends:

I am sending to you for your careful consideration a most remarkable document, File No. 601-S of the Workers Defense League -- the story behind the Fort Lauderdale case.

The most amazing thing about this story is that it could -- and did happen in the United States. And yet, if you worked as closely with the League as I have, you would be shocked to find how many hundreds of cases come to their attention every year -- some of them (like the Fort Lauderdale Case) involving the terrorism of an entire community.

That is why I am sending you this File to read. Please study it very carefully, and when you have finished reading it, mail it back with any suggestions for action that you may care to make.

You and I who believe in democracy have a very special responsibility in maintaining the fight against intolerance and injustice. The Workers Defense League is doing a splendid job on many important fronts -- and you and I are under obligation to see that they get sufficient funds to carry on <u>our</u> work.

Sincerely yours,

Francis J. McConnell

BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL

P.S. Please notice in this Report how often the phrase "without trial" appears. F. J. McC.

November 1, 1945

~~Workers Defense~~ League
112 E. 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Sirs:

In the November Postwar Information Bulletin we noticed an announcement concerning your recent publication Jobs Without Creed or Color by Winifred Raushenbush.

We should like very much to have five copies of this booklet and are enclosing our check for 50 cents to cover cost. Please mail to the address shown above.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

Rec'd 10-9-45

November 30, 1945

Mr. Morris Milgram
National Secretary
Workers Defense League
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Milgram:

We shall be glad to put the Workers' Defense League on our exchange list to receive our publications. Thank you for sending us the sample of your News Service and the pamphlet Jobs Without Creed or Color. I have read them with much interest. We shall look forward to receiving your literature regularly.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Workers Defense League

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: 112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3 • ALGONQUIN 4-4953

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November 14, 1945

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Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I would appreciate it if you would put us on your mailing list to receive the publications of the Southern Regional Council, in exchange for which we would be happy to send you our weekly News Service and occasional pamphlets.

I enclose a sample of the News Service, and under separate cover I'm sending copy of our recent pamphlet, "Jobs Without Creed or Color," the story of FEPC by Winifred Raushenbush.

Sincerely yours,

Morris Milgram
National Secretary

mm/veo
af oe
enc.

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Non-Partisan Defense Agency of the Labor Movement

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

NEWS SERVICE

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November 15, 1945 - Released on Receipt

REPUBLICAN HOUSE LEADER URGED TO BACK FEPC

NEW YORK CITY - (WDL) - Representative Joseph W. Martin of Massachusetts, Republican House leader, has been criticized by the Workers Defense League for his failure to work for a permanent FEPC.

In a letter to Representative Martin, Rev. Aron S. Gilmartin, national WDL chairman, said: "It is shocking that despite Republican pro-FEPC statements in the party platform and elsewhere, scores of Republican members of the House, including yourself, have failed to sign the discharge petition for a permanent FEPC bill."

The letter quotes A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC who, following a survey of leading industrial centers, concluded that the present situation is even more explosive than at the time of the 1919 race riots.

At a press conference following his tour, Randolph said: "I serve notice on the Congress, and this is no more a threat than is a hurricane warning, or a radio alarm of an onsurging tidal wave, that if Congress does not enact FEPC at once, the responsibility for violence which may break out in many cities within a few months rests squarely on the shoulders of Congress."

-WDL-

WOLL AND CAREY TO SPEAK AT WDL LUNCHEON

NEW YORK CITY - (WDL) - AFL Vice-President Matthew Woll and CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey will speak at the Workers Defense League luncheon December 8 at which James Myers, Industrial Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America will receive the 1945 Clendenin Award for Distinguished Service to Labor's Rights.

-more-

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Other speakers will be Dr. Liston Pope, chairman of the Federal Council of Churches' industrial committee, and Anna Arnold Hedgeman, executive secretary of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC. Max Delson, WDL national counsel and chairman of the WDL's Clendenin Award Committee, will be chairman.

Nathaniel M. Minkoff, secretary-treasurer of the Dress Joint Board, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, who will present the award, says: "An outstanding religious leader, James Myers was responsible more than any other single person for showing a vast section of the American people why workers have to organize in trade unions to protect their rights and as an expression of democracy."

The luncheon will be held at 12:30 on December 8 in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel New Yorker, New York City.

-WDL-

WDL ASKS END OF CPS SLAVE-LABOR SETUP

NEW YORK CITY - (WDL) - Declaring that "continued use of practically unpaid conscript labor under the Civilian Public Service setup is a threat to labor standards," Rev. Aron S. Gilmartin, national chairman of the Workers Defense League called upon Selective Service to end CPS.

In a letter to Colonel Lewis Kosh, assistant director of Selective Service, Gilmartin said: "The WDL, whose slogan is 'Free Labor in Free America,' is particularly opposed to such a setup. And now that the war is over there is not even a pretext for keeping war objectors on forced labor at $10 to $15 a month."

Prompting Gilmartin's letter was a strike by war objectors of CPS unit 41 which brought attention to the deplorable conditions at Eastern State Hospital, Williamsburg, Va. The strikers sought improved conditions for regular employes as well as for CPS war objectors.

The strike started when the hospital superintendent, on the grounds of a labor shortage tried to increase the work week for night workers from 72 to 79 hours. The strikers pointed out: "We feel that the State of Virginia must immediately face the issue that it will have to increase wages and reduce hours in order to attract sufficient labor to efficiently administer its hospitals."

-WDL-

March 18, 1948

Mr. Simon Gross, Manager
Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust
150 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Gross:

I am very sorry indeed that I am not able to accept your most kind invitation to meet with the Committee about the peonage matters.

The Council has two meetings scheduled that day at Columbia, South Carolina and I simply have to be there.

I would greatly like the opportunity to confer with your group, and I am only sorry that I had to wire you today that I couldn't.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

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PRESIDENT

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TODAY

March 18, 1949

Mr. Simon Gross
150 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Greatly regret speaking engagement South Carolina twenty-fifth prevents attendance that day.

George S. Mitchell

COLLECT

ROBERT MARSHALL CIVIL LIBERTIES TRUST

150 BROADWAY NEW YORK

Address All
Communications to
SIMON GROSS, Manager

March 17, 1949.

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avemue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

A Committee of the Trustees of the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust is meeting on Friday, March 25th, to consider the application of Workers Defense League for a grant in connection with its southern peonage investigation. It has been suggested that you attend as you may have considerable knowledge with respect to the situation. The others invited are Mr. H. L. Mitchell of National Farm Labor Union, Mr. Maceo Hubbard of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, Mr. Frank McCallister of Roosevelt College, Chicago. The meeting is to be held at the home of Walter Frank, 146 West 12th Street at 1:00 P. M. It is suggested that the group adjourn for lunch at that time and continue the meeting throughout the afternoon and evening, if necessary.

The Trust will pay your travel expenses (either train or plane). Kindly wire me promptly collect whether the date is convenient to you.

Sincerely yours,

Simon Gross

SG:ME

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

Workers Defense League

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FRANK McCALLISTER
Southern Secretary

March 18, 1949

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MAR 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I hope that you will be able to attend the meeting of representatives of the Robert Marshall Trust and the Workers Defense League in New York on Friday, March 25, to evolve a comprehensive program towards the eradication of peonage in the United States. A Summary Analysis of the problem is submitted for your consideration.

The Workers Defense League does not believe the funds presently available will permit a concerted attack upon all areas where peonage exists. We believe, however, that such an overall program should be evolved now and that an order of priority be established for the work.

We need your guidance and assistance in this conference.

Yours sincerely,

Rowland Watts

Rowland Watts
National Secretary

RW.d
oeiu-153

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Southern Regional Council

SUMMARY ANALYSIS
of
PROGRAM TO COMBAT PEONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

Submitted to the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust
by the Workers Defense League

December 21, 1949

In the absence of public opinion so sensitive and human nature so regenerated as to eliminate the necessity for any private organizational efforts to correct injustice, and in the presence of the existing social pattern in the South, the most effective program for the eradication of peonage and other forms of forced labor would seem to require:

1. Legislation adequate to punish persons who violate the workers' rights to mobility and other basic human freedoms.

2. Investigation to uncover such violations and to establish the facts necessary for legal action.

3. Effective prosecution by a governmental agency and/or Effective civil action by a private agency.

4. Aroused local opinion to facilitate the legal actions and to correct conditions in the particular area.

5. Informed national opinion to stimulate the above four points.

In examining this program, the Workers Defense League has found that:

1. Existing federal statutes are adequate upon which to base prosecutions which come within the technical definitions of "peonage" and "slavery", although some revision and strengthening of these statutes is highly desirable.

2. (a) No governmental agency has the authority to investigate a general condition of forced labor in the same manner that the Treasury has the power to sample income tax returns, or the Anti-Trust Division has the power to examine the trade practices of a particular industry.

(b) (1) The Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice is understaffed and cannot screen properly the thousands of individual complaints received yearly.

(2) It lacks an investigative staff to assemble all the necessary evidence even on those cases which a superficial screening uncovers.

(3) The FBI is generally unskilled in this type of investigation and does not have the necessary Negro personnel to conduct inquiries in the local Southern areas.

3. (a) Prosecution depends upon availability of witnesses. No government agency has the power, or the funds, to remove victims and witnesses from an area and thus protect their persons and testimony.

(b) The Civil Rights Section has skilled attorneys, not lacking in zeal, who will prepare and push prosecution of cases submitted, provided such cases are investigated adequately in advance by interested agencies. The Civil Rights Section is doing an increasingly effective educational job with local U.S. attorneys, and the U.S. Attorney-General has the authority to assign special prosecutors where necessary.

(c) The Workers Defense League has demonstrated its ability to carry through effective civil action in the courts. At Fort Lauderdale, Florida, the deputy sheriffs have recently remitted fines and paid punitive damages to twelve Negroes as a result of court action brought by the League. At Dumas, Arkansas, plantation owner brutality and robbery of Negro sharecroppers have virtually been eliminated as a result of court action brought by the League. At Helena, Arkansas, similar results obtained as a consequence of court action initiated and still pending in the U.S. District Court.

4. Liberal and intellectual opinion in the rural areas of the South is too thinly spread and insufficiently aggressive to cause significant impact on the wider community in the absence of a specific case. However, when a case arises in the area, local liberal opinion is oftimes a constructive force. This was notably true at Leesburg, Florida, where a League investigator uncovered the prevalence of sheriff brutality to exact forced labor. The disclosure resulted in such local revulsion as to obviate the necessity for court action.

5. (a) The Workers Defense League has demonstrated its ability to arouse limited national opinion and is improving its techniques and resources in this regard. The League is not a "New York" organization; at least 20% of its membership is in the South. This membership works closely with active Southern investigators, with the national staff, and in influencing local opinion.

(b) A determined willingness to eradicate injustice through action by recognized liberal leaders in the South can be strengthened to a considerable extent by the constant exposure of just such conditions as are now uncovered sporadically by the League on its limited funds.

Conclusion

Pending a vast increase in the power and resources of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, that agency is dependent, almost entirely, upon private groups to do a large part of the screening and preliminary investigation of complaints. All responsible officials of the Civil Rights Section have repeatedly assured the Workers Defense League that it does an important, effective, and appreciated service in this field. National legislation will be improved and government agencies will be strengthened as public opinion demands it. Public opinion will make such demands under the repeated impact of knowledge of specific cases, and based on an awareness of the overall situation presented in comprehensive form.

Erlich
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

March 9, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

My attempts to connect the historical instances of deprivations of liberties, "six Acts of the English Parliament and the French Press Decrees of March 29, 1793", to a specific tyrant or dictator have not been as successful as I could have wished. (Actual texts and formal names of the many edicts which would more nearly support your thesis were not located in my research.) However, I am listing certain background information on these two decrees; possibly you will at least be able to use the French Press decree.

Six Acts, England, 1819

Although George IV was only Prince Regent at the time these acts were passed by Parliament, he evidently enjoyed all powers normally accorded to the monarch, beginning in 1811. His father, George III (the monarch of the American Revolutionary period) was still alive in 1819, but insane (from 1811 to the time of his death in 1820). The Encyclopaedia Britannica says of George IV'S reign:

> "George IV was a bad king, and his reign did much to disgust the country with the Georgian type of monarchy..."

However, criticisms of George IV seem to have been not due to tyranny, but rather because of weakness and moral laxity, so the Six Acts can only be said to have been a manifestation of a threatened monarchy and a weakling monarch.

Decree to the Convention, France, March 29, 1793 (Press Decree)

At the time of this decree, two factions in the Revolutionary Convention, the Girondists (conservative) and the Mountain (radical)

warred for power. Although I do not find evidence that he introduced the above mentioned decree, Robespierre was leader of the Mountain, the faction which was responsible for its passage, and Robespierre is called by one source a "symbol of the violence of the French Revolution". Furthermore, the "Reign of Terror" is called by the Encyclopaedia Britannica "synonymous with the name of Robespierre". The period of history known as the Reign of Terror is said to have begun with the appointment of a Committee of Public Safety on April 6, 1793, only 8 days after the decree with which we are concerned. I believe you would be safe in assuming a connection of this sort: terrorist forces, led by Robespierre, were ascending in power at the time of the March 29th press decree; a few days later they reached their ascendancy as the Reign of Terror was inaugurated - the revolutionary period of wholesale violence and despotic abuse of authority with which the name of the arch-terrorist Robespierre is synonymous.

I hope you will be able to use some of this material and I would like very much, of course, to have a copy of the completed speech for our files.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

Sabreen
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

March 31, 1959

Dr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have noticed in the Journal and Guide for March 28th a statement by Mr. McNeil Smith indicating that the North Carolina Advisory Committee expects soon to have current registration figures of white and colored in North Carolina. As you know, we have been working on a new voting survey, and one of the problems in connection with it is that we have no recent figures for North Carolina. We would, therefore, be most grateful if you could see that we get the information which Mr. McNeil said he would have. We need state totals and, if possible, county totals of Negro and white registrants.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 12, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Harold asked me to reply to your letter of June 5 (perhaps because he does not want to be the one to confess that we have so little to supply; but the truth is that the kind of answers which you want about employment discrimination are not available anywhere).

We are enclosing some clippings about employment in North Carolina, also a chapter on Federal Employment from William Peters' book The Southern Temper. This chapter is the article which was submitted to Look magazine and which the magazine never published.

In the latest report of the President's Committee on Government Contracts, "Five Years of Progress, 1953-1958", two North Carolina plants are cited as "examples of expanding job opportunities." The citations are as follows:

> Burlington Industries, Greensboro, N. C.--Total 831, Negro 47. Company recently hired a Negro as chemist. It also extended to Negroes employment in production as tenter frame operators, Besmar frame operators, extractor dryer operators, first class mechanics, and boil-off operators. Previously, Negro employment was confined almost exclusively to custodial and truck driving jobs.

Western Electric Company, North Carolina Division--Total 11,318, Negro 370.

Winston-Salem Plant: Twenty, including an assistant engineer and a tabulating analyst, and persons in technical or clerical occupations.

Burlington Plant: Clerical workers 6

Greensboro Plant: Four women are employed in clerical work; men are in such job categories as inspector, gear-cutter operator, tester and layout operator.

John Hope II is a member of the Advisory Committee in Tennessee and chairman of its subcommittee on employment. On March 21 he wrote to Henry M. Shine, Jr. of the Commission on Civil Rights and requested a list of government contractors and government agencies operating in Tennessee. We saw John several weeks ago and he told us that, much to his surprise, lists were being prepared for him. Harold seems to recall that he sent to you a copy of John's letter. Perhaps the North Carolina committee would like to do the same. I feel sure that if the state advisory committees obtain such lists, they will be the only ones in existence outside of Washington offices.

The Civil Service Commission office here in Atlanta has promised to send us a list of federal offices in North Carolina. When we receive it we shall send it to you immediately.

State agencies are listed in the North Carolina Manual, together with their addresses and executive heads. The latest copy of the Manual which we have is 1955, but I am sure that you can find access to one, if you do not have one yourself.

A very brief, but I would think sufficient questionnaire might run as follows:

a. What is your total full-time employment?

b. How many Negroes are employed full-time?

c. How many Negroes are employed in professional or technical positions (e.g. GS-7 and above in the federal civil service)?

d. Please give the job titles of all Negroes in professional and technical positions?

e. How many Negroes are employed as stenographers or secretaries?

We know of no studies which are being made of this subject. The three agencies which you mentioned in your letter have been the ones most interested and concerned. The American Friends Service Committee has its offices in High Point. You may wish to consult with its people. The Urban League people here believe that your best contact is with the Urban League in Winston Salem.

We are, as I said to you in my letter of March 6, sorry that we cannot be more helpful. This is a field where everyone knows that discrimination exists and yet the specific documentation is not available, largely because of extreme difficulty of getting it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures:

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MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Rcd 6-25-59

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 21, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Dear Harold:

The enclosed letter to Mr. John Wheeler is self-explanatory.

Since there has been raised in this state by Mr. Wheeler and others the question of dening Negroes employment in the National Guard, it occurs to me that NEW SOUTH might render a signal service by presenting the facts as to all of the Southern States.

If I am able satisfactorily to develop the facts as to North Carolina, I will send you such material as I have.

Meanwhile, Please thank Miss Manderson and Dr. Dunbar for very valuable information on employment transmitted by them.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW/jep

Enclosure:

Linville Falls
North Carolina

June 21, 1959

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

As you know, I am chairman of the sub-committee on employment of North Carolina Advisory Committee of the Civil Rights Commission. Hence, I have especial interest in your letter of June 16 which you presented at our meeting in New Bern on June 17, particularly those parts of the letter dealing with employment.

As you learned at New Bern, it is the plan of our sub-committee to look first into the matter of possible discrimination in employment by the state government, by the federal government and in the performance of contracts with federal government. The portions of your letter which deal with the North Carolina National Guard and with the practices of the North Carolina Employment Security Commission were quite pertinent to our inquiry. I plan to write you separately about the Employment Commission and will, in this letter, limit myself to the National Guard.

If the facts are as you stated them to be, about which I have no doubt, the public and all responsible officials should be made aware of them. My own feeling is that the mere publication of the facts might bring about drastic revision in state policy.

Since, in the case of the National Guard, the facts are so readily ascertainable, my own feeling is that the North Carolina Advisory Committee might proceed at once to compile a report on that subject without awaiting the completion of its full report.

With that in mind I have prepared and enclose on a separate sheet a list of points about which I would like information. I shall greatly appreciate your seeing that information on these points reaches me as promptly as possible. The list is no doubt incomplete. I hope you will feel free to supplement it as fully as you like.

Thanking you and with kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/jep

CC: Mr. Harold Fleming; Mr. McNeill Smith; Mr. Nathaniel B. White.

1. Please give me the provisions of the North Carolina law relating to the National Guard which deal with the employment of white and Negro members.

2. Has the constitutionality of these provisions been challanged?

3. If so, with what result, giving the citations?

4. Are there any Negro units of the National Guard?

5. If so, how are they designated and where are their headquarters?

6. Are there any Negro members?

7. If so, how many, what is their rank and in what units do they serve?

8. Can you give me the number and rank of National Guard members in North Carolina; that is the number of colonels, captains, lieutenants, privates, etc.?

9. Can you give me the annual salaries of members by rank?

10. Are there any perquisites in addition to salaries?

11. If so, Please list these.

12. What is the current annual appropriation by North Carolina to meet salaries and other compensation of members?

13. What amount does the federal government currently spend annually for salaries and other compensation of National Guard members?

14. Has the federal government ever issued any order or directive dealing with integration of National Guard members?

15. If no specific order or directive, is the National Guard by necessary implication, included in general orders dealing with integration of the armed forces?

16. In the event of war, does a member of the National Guard unit occupy a preferred status over the non-member insofor as salary or rank is concerned?

17. Has North Carolina ever had Negro units or Negro members of white units in its National Guard?

18. Has any Negro ever applied for admission into the National Guard?

19. If so, when and with what result?

June 26, 1959

Mr. M. A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

The enclosed material is forwarded in answer to your telephoned request. You may also wish to consult C. Vann Woodward's Origins of the New South, if you have a copy close at hand. Chapter XIII, "The Atlanta Compromise," p. 350, offers some supplementary information - more nearly atmospheric than of a statistical nature.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Associate

MM:a

Enclosures

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Auburn 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 2, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I believe that I have never written you my thanks for your letter of June 12 enclosing much valuable material on issue of discrimination in employment. I have applied to several sources and find what you have submitted to be far more helpful than anything else I have gotten.

I am especially interested in the excerpts from Mr. Peters' book. I should like to correspond with him. Will you please give me at once an address at which he can be reached.

We are now engaged in the exacting job of developing questionnaires to be sent to proper agencies of the state government of North carolina, of the federal government in this state and to those who hold contracts with the federal government. Presumably Mr. Peters' used the questionnaire method. In order to save time I am enclosing a copy of this letter with the request that you forward it at once to Mr. Peters' who is implored to send me at once such questionnaire forms as he used.

Meanwhile, if you have any ideas of your own as to form of questionnaire I shall greatly appreciate your letting me have them,

With thanks and kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/jep
Enclosure:

July 10, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

The Yancey County situation is similar to that which prevailed in Virginia's Warren County, and I am enclosing the orders in that case; as you will see, no opinion was written to support the injurtion. The enclosed excerpt from the October 1958 Southern School News gives the background of the case.

I just do not know any similar ruling prior to 1954, nor can find no reference. The situation in analogous, I should think, to Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada (305 US 337, 1938), but that involved professional education.

With sincere best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Research Director

LWD/blc
Enclosure

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RECEIVED JUL 9 1959

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 8, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Dear Harold:

There is a move under way to start the Yancey County schools upon an integration program this fall.

The few Negro pupils this past year were transported by bus to Aheville, the Negro School of the county having been condemned.

I think that even before the Supreme Court decision, a Federal District Court of Virginia, or perhaps the Circuit Court of Appeals, held in a Virginia case that such a practice violated the Constitution. My recollection is that NEW SOUTH ran the decision, or, at least, excerpts from it.

I am trying to do what I can to persuade the school authorities to act without the necessity of a suit. It has occurred to me that, if the authorities were familiar with the holding in the Virginia case, they might decide to listen to reason.

Will you please see if NEW SOUTH has run this material. If so, could you let me have a couple of dozen copies of the issue, or photostats of the article? If I am incorrect, I will try to get this material elsewhere.

Thanks and best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/jep

CC: Bill Bagley

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible] ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
[illegible]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 23, 1959

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thanks for the recent clipping from the Wall Street Journal. The point which the article makes is one which our Sub-Committee will do well to ponder.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/jep

August 20, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

order 2
1 - Wright
1 - us
bill SRC

Dear Mr. Wright:

Have you seen the 2-part article, "Racial Integration and Academic Freedom" in the April and May New York University Law Review? If not, and you are interested, I shall request a copy for you, or you could write direct to the New York University School of Law, 40 Washington Square South, New York 3, New York.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD/blc

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 22, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I shall appreciate your sending for me a copy of the 2-part article, "Racial Integration and Academic Freedom".

Thanking you, I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

Marion A. Wright

file - Wright

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street S.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 29, 1960

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Topknot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

As I had feared, the F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Reports do not include a racial breakdown in their reporting of crime rates. None of the data in this publication appeared to me to be useful to a defense ~~your thesis or its defense,~~ only one table mentioned race-- a listing of arrests for all crimes by race in 1,586 cities. The cities were not named.

changed on original

On Les Dunbar's suggestion, I telephoned Dr. Elmer Johnson at North Carolina State College this morning; (You will recall that Dr. Johnson is presently completing a study of Negro crime for our publication.) He verified the fact that data showing the rate of white crime alone is not available; however, he promised to do some cursory investigation of sources this afternoon for ammunition to defend the idea that the Southern white crime rate is inordinately high. He thinks some speculation to this effect may be available, particularly in connection with instances of aggravated assault. He is to write me those sources or quotations he finds, and I will forward the information to you immediately!

When I visited the library Tuesday, I discovered that a more recent Uniform Crime Report had just reached the shelves. It was published this month, and is for the year 1959. This new 1959 data (white + non-white combined) is enclosed, along with the figures for 1958. If for any reason you decide to use both the 1958 and 1959 rates, please take data for both years form the enclosed charts, ~~rather~~ The rason for this is that a simpler method of computi g the total rate per 100,000 (last column to the right) was used in the enclosed sharts. Several of the figures are changed slightly (only by a few tenths of one per cent) because of rounding in the simpler method. For the sake of consistency in method, then, the enclosed 1958 figures should be used if you wish to cite crime rate data for that year as well as for 1959.

In regard to the other matter we spoke of, the list of regional organizations to which publicity on the Penn Community Center convention facilities might be forwarded. I hope to be able to seend you pertinent information on some of them within the next week or so.

Sincerely,

Research Assistant

April 4, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Many thanks for your letter of March 30. You need not at all mind stealing anything which you will favor from my civil disobedience speech. I am sure that you are not unmindful of the fact that I had already stolen a bit here and there from your New South article. Both you and Harris Wofford have written first-rate dissertations on this question. It is a big problem though, and one which has always bothered me. When I got the invitation to speak at Earlham I yielded to temptation and paraded my own questions and worries.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

M. A. Wright

N.C.

Raleigh, ~~Virginia~~: Federal Agencies and offices

Dept. of Agriculture
Agriculture Bldg.

Air Force
Recruitment Station
118 West Hargett

Army
Headquarters North Carolina Military District
201 W. Cabarrus

Commerce
~~Communications~~ Department

Public Roads Bureau
New Highway Road

Civil Aeronautics Administration
Raleigh-Durham Airport

Weather Bureau
Raleigh-Durham Airport

District Court
Federal Building

General Service Administration
401 Oberlin Road

Health, Education & Welfare

Food & Drug Administration
201 New Bern Avenue

Social Security Administration
114 West Morgan

Housing & Home Finance Agency
401 Oberlin Road

Interstate Commerce Commission
Federal Building

Department of Interior
Federal Building (Geological Survey)

Justice Dept.

Federal Bureau of Identification
First Citizens Bank

U. S. Attorney
Federal Building

Labor Department

Bureau of Apprenticeship & Training
Odd Fellows Bldg.

Wage & Hour & Contracts Division
Labor Building

Marine Corps Reserve Inspection
4th 155 MM Howitzer Battery
U. S. Marine Reserve
Navy Reserve Training Center
State College Grounds

Naval Reserve Training Center
Commanding Officer
801 Dan Allen Drive

North Carolina National Guard
Justice Building

Post Office Department
Postmaster
300 ~~xx~~ Fayetteville

Probation Office
Federal Building

Treasury Department
Capital Club Bldg.

Charlotte, N. C.

Dept. of Agriculture

Agricultural Stabilization & Conservation
700 East Trade

Farmers Home Administration
114-A South Myers

Soil Conservation Service
Post Office Bldg.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice
Johnston Building

Commerce Department

Census Bureau
Johnston Building

Commerce Department

Civil Aeronautics Administration
Douglas Municipal Airport

Weather Bureau
Douglas Municipal Airport

District Court, Clerk's Office
Post Office Building

Federal Housing Authority
109 West Third St.

Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service
Johnston Building

Health, Education & Welfare

Food & Drug Administration
Post Office Building

Social Security Administration
311 North Tyron

Interstate Commerce Commission
Liberty Life Building

Bureau of Locomotive Inspectors
Liberty Life Bldg.

Bureau of Motor Carriers
Liberty Life Bldg.

Labor Department

Wage & Hour & Public Contract Division
Johnston Bldg.

Apprenticeship & Training Service
Post Office Bldg.

Post Office Dept.
General Offices
401 West Trade

Probation Officer
Post Office Building

Secret Service
Post Office Building

Small Business Administration
Independence Bldg.

Treasury Department

Collection Division
Johnston Building

Veterans Administration
127 West 7th Street

Greensboro, N. C.

Dept. of Agriculture
403 West Sycamore

Dept. of Commerce

Field Office
Post Office Bldg.

Civil Aeronautics Administration
Greensboro-High Point Airport

District Court, Clerk's Office
Government Building

Federal Bureau of Identification
Post Office Building

Federal Housing Authority
Guilford Building

Department of Labor
Post Office Bldg.

Narcotics Bureau
Government Bldg.

Post Office, General Offices
Government Bldg.

Treasury Dept.

Internal Revenue
320 South Ashe (Dist. Division)

Marian Wright

1. Number of Lynchings, 1909: 69 Negroes; 13 whites

The Negro Yearbook, 1952, Tuskegee Institute, p. 278

75 Negroes; 14 whites

30 Years of Lynching in the United States - 1889-1918
Published by the NAACP - 1919

(Note: that figures conflict. Latter set of figures is included since source is an NAACP publication; I suppose the former set was compiled at Booker Washington's Tuskegee. Perhaps if the Tuskegee figures are used, they should be characterized as "conservative". Publication of the regular Tuskegee reports on lynchings did not begin until at least 1913. MM)

2. Labor Organizations:

"In 1910 only six national unions were estimated to have more than a thousand Negro members, and of those having any at all a large number reported less than a hundred."

Origins of the New South, C. Vann Woodward, p. 361-362

3. Armed Forces:

There were in 1910 four permanent Negro regiments: the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry. All.told, there were less than 10,000 Negro soldiers, and less than adozen Negro officers.

"...In 1906...scorning to hold a hearing (Teddy Roosevelt) discharged without honor a battalion of the Negro 25th Regiment on the charge that it had 'shot up the town' of Brownsville, Texas. Taken on the word of one lone army inspector, this action was so arbitrary and unfair that Senator 'Pitchfork' Ben Tillman, as rabid a racist as ever pounded the hustings, defined it as an 'executive lynching.'"

The Lonesome Road, Saunders Redding. pp 198-199.

(There were nearly 10,000 more soldiers in the National Guards of several states.)

American Negro in the World War, Emmett J. Scott

4. Discriminatory laws passed, 1900-1909:

Waiting Rooms: "Only three states had required or authorized the Jim Crow waiting room in railway stations before 1899, but in the next decade nearly all of the other Southern states fell in line." (Strange Case of Jim Crow, by C. Vann Woodward, p. 82)

Street Cars: "Street cars had been common in Southern cities since the 'eighties, but only Georgia had a segregation law applying to them before the end of the century. Then in quick succession North Carolina and Virginia adopted such a law in 1901, Louisiana in 1902, Arkansas, South Carolina, and Tennessee in 1903, Mississippi and Maryland in 1904, Florida in 1905, and Oklahoma in 1907. These laws referred to separation within cars, but a Montgomery city ordinance of 1906 was the first to require a completely separate Jim Crow street car. During these years the older seaboard states of the South also extended the segregation laws to steamboats.

Suffrage: "The new laws (property, literacy) restricting the suffrage were enacted in the following order: Mississippi, 1890; South Carolina, 1895; Louisiana, 1898; North Carolina, 1900; Alabama and Virginia, 1901; Georgia, 1908; and Oklahoma, 1910."

The Negro in American Life, Jerome Dowd, p. 105.

Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas had by this time adopted the poll tax requirement. Thus, in 1909, all states of the former Confederacy had imposed restrictions on Negro registration and voting, climaxed, as "The Call" points out, on January 1, 1909, when the Georgia disfranchisement regulation went into effect.

1903: "the novelist, Charles W. Chesnutt, said in 1903 that 'the rights of the Negroes are at a lower ebb than at any time during the thirty-five years of their freedom, and the race prejudice more intense and uncompromising."

Strange Career of Jim Crow, pp. 80-81
C. Vann Woodward

"In the first decade of the new century the extremists of Southern racism probably reached a wider audience, both within their own region and in the nation, than ever before."

Origins of the New South, C. Vann Woodward

"Negroes everywhere lost heart. In the first decade of the century, nearly a thousand of them were lynched in public spectacles that outmatched the Roman circus for savagery and obscenity. No appeal to conscience was effective. Civil, legal and moral rights meant nothing..V.It looked to James Weldon Johnson "as though the Negro would let his rights and his claim to rights go by default."

They Came in Chains, Redding, p. 225

November 16, 1960

Mr. Jim Young
Longino & Porter, Inc.
3421 Stewart Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jim:

Per our conversation, please reproduce by photo off-set 5,000 copies of the Fowler Commission memorandum, a copy of which is enclosed in case the copy which I gave you the other day has become soiled. Also enclosed is the half-sheet which is to appear at the front of the memorandum.

You will notice (see the half-sheet) that we have dated the memorandum December 9. This means that we would like to have the job back by December 7. If you think this cannot be done, please call me and we will discuss another date.

The memoranda are to have three holes punched in the left-hand margin per sample enclosed. Also, 3,000 copies are to be folded for No. 10 size envelopes; the remaining 2,000 copies are to be delivered flat.

Your quoted price for 5,000 copies is $205. We assume that the price will be adjusted because of the half-sheet.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: half-sheet copy
Fowler Report
blank sheet with holes

CC: Ben Muse

~~S A~~ ~~NM~~ NM - mss file

Blue Project

Our problem is to discuss realistically getting the most out of the real possibilities for education in Burke County, Georgia. In order to do this, we are making one bold assumption and thereby getting rid of an issue that probably does affect the future of any educational system in the South, but by all rights, ought not. The assumption we are making is that the color of a person's skin is an irrelevant consideration when trying to work out the possibilities of education. To say that color is irrelevant is simply to say that no decision will be made about what to do simply on the basis of color. This is not to say that the past and present effects of educational systems based primarily on color will be ignored. Such effects are a part of the facts that have to be considered in beginning to think about the real possibilities. But it is to say that, granting our assumption, the problems of education have, in the long run, nothing to do with color but only to do with facts and ideals relevant to cultural, social, and intellectual conditions in the county as it is right now.

Real possibilities as opposed to logical possibilities ties us to a discussion of the county as it is and to some appraisal of where it might go with the potentialities imbedded in the situation of the county today. Thus we are not concerned to set up a completely imaginary, ideal school situation that might be fulfilled in no-county whatsoever, but to determine what possibilities could be fulfilled given a bold imagination apprised of the facts of the county today. How could the county get the most out of the educational situation it finds itself in today if it devoted some attention to the real educational problems which are part of the concrete situation in which it finds itself?

Let us not be concerned with aims of education in any sense other than that in which aims represent the fulfillment of opportunities. Let us agree that the aim of an educational system is to create a situation in which there is the maximum realization of real possibilities, i.e. possibilities for intellectual achievement, social action, and cultural appreciation. Of course, none of these aims gives us much guidance in choosing courses of action, but this fact is precisely the point. We do not intend to discuss aims divorced from their possible realization in a concrete setting but to allow aims to emerge from a consideration of a concrete setting. Without being simply opportunistic, we want to discuss how to realize the full possibilities for educational good available in Burke County and in the process of seeing how present possibilities might be realized, we want to envision the way in which new possibilities will be created.

There are some stark facts about Burke County. For example, there are approximately 4300 families in Burke County, and slightly over 2300 of these families have annual incomes of less than $2000.00. Just over 1200 of these 2300 families have annual incomes of less than $1000.00. Since over 1100 of these 1200 are Negro families, one can reasonably guess that there is a sizable section of the population with similar cultural, social, political, economic, and intellectual problems which stem primarily from sheer poverty. A central fact to be considered in addressing the educational problems of Burke County is that more than one-fourth of the families in the county are suffering from problems that are directly related to the fact that they are destitute. Clearly, so far as these people are concerned, the primary thing that a school system might accomplish would be to prepare children to lift

themselves out of the economic, social, and cultural plight which sheer poverty has placed them in. In order to plan an educational program around this central fact, the nature of the poverty would have to be determined with some precision.

The problem which presents itself is this: what is the sensible way to organize and carry out an educational program in a community in which there is clearly a large cultural, social, intellectual, and economic gap between sizable groups of the community. The problem is that the people to receive the education are genuinely different in ways that count. To overcome these differences with the minimum facilities, teachers, etc. (average per-pupil cost in Burke County is less than $300.00) demands a mobilization of resources which makes the phrase "maximum efficiency" sound like a euphemism.

In Burke County there are seven elementary schools, four high schools and three "other" schools. Where these schools are and the facilities they have to offer to different kinds of instructional groups that might be decided upon is an important limiting fact. Obviously who goes to what school cannot be decided simply upon the proximity of the schools to groups of pupils. It certainly is not obvious that a person is most efficiently served by the school that is nearest him, especially if there are schools that offer programs tailored to fit the learning differences of pupils.

An initial attack upon the problem would suggest that the differences which genuinely affect learning be identified in terms of the location of pupils with similar learning potentialities. Once the learning potentialities of various groups within the community have been identified, one could proceed to match the facilities to these groups. Conceivably there might be a school

available to each group with faculty and facilities organized to develop the potentialities of that particular group. As significant learning potentialities of various members of a group change, there is no obvious reason for the individual child's not changing groups.

The obvious suggestion lurking behind the above is that a school might not be a school in any very ordinary sense. If groups were identifiable whose cultural background were so low as actually to inhibit learning, a whole school and its staff could be devoted to filling in background, so to speak. Whether this would mean working with the children in a school or with the whole community of children and adults would have to be determined on the basis of the efficiency demands of the situation. When the economic, social, cultural, and intellectual level of groups of people is so low that ordinary classroom activities are futile, then mere efficiency demands that the problem be attacked as a problem of the community, not simply as a problem of the classrooms.

In a community like Burke County, where the economic and social problems of the community are so great that carrying on the ordinary formal classroom operation is at best ineffective, if not impossible, the first demand of strategy is to consider the possibility of abandoning the ordinary. The educational problems of Burke County, for at least a sizable part of the community, are not problems to be solved in the schoolroom but problems to be attacked in the community at large. The kind of education such people need is a kind that will change their total living circumstances almost immediately. If one is going to use the resources of a community efficiently, he must probably first be willing to abandon the educational preconceptions that have put the community in the educational situation in which it finds itself.

Consider such an ordinary matter as accreditation. When the median school years completed in the community is 5.4 for males and 7.1 for females, it certainly is not obvious that the most sensible way to devote educational time and energy is toward attaining accreditation. Not that the requirements for accreditation are not sensible and worthwhile, but in a community where the median school years completed averages less than 7 and median family income is less than $2000.00, the formal problems of accreditation couldn't be more artificial. The problem is to direct the educational resources of the community toward the educational problems of the community, and the educational problems of the community are hardly likely to be accreditational. This is not to deny that there might be a segment of the community that would benefit by and even need the facilities of the ordinary academic classroom setup, but this segment of the community is bound to be small. When, out of a school enrollment of better than 6200 there is an average daily attendance of about 4800 and a total annual graduation from high school of 162, the educational problems of the community are hardly the formal problems of accreditation. From an enrollment of slightly over 4400 Negroes, only 79 pupils graduated from high school. From an enrollment of about 1790 white pupils, 83 graduated from high school. Clearly there is a large segment of the community that needs its part of the educational system re-organized in a fashion that more clearly recognizes the learning potentialities of the pupils in the community. Since learning potentialities are probably a function of many community factors not found in the classrooms, if one is going to attack the problem of efficient development of the learning potentiality of a community, he must do it by attacking the problem where it is--in the community itself.

Probably the most pressing part of a strategy for Burke County is precise determination of the different kinds and degrees of educational potentiality available in the county. What are the social, cultural, intellectual, and economic differences among the people of the county that make a difference to learning? Once these are identified, one could develop a plan for using the schools, teachers, facilities that are currently available in an imaginative way that might increase the efficiency of the educational process. Clearly the problem is not just a problem of drop-outs or of inadequately trained teachers (actually out of more than 200 teachers, only 17 have less than four-year certification) or of inadequate school plant and facilities (though the actual condition of facilities might have to be determined); the problem is how to direct the educational abilities of the community toward the solving of the real educational problems of the community, some of which are probably not problems that can be solved in the classrooms at all.

If the educational problems of a community grow out of the living conditions of large segments of the community then the place to solve the educational problems is where they exist, i.e., in the community at large, not in the classroom. It certainly is not obvious that the educational ability of the community is wasted if it is directed toward improving the root conditions that allow more formal education to take place. It may be that more formal education cannot be efficiently carried out until these root conditions are investigated, identified, and perhaps cured. In any case, when there are cultural, social, economic, and intellectual differences between large groups in a community and these differences are the kind that strongly influence learning, education can only be efficient if it recognizes the effects of these differences upon the

possibilities for educational development and initiates a strategy based upon the limitations these differences have made clear. A strategy is not ruined by the limitations of physical strength and facilities, but it might be ruined by preconceptions about the way these strengths and facilities have to be organized. If a community is free to organize its educational strength in such a way as to attack its real problems, then it at least has a chance to solve its problems. In Burke County, probably the central fact relevant to education is the poverty--with all the attendant deprivations this implies--of more than half of its families. The problem of education in Burke County is not the improvement of the schools but the improvement of conditions in the community that make schools efficient.

3 questions:

1. 2300 families with income of $2000, of which 1200 make less than $1000 of which 1100 are Negro... What no. of the 2300 are Negro?

2. p.4 Schools based on learning potential a debatable policy in ~~xxx~~ educational circles? Can schools conceive of work with children before school age (to develop potential) a legitimate function?

3. pp. 5-6: Is curing community ills a function of education? Isn't there a need to make the most of other community resources-- welfare, health dept., etc.

I'm not arguing these questions, just raising them...

Pat W.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION IN THE RURAL SOUTH

I. Introduction

If the problems that have plagued the South for the past hundred years are to be faced and met so that they will not drag on another hundred years or more, then education, particularly in the rural South, must be transformed. It must be begun anew based upon the clear realization that it cannot succeed in the task which is legitimately its task unless it addresses itself to the problems and circumstances surrounding all the members of the community from which it draws its life. Education, by virtue of its purpose alone, must be designed to develop abilities wherever it finds them, in any person that it finds them. A community — urban or rural — cannot continue to grow in general richness of experience so long as it develops through education only part of the abilities that are available to it. Neither can it continue to grow if there is no place for the use of developed abilities within the community itself. The primary realization that will make such a transformation of education possible is that Negroes and whites are of necessity members of one and the same community.

There are several important facts about the kind of rural county we are concerned about that can be stated generally and loosely without a significant loss of meaning.

1. Over 50% of the county population is Negro, and this part of the population is poor, in many cases desperately so.
2. The nature of farming in the county is changing, and this change is reducing the only generally available economic opportunity for negroes.
3. The institution of segregation has operated so successfully and so thoroughly that so far as the white community is concerned, the Negro is all but invisible. Clearly, in the white

community, there is an operational definition of "citizen" and "man" which, though it doesn't positively exclude the Negro, tends to except him from some of the conditions these terms normally carry with them.

4. The cultural level of operation in the homes of the Negroes when compared with ordinary middle-class standards is generally so low as to act as a positive deterrent to the actual carrying out of the standard educational process. This cultural level continues to drag Negro achievement down from the earliest grade levels all the way through school.

5. Though the social, economic, and cultural level of the Negro is generally significantly different from that of the rest of the community, no steps have been taken or are being taken in the educational system to change the root causes of poor educational development. The white community's definition of "Negro" includes these social, economic, and cultural deficiencies so that changing these defeciencies is somewhat akin to making a Negro what he, by definition, cannot be

The general hope for education is that it will make possible for the individual a life filled with richer experiences than he could have without it. ~~[illegible] undergo the process. In a general sense,~~ Education is always forward looking. The process of education is intended to make the life that will be lived by the individual significantly different, hopefully, significantly richer. The most obvious way in which education achieves this hope is through the preparation of the individual to fill one of a number of economic roles that have richer experiences attached to them. Thus education offers to the individual the not too distant hope of an improved economic position in society and so long as this hope

is available the individual can and sometimes will make certain immediate sacrifices of satisfaction in order to obtain the fulfilled promise of a richer life. The facts of Burke County, Georgia (one of the counties studied) make this hope, at least for the great majority of the Negro population, a dead one. A constantly reiterated phrase from members of the Negro teaching community of Burke County is "these people (the general Negro population) have no idea what education is." We take this phrase to mean that there is no way presently known to the Negro teaching community of bringing the general hope of education to life.

Institutions of education in our society build upon the working assumption that when children come to school and as they continue through school there is an expanding fund of social and cultural experience generally available upon which education can be grounded. Certain values, certain complexes of sense experiences, certain attitudes (most of these being the values, experiences, and attitudes of the great middle class) furnish a background or a foundation which allows education to proceed. When a group of children does not have this background, the ordinary process of schooling cannot be carried out efficiently. In the Negro community of Burke County, the children in general simply do not have the appropriate background. That they do not becomes apparent from the growing disparity between achievement scores of children from the Negro community and children from the white community. The standard school operation built upon the assumption of a certain background functions as one might expect with the white children, but it does not with the Negro children. The consequence is that by the time Negro children have reached the tenth grade (those who remain in school) there is a difference between mean achievement scores, when Negroes are compared to whites, of approximately three grade levels.

The two fundamental educational problems of Burke county are, therefore, (1) reviving the hope of education and (2) either devising a system of educational experiences that does not depend for its effectiveness upon the standard assumptions of middle class background or providing for those children who come to school without

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it a set of experiences that will supply it. One of our hopes in this paper is to suggest how these two things may be done.

For the Negro in Burke County, there is little or no visible evidence that education leads anywhere. The good things, i.e., those experiences regarded as valuable, are not in any apparent way more available to educated Negroes than to other Negroes. Where the hope of education still lives among the members of the Negro community it lives upon the strength of the great American myth that education is the road up. But the overpowering evidence of first hand experience of Negro children is that education leads nowhere in particular. So long as there is little or no economic opportunity available to Negroes in Burke County, there is little reason to believe that the conclusion of this first hand experience is even incorrect, much less is there any obvious way to prevent this conclusion from being drawn.

Under ordinary circumstances the hope of education depends upon there being people "just like me" who succeed through education. One can hope that his education will lead somewhere when there are people like him in the community whose education has led them somewhere. In the Negro community of Burke County, the only people around "just like me" whose education has led anywhere are a few teachers who have returned to the county. There are no Negro doctors, lawyers, business men. There are no educated people "just like me" who are reaping the rewards, in any sort of community observable sense, of their education. That education leads nowhere unless one leaves Burke County is an observable fact. Whether or not it leads somewhere if one leaves the county is certainly not observable by those children who are still trying to struggle through school. Both educated and uneducated Negroes leave Burke County. What happens to them is not very clearly known. Certainly those who leave can hardly serve as community models of the rewards of education. The lack of pressure on youngsters to stay in school is part of the pattern of no hope. Not only do children fail to see the possibility of education, but indeed adults, in many cases, do not either. For a Negro in Burke County,

there are a limited number of experiences available that one might call good. These experiences are not related to education in any very obvious way. In fact, there is very little reason to think they are related to education at all. If one is a white person, many things are available through education. But one does not have to be a keen observer to see that if one is a Negro, education is the key to nothing. The undergoing of the experiences designed to be educational has not yet in our society been made such a pleasurable thing that children are willing and interested no matter whether education leads anywhere or not. In general, when the adults in a community abandon the hope of education, children do too. When children abandon the hope of education, the drop-out rate rises markedly, and even those children who do not drop out of school learn in such a lackadaisical manner that education does not proceed apace. One of the signs of the low level of aspiration among Negro children in general is their extremely low achievement level. What does school matter if the whole process obviously leads nowhere.? When going to school is just another way to pass the day, how can there be hope? No one has to tell the children there is no hope in education; indeed no one can tell them there is because their first hand experience clearly indicated that education for Negroes is a road to no particular place. Since education still has some of the overtones of castor oil, why should one take it or take it seriously if the direct evidence of his experience tells him that it is a game to be played for awhile, but a game primarily for white children, a game that promises no more than the experiences of the day, a game that is not positively harmful perhaps, but a game neverthless.

The cover of one of the lower elementary grade readers furnished to the Negro students just as they are to the whites makes the whole joke painfully clear. The cover depicts the typical middle class home background with the happy child playing in front of his obviously satisfied home-- the face of the smiling child and the quality of his surroundings suggest right off that the mother and daddy are happlily married, no family problems, no money problems, nothing to worry about

but the pleasantness of the day, the entertainment of the dog or cat, and the enjoyment of the generally happy circumstances. The white child -- one might almost say white, Anglo-Saxon, protestant child, depicted with his thin lips smiling, his thin nose, delicate skin, and blonde hair, smiling, looks pleasantly out at the Negro reader from under the cruel title of "Just Like Me". No doubt the Negro pupil learns the joke of his education as he learns to read.

The myth that education is the road up penetrates to some families of the Negro community and their response to it is particularly revealing. Families occasionally invest their family resources in the possibility of achievement for one of their members. One of the children who seems to offer promise is selected and his education is seen to. He goes to school regularly. His chore load is lightened. Other children take over his home burdens. His task is to go to school. A teacher described the process in obviously sympathetic terms. "The family", he said, "They settle things among themselves. Everybody helps out. The children do the chores for the one who is to get an education. If everybody has to work, some work extra so that the one they chose can go to school. Even the chosen one sees what he has to do. His task is to get educated and to lead the kind of good life that education will make possible. They settle the work to be done among themselves so that one can have the chance to go to school no matter what the others have to do. They don't talk it out, but they feel it out. Everybody, even the youngest sees what is being done, and he gives his share. The family invests in the one going to school, not for gain, not even exactly for his sake, but for the family. They become very close and they don't mind."

Thus the myth of the power of education carries some magic still. A few individuals in a few families are able to respond. But for the great majority of Negro adults as well as for the great majority of Negro children, there is no hope in education. ~~In general, the attitude of the children [illegible] of the adults. There there is no hope among the adults, there is not likely to be hope among the children.~~ Whatever the conditions for restoring the hope of education, if

sharp changes in the educational development of Burke county are to be made, these conditions have to be met. It is a necessary condition for the efficient carrying out of any lengthy process of education that those who are concerned to undergo the process believe that it leads somewhere, indeed, to some improvement of some kind.

Insert for Proposal pp 3-4.

The aim of public education is to make it possible for the person who undergoes the process of education to lead the maximum good life which his abilities and the cultural, social, and economic context of his community will allow. There are two things that limit this maximum at any particular time --(1) the abilities of the individual, and (2) the organization and structure of the cultural, social and economic affairs of the community within which the individual's life will be lived. Both of these things can conceivably be changed. It is the direct business of education (a) to do whatever maximizes the ability of the individual and (b) to do whatever leads to the greatest likelihood that this ability will be realized in the living of a good life. The formal program of the schools is a straightforward effort to accomplish (b). Schools have done very little in the past to effect (a), and it has not even been clear that it was the business of the schools to attack the problem involved in (2). One of the things we hope to show in this paper is how to set about maximizing the ability which the generally deprived child is likely to bring with him to school. Another is that education is so intricately woven into the cultural, social, and economic conditions of a community that a transformation of education calls for a transformation in many other aspects of community life.

It is not the special business of the psychologist or the educator to spell out precisely what the good life is. The delineation of the good life at any particular time is probably a complex function of many and various elements of a society; and we can best leave precisely what the good life is within the scope of a vague phrase like "the common part of that life written of, spoken of, and otherwise depicted by the various members of a society when they are engaged in expressing what kind of life a person ought to be able to lead."

It is the special business of psychologists and educators, once some of the elements of a good life have been delineated, to tell us the efficient ways to go about securing the greatest likelihood that any particular individual's abilities will be available to him for living a good life. In other words, part of the special business of some psychologists and educators is telling us what to do in order to develop the ability of individuals toward the actual living of a good life. In a more or less clear sense, the advice of psychologists and educators is institutionalized in our school systems. Presumably a school system is an attempt to provide programs that offer the maximum opportunity to individuals to develop the general and special abilities they come to school with to the point of actually living the maximum good life available in the cultural, social, and economic context within which the school system exists. As they presently are, very few school systems are set up to do anything toward increasing the abilities the child brings with him to school or toward removing the cultural, social, and economic limitations of the community within which the child that comes to school will live his life. Whether the schools are set up to do it or not, it seems clear that it is a task of education to maximize the abilities of the individual and it is a task of every community —urban or rural— to organize itself in such a way as to allow developed abilities to be used in the living of a good life.

The justification of any decisions related to the operation of the schools must finally rest in the relationship of the decision to the maximum development of abilities that promote the living of a good life. No decision about the operation of a school system can be justified if it is grounded upon facts or principles that are either irrelevant to or antithetical to the maximum develop of abilities calculated to lead to the actual living of a good life in the cultural, social and economic context broadly available. The public school can legitimately make no distinctions regarding the ownership of abilities. Neither can it limit itself only to a given local cultural, social and economic community. If the achievement of maximum

development is the goal of public education, then all decisions about schools must finally be justified in terms of the likelihood that they contribute to the achievement of this maximum.

Thus there cannot be grounds for educating only some members of a community, and there cannot be grounds for educating any member of a community toward anything but a maximum development of his abilities. Of course, within the development of maximum abilities there is plenty of room for different educational programs and different particular educational achievements, but these differences relate to the differences among individuals and have nothing to do with the general principle of developing ability toward the living of a good life. Individuals with similar abilities and similar aspirations will presumably receive similar educational treatment. One cannot genuinely accept the goal of maximizing the development of abilities and reject the acknowledged steps leading toward such a goal. All of which boils down to saying that educational decisions must be justified on the basis of facts and principles related to education and on no other grounds.

The South has an educational history of decisions about education made and justified on grounds that are irrelevant to the central aim of education. The Negro has been educated as though the aim of education could not be the development of his maximum abilities and as though the kind of good life he could lead was not to be found as a genuine member of the whole community within which he lived. Thus if education is to accomplish its purpose in the South, the South particularly must face the facts to which its educational history have led and must justify its new decisions about education on grounds that are clearly relevant to the process of education itself. Race, considered as a simple genetic fact, is absolutely irrelevant either to the ends or to the means of education.

The general problem of education in the South, then, is a transformation of the process of education in such a way as to overcome the problems which the South's peculiar history of education have visited upon it. It is an assumption of this

paper that Southern communities which accept the goal of maximum development of individual abilities toward the living of a good life will come to realize that a radical transformation of the decisions about education in its social, cultural, and economic context is necessary before schools can begin to move genuinely toward the accomplishment of this goal. This paper is an attempt to forward such a radical transformation.

Though race is irrelevant as a fact in the justification of decisions about education, it is in the South a reasonable indicator of the ~~cultural, social, and economic~~ conditions with which an individual must struggle, especially if that individual is a Negro. The Negro in the rural South provides a particularly clear example of the South's general educational problem. He is likely to be poor; economic opportunities are almost non-existent; he participates only nominally in the social and cultural affairs of the larger community of which his race provides a major part. The history of education in the rural South is such that the Negro's people are likely to be backward educationally, socially, culturally, and economically. If the goal of education is the maximum development of everyone's ability toward a full participation in the life of his community, then the problems of education could not be more clearly presented than they are in the rural South.

It is our purpose in this paper to examine two school systems of rural communities in the South in order to provide constructive suggestions about how to proceed in facing the staggering problems produced by the peculiar context within which Southern education has developed. Our suggestions embody the premise that race is absolutely irrelevant as an appropriate basis for decisions about education. Decisions about education which were based upon race have created many of the problems that the South is now called upon to face. Thus our assumption is that every Southern community accepts the goal of maximum development of abilities for the living of a good life and that this goal prohibits the making of educational decisions on the grounds irrelevant to the educational process. Our task, then, is to acknowledge

the actual history of education in the South and the problems that come with it and to suggest decisions about education grounded upon facts and principles directly relevant to the achievement of the goal of education.

For convenience and in the hope that they are more or less typical, Burke County, Georgia and Edgefield County, South Carolina were selected for study. Information about both counties was gathered from reports submitted by each county to a higher authority, and from a brief visit to the school system in each county. The information submitted by the counties in their various reports was in general taken to be accurate. The information gathered through the brief visits was recorded largely as impressions and is subject to all the difficulties of interpretation which mere impressions always involve. One part of our information, then, is as accurate and as sound as the county reports are. The other part of our information is as accurate and sound as the sensitivity and objectivity of the observers. The only premise we intended to carry with us and maintain in tact was that sound educational decisions must follow from facts and principles relevant to education. We are convinced that race is not relevant.

Our report is divided into four parts. 1) An evaluation of the socio-economic factors relevant to education in Burke County and Edgefield County. The process of education ends formally in a life lived in a community containing various social, cultural, and economic conditions. The limitations placed upon the community by these conditions are in the long run, limitations placed upon the good life available to the individual in that community. Education, in its broadest context, must be related to the social, economic, and cultural life of the community of which it is a part. Our evaluation is an attempt to suggest possibilities that might eliminate some of the specific limitations that were obvious in the counties we studied.
2) A survey of the existing educational situation. In this part of the report are most of the hard facts about the two county school systems in their present condition.
3) A summary of some reserach about the culturally deprived child. By almost any definition, the Negro child in the rural South is culturally deprived. Before we made suggestions about the specific remedies for the kinds of deprivation that were

apparent in both Burke and Edgefield counties, it seemed reasonable to survey what is generally known about the effects of cultural deprivation upon the possibilities of education. 4) Suggestions for solutions. Our suggestions are tentative though firm. We certainly do not pretend to be experts on the two counties studied, but we do claim a certain knowledge about the process of learning and the context in which it best takes place. Thus our suggestions are tentative in the sense that we think with more detailed and exact study of the counties involved they could be actually put into practice. They are firm in the sense that they are based upon facts and principles which are directly relevant to education. To the extent that Burke and Edgefield counties represent the problems of rural education in the South, the solutions we suggest are offered as genuine possibilities in facing these problems. We feel a radical transformation of the process of education is necessary because the history of Southern education has embodied a serious error in the making of educational decisions, i.e., the belief that race is a relevant fact in the justification of educational policies. We eliminated this error by reconstructing some of the premises upon which our educational decisions were based. Our suggestions embody our beliefs about ways to undo the concrete effects of this error. It is our belief that the open acknowledgement of a mistake is the surest way to the elimination of its bad results.

II

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS IN THE EVALUATION OF RURAL EDUCATION

It is a fundamental premise of this section of the report that the process of education--whether considered as a formal or informal process--cannot be realistically considered independently of the economic milieu within which it exists. Educational aims and ideals, and therefore educational substance, stand in a symbiotic relationship to the terms which a man--or community--is able to make with his physical and social environment.

In the two counties observed there were certain broad similarities which served as the basis for their selection for observation. They are both essentially rural counties in that agriculture has been and is currently a major livelihood. Both have once been "plantation" counties heavily dependent upon cotton production with its base resting upon slavery. The many ramifications and consequences of this history are too well known to recount here. Suffice it to recognize that two major preoccupations in the post-bellum South have been the economic adjustments away from the agriculture-cotton fixation and the socio-economic assimilation of the Negro. Needless to say, progress in both of these matters has been very uneven across the South. This irregular evolution is fairly well depicted in Burke and Edgefield counties, and this fact appears to have considerable significance for education present and future.

Description and Directions of Change

The exposition which follows is subject to some fairly severe restrictions. First, the data are drawn from several sources of rather uneven quality and comprehensiveness. In general, three sources of evidence are represented:

(1) General descriptions of one of the communities by two citizens of long standing whose interests were not of the sort which might obviously lead to distortion favor-

able to the community. As a rule this evidence is used only as it is consonant with some other data source. Nevertheless, the hazards of such information in creating a "set" for the selection and interpretation of other data must be acknowledged.

(2) Direct observation of the communities. The writers spent 1 1/2 to 2 days in each of the counties touring the schools-Negro and White, urban and rural--talking in the main with administrative staff persons. The principal contributions of these visits--short of acquiring various public reports and cursory acquaintance with confidential information such as I.Q. and achievement test performance--are mainly in the nature of inferences, intuitions, hunches, and hopefully, insights into the human attitudes, feelings, and aspirations which perhaps are what give life to other objective but skeletal indices conventionally drawn upon in describing such communities.

(3) Various demographic and public report sources. These are identified specifically elsewhere, but it is worth noting that drawing the counties from different states has produced some unevenness in the substance and form of reports. In general, 1950 and 1960 data are presented to give some notion of the relative stability and/or direction of change of community features. This was not possible in all cases, however, in that there were changes in reporting categories of

standard references and some sources were so specialized as to preclude not only periodicity but in some cases direct comparison with the other county.

To simplify the treatment of a rather cumbersome burden of statistical reference, selected items of description of the two counties are arranged in parallel form in Table 1. Wherever possible exposition will be confined to interpretation of these data with appropriate references.

Burke and Edgefield counties are of unequal area, and not quite so unequal population. The urban-rural proportions of the total population are very similar between both counties. Edgefield County's urban group, however, is divided between two small but dominant (and apparently competing) municipalities, while Burke County's urban element is concentrated principally (and apparently increasingly) in a single central city.

The racial balance in the two counties is somewhat different not only in terms of current White-Negro proportions but in the apparent change trends over the last several decades. Edgefield County followed a pattern evident in some 22 of the 46 South Carolina counties over the period 1920-1940. In 1920 Edgefield County's racial balance was very similar to that in Burke County, Georgia in 1950, i.e., some 70% of the population was Negro. Between 1920 and 1930 Edgefield County's balance began a shift toward equal proportion of whites and Negroes but the shift slowed down so that between 1950-1960 the decrease was only 1.7 percentage points, from 59.9% Negroe to 58.2% (a decline of 9.9% taking the number of Negroes in 1950 as 100%). By contrast Burke County's proportion of Negroes dropped from 71.3% of the total population in 1950 to 66.3% in 1960 --a decrement of 18.2%, when the 1950 number is taken as 100%. The white population for the same periods has remained relatively stable in both counties. These facts mean that both counties are losing relatively large numbers of both races presumably to urban areas (Augusta; Atlanta; Washington, D.C.; Chicago were suggested by local persons) but that Negroes are emigrating in much greater number than are whites, and this is especially so in Burke County.

These data by themselves are not especially surprising. Much of agricultural America is experiencing this basic population depletion. The rural South's problem, however, appears to be complicated by at least two related conditions. Not only must farms increase in size and mechanization in order to survive, but the traditional cotton crop must be supplanted by whatever farm enterprise ~~will adapt~~ can be adapted ~~itself~~ to the soil and financial conditions of the area. If mean land value is any index of soil adaptability, then Edgefield County is in a somewhat better position for such crop adaptation than is Burke County. That such is the case seems evident in that Edgefield County had successfully shifted to peaches as the principal crop by 1959. Burke County apparently still maintains cotton as its principal crop, but there were suggestions in the interviews with Burke County residents that much former cotton land was being seeded for pulpwood production with this acreage then being enrolled in the federal soil-bank program. ~~(Summer 1958-61, 25 Inc. in forest acres)~~ Insert Addendum #1.

The second problem complicating the agricultural revolution in the South appears to arise in the fact that whatever crop adaptations are made, the inevitable consequence is that less unskilled farm labor is required. This, of course, is true wherever mechanization has increased, but in the South it obviously means that the labor surplus created is preponderantly Negro. And while the problem of how best to assimilate workers displaced by automation and technical advance seems to want satisfactory solution nationally, the special problem of local assimilation of displaced Negro workers ~~in the South~~ is apparently a threatening prospect for the Southerner, which he may not be too anxious to solve immediately.

The apparent responses of individuals and communities faced with this general problem are not too startling. The displaced individual typically relocates in some urban industrial area where he sees either the illusion of employment alternatives or at least anonymity with which to cloth his economic failure. Some rural communities,

Addendum #1. Page 16, paragraph 1

While soil bank data were not available to us, it may be significant in this connection to note that in the period 1958-1961 the total forest area of Burke County increased from some 250 thousand acres to almost 309 thousand acres--a growth of almost 24% in three years.

impressed with the loss of goods consumers, apparently attempt to entice small industries and manufacturers into filling the business void. Both of these patterns of response can be observed in the census data compiled in Table I. Here once again, however, Edgefield County appears to have made a more successful adjustment in attracting small industry than Burke County. That this should be so, however, is as something of an anomaly. Insert Addendum #2. Both counties are located within commuting distance of metropolitan areas which afford some absorption of the unemployed. Yet only 8% of Burke County's workers are employed in such metropolitan areas while 19% of Edgefield County's employed commute, presumably to this urban center. Further complicating the difference between the two counties is the report by a former resident that Burke County in 19__ rejected an offer from a federal agency to span a river separating the county from a federal plant being constructed in the adjoining state at that time.

Whatever the manner in which the rural community reacts to these displaced workers, however, the basic problem is that their assimilation somewhere is going to entail education of some sort. Whether this education is to occur on the job (which, if median level of schooling is any index of technical aptitude, presumes the existence of a large number of low complexity jobs) or in a more formal setting depends upon the technical requirements of the industries in the area of re-location. This fact would appear to be true whether re-location is merely a local shift in place of employment (which could easily be the case if manufacturing jobs are increasingly available in the rural community) or whether it is a matter of a major removal from the home community. It also appears to be true whether the person is a mature worker, or one who is only now or next year to be leaving school and entering the labor market. It is thus clear that the agricultural revolution as a special case of the larger process of automation has created a set of conditions which places the social role of public education--urban and rural-- in a perspective importantly different from that to which we have become habituated over several generations.

Without belaboring a possible thesis about how the "scientific mode of thought"

Addendum #2. Page 17, paragraph 1

As has been noted, the counties are in many respects quite similar, neither possessing any distinctive physical or geographic features which might afford a significant industrial or manufacturing advantage. Burke County, paradoxically, gave more immediately tangible evidence of recent community concern for such development in that one of the most useful documents supplied to us in the course of our visit was an attractive and informative community industrial prospectus prepared by a prominent state university. Inquiries about similar promotional material in Edgefield indicated that none existed and that no single organization in town could be clearly identified as concerned with such promotion. (In this connection it may be significant that Edgefield County was the residence of a United States congressman.)

That Burke County has not always been so concerned with the employment and industry, however, is suggested by at least two peculiar circumstances.

(as manifested in the Industrial Revolution and its refinements in mass production) may have shaped our contemporary concept of vocational education, it is increasingly obvious that this same scientific mode of thought is fast making this form of vocational education obsolete.

In one sense ~~of this term~~, vocational education in many small rural communities has been obsolete for some time in that local control of education has often defined ~~vocational~~ such education in agricultural terms while large numbers of students were destined to pursue urban lives. Such obsolescence is of course not obsolescence at all, but simply an excessively and narrowly utilitarian perception of education as an investment, which--if it is to be worthwhile--must promise a return to the local investor. In all fairness it must be recognized that some small, rural communities have contrived to provide students not only the options of vocational agriculture and college preparatory training--both of which are without doubt legitimate undertakings--but to provide training which might be optimally preparatory for the majority of students who are almost certain to end up as urban workers.

But there is a second and critically appropriate sense in which obsolescence can refer to public vocational training and this without reference to the urban or rural character of schools. In this sense it refers to educational programs which train students in specialized skills which have genuinely disappeared from the technology of the culture into which the student emerges. This of course is an altogether modern problem posing a critical challenge to technological, educational and community leaders in terms of economic and curricular decisions which must be made. Since the problem is both new and complex, it would be an empty ~~position~~ posture to propose a comprehensive solution here. Suffice it to suggest that our traditional conception of vocational education may be more an impediment than a guide. Education must always be concerned with that which is to some degree general to a wide range of specific conditions within which the individual will

have to function. That we have in the past beensble to train so narrowly as the term "vocational education" has come to imply was more a function of the organizational and technical stability of the industrial system than it was of anything inherently efficient or right about the training procedure. Whether the current era of electronics (or some other impending form of energy adaptation for industrial use) will lend itself to intermediate levels of technological training which can be called terminal education remains to be seen.

In any casem the point is that education in many if not most rural communities may be regarded as obsolescent in both senses in which the term has been employed here. Small, dispersed communities, whether motivated to survive as communities by attracting business and manufacturing interests or motivated by sense of obligation to their young, seemingly must be prepared to invest money and effort in supplying the structure and substance for education which offers only a perilous promise of visible local return.

Both Burke and Edgefield counties can be described in terms of the major elements of the larger problems presented. Regard for the importance of education, whether as an investment or as essential to the fitness of the young, can be measured by the amount of money invested in it. The two counties differ slightly but it appears safe to say that neither gives education top priority. Edgefield County with some 4400 students in 1962 saw fit to invest but $155,000 of local money in their education for that year. This amounts to about $40 per student (based on average daily attendance). Such a figure of course is deceptively low inasmuch as various state and federal taxes paid locally are returned in the form of state and federal supports to education. Such support (approximately $527,000 in 1962) is out of proportion to the taxes paid. Whatever the case, 3 cents on the assessed property value dollar suggests no intense esteem for the merits of education. It should further be noted that while in 1957 this county ranked 45th among 46 counties in Average Millage Rate, it also ranked 5th among the same 46 counties in the per cent increase in manufacturing capital

invested during the 10 year period 1946-1956. Obviously there is local money that could be spent on education.

In Burke County the same sort of index suggests that the county has even less confidence in the merits of education. Not only are its general tax revenues less than those of Edgefield County, but with a 40% greater enrollment in 1961 than Edgefield County it also provides less local support--both total and per pupil--than does Edgefield County. The Average Daily Attendance based per pupil support (77% ADA, all grades) was about $30 in 1961. The remaining 80% of the total school budget came from state aid. In Edgefield County the state accounted for about 75% of the total budget. In the data at hand there was no basis for comparing the tax rates of the two counties, but in 1963 the Burke County rate was about $35 per $1000 assessed valuation. Industrial property was assessed at 10% of real value. In the leading community the rate was $18 per $1000 assessed value with assessment running at 20% of real value.

In attempting to assess these counties with respect to what has been portrayed as the concern for adapting education to changing technological and business needs, one might find a second index in efforts to improve education by consolidating smaller units to provide a sufficient student body and broad enough economic base to afford the often expensive equipment and trained personnel necessary to outfit modern educational aspirations not only in technical but more general preparation as well. In this respect Edgefield County again seems relatively more responsible. Although parallel racial systems are maintained, major improvements appear to have been afforded in both Negro and white systems. As nearly as could be discerned from the rapid survey made, the consolidations completed represent a rational solution to the problems of a dispersed population in flux, though such consolidation were apparently not made without considerable inter-community conflict and rivalry.

In Burke County again, such consolidation as has occurred appeared to be more a function of expediency than of any educational vision. Even though the outlying rural areas are 70% populated by Negroes, it is the Negro system which is most heavily consolidated. One high school building in the dominant county seat houses not only the entire Negro secondary enrollment (1084 in 1961) but serves the city's elementary pupils as well. By contrast three separate white high schools are maintained over the county to serve a total of 608 (1960) secondary enrollment. One of the outlying units was maintained to accomodate 54 students (1964) while the other had an enrollment of 100. In both counties conversations with school officials indicated that resistance to consolidation arose from two principal sources. One of these was centered in the intense interest lavished on inter-scholastic athletics. Insert Addendum # 3.

~~At first blush one could easily infer that the interest in athletics stems from a selfish desire to be entertained. Without discounting this possible motivation one can with a little relection see in it a desperate clutch on a waning community vitality.~~ Almost all informants agreed that removal of the local school, elementary or high school, was generally followed by slow community dissolution and eventual demise.

Throughout this descriptive comparison of the two county school systems, Edgefield County has emerged as exhibiting relatively more vitality and direction than Burke County. Lest this be misconstrued, it should be noted that in most curriculum and student achievement areas both systems were probably sub-standard. Edgefield County, it is true, appeared to be evincing concern and exhibited considerable material progress. But such changes as have been made are modest on any scale. For the terminal student not going into agriculture the training options are principally Auto Mechanics (3 years), Mechanical Drawing (2 years), Woodworking Shop (1 year) and Bookkeeping (2 years).

Both counties bear a formidable self-imposed burden in maintaining their parallel racially segregated school systems. And although the point has not been dwelt upon because of its obvious nature, the Negro systems are subject to the same ills as the

Addendum #3. Page 21, paragraph 1

The other and perhaps not independent concern seemed to center in simple community survival.

white systems and share in practically none of whatever meager advantages the white students have been afforded. The new buildings afforded the Negro systems serve mainly to accent the futile, mocking aspects of the substance of Negro education.

The discussion of education thus far, in its specifics and in its generalities, has made no distinction in its application to the races. In the enumeration of perceived deficiences and in the sketching of impressions of what might or should be is implicit the notion that change and perhaps improvement are possible if one could but interpret, explain or demonstrate the important consequences of education for the vitality of the community or for the reasonable outfitting of the young for living. And it should be evident from the description of the white schools and their meager, (but no less important) grudging changes which have been effected (with as many remaining uneffected) that a new kind of school of the order dimly perceived here would require an almost inconceivable change in orientation toward the worth and potential of education in the white community. The magnitude of required change is so great in the white community that the imagination struggles to visualize, even if imperfectly, what utter irrelevance formal education must have for the mass of Negroes. Save for those few for whom parental vision and sacrifice have depicted education as a feasible avenue of escape from the rule of cruel caprice and crushing poverty which regulates the world of the untrained and the unwanted, schooling must be the most aimless of servitudes. Since the probable difficulties of trying to reshape the white perception of education have been suggested it is important to reflect upon what such visionary changes might mean to the Negro student. Negro education as it stands bears but little relationship to what life is and will be outside the school. Such changes as have been intimated here would themselves make but little difference in the life of the Negro as it is presently determined.

The fact remains, however, that such systems as have been briefly reviewed here continue to train large numbers of white and Negro students in a manner which little befits them for life either in their own community or in the urban communities to which many of them will gravitate.

Some Suggestions

In trying to formulate concrete suggestions concerning what such communities as Edgefield and Burke Counties might do toward improving the economical and social context of the education of their children, it becomes necessary to consider what the dominant values and aspirations of the communities might be. More to the point, it is important to determine what the local people want their community to look like 10 or 20 years hence. Considering the currents of modern business and industry (including agriculture) only two courses are possible—continuing decline or slow, arduous growth. It is impossible to restore yesterday or fend off tommorrow.

Such a seemingly platitudinous issue is important only if we remember that these rural communities, considered collectively, continue in a sense to dump sizeable segments of their population into urban centers where they are ill-prepared to subsist economically or socially. And it seems evident that in counties such as those reviewed, the relevance and conception of educational substance is closely identified with the parochial economic and social interests of the particular community. In the interests of the young in these communities, only two avenues of improvement seem evident. One approach would simply be to underwrite a supplementary educational program somewhat after the fashion of the Smith-Hughes vocational training program (or simply modify the present program) but centering it around such areas of terminal education as are best deemed preparatory to urban industrial and business needs of the next generation. Such a program however would be inordinately expensive without some local support and efforts to provide housing and equipment. And even such external supports for such programs could not guarantee acceptance comparable to former vocational support programs because these have been synchronized with local vocational interests and needs. It isn't at all clear how a program in vocational electronics or business machine repair might be received in Burke County. Nor is

it evident what might be the social ramifications of openly educating the young (and presumably many of the most able)for emigration.

A second and much more reasonable approach is to couple educational change with determined efforts to broaden and diversify the economic base of the community. It is true that in this glib exhortation lies the touchstone of the whole matter which, if one could magically turn it on, might go far toward resolving many of the basic issues here discussed as educational. It may be that prolonged drift of financial and political power toward the concentration which sometimes characterizes the singularly agricultural community makes it impossible to generate the divergent interests, but common efforts, which go with community vitality. That such is not necessarily the case, however, is indicated by the rather limited success which Edgefield County has had in at least sustaining itself as a viable community struggling with change.

From an educational perspective--whatever the preconditions may be for such community arousal--this second avenue for educational change amounts to not much more than attempting to bring local interests into closer alignment with those here depicted as characterizing the modern urban community. "Not much more" in this last assertion pertains to the simplicity of the idea rather than to the magnitude of the undertaking. From the standpoint of sheer effiency it is far easier to contemplate educational change through external support and direction. But whether from tradition or from something integral to community life, local support and control appear to be essential toeducational success. The point of contention of course is the faith that local initiative, local support, and local control are important even in adjustment to the sweeping changes which have been imposed upon all of us by modern science and its attendant technology. But it is important to note that change will come and must come if only as the demise of those communities unwilling or unable to muster the undertaking of this basic technical, economic, and social reformation.

It may be worthwhile to speculate on the possible dimensions which such basic community reformation might entail. Foremost here would be a drastic relaxation of the invisible boundaries of the race system. These communities obviously pay a tremendous price for indulging their foibles concerning the relevance of race to educational decisions. Consolidation of schools without regard for race would do much toward alleviating the economic problems impeding educational development. But more importantly, the faint evidence that one of the counties was actively avoiding economic opportunity (presumably to the altogether negative end that it might retard the exodus of the Negro population) suggests that such errors can become self-destructive. Clichés such as community vitality are elusive under the most favorable circumstances, but if every idea, every plan and every aspiration must first be censored for its possible racial significance then such terms become even less than merely ambiguous.

Thus, any genuine effort to revitalize not only the system of education but the community as well will necessarily begin with a resolve in the communities and their leadership to be willing to experiment with economic, with educational, with social ideas directed toward the improvement of the whole community, regardless of race. Without this, efforts from without the community to supplement the education of the young would be seriously impaired, but probably worth making.

The importance of this local initiative is in nothing more apparent than it is in the matter of Negro education. Before schooling for the young Negro can even begin to have significance for him or impact in the community it will be necessary to convince him that it is related in some real way to an improved way of life for him. To assert that education is a singularly future-oriented enterprise is hardly a profundity. However, what is not banal about such a statement is that the student must in some way share this sense of futurity if his education is to be more than mere patient servitude. In a few words, for Negro education to become functional there must exist clear cut concrete examples of Negroes who succeed in the larger community

because they have the skill. Providing such examples is going to necessitate continuing adjustment in urban areas as well as in Burke and Edgefield Counties.

The mere fact of employing Negroes, however, is likely to be disappointing and even disastrous unless it, too, is accompanied by corollary conditions. All of these conditions stem from the depth of disfunction to which generations of slavery and exclusion--ranging from benevolent paternalism to hysterical avoidance and rejection--have reduced the Negro. In some genuine sense, the Negro must be made a part of the local community.

The first of these corollary conditions has to do with the attitudes with which the Negro's efforts to become constructively autonomous are regarded. There are social and psychiatric theorists who maintain that an important part of what an individual is, and is capable of becoming, is shaped to a considerable degree by what other significant people expect him to be and how they react to what he does. If there is any truth in this view, our cultural relegation of the Negro to the role of a child--sometimes tolerated, sometimes shamefully rejected--would lead us to anticipate that many Negro individuals might react foolishly and immaturely to suddenly achieved prerogative and opportunity. Just as it is important to understand the adolescent's awkward fumblings for maturity--not necessarily condoning but with equal reserve in condemning--so it may be essential to extend the Negro the same restrained encouragement and leadership which is optimally accorded any adult in a novel role.

The second of these corollary conditions has to do with the development of the Negro's own attitudes not only toward the particular new avenues of endeavor, expression and responsibility with which he may be confronted individually, but with respect to new social responsibilities generally--to his own race and others. If it is supposed that it will be difficult for the prejudiced white person to muster respect and forbearance in a new relationship to the Negro, then it may be that the Negro, too, may find it difficult to overcome an unsuspected and insidiously latent counter-prejudice which will only become manifest as he experiences increased autonomy.

By this is meant only that an effort should be made not to waste freedom on vengeance nor to suppose that hostility is even an important expression of independence. If amity and ease of association are ever to develop there is no time or energy to be wasted in trial-and-error discovery of the differences between common civility and servility or between a due respect for another's beliefs and obsequity.

In many ways the Negroes' task of emotional containment may be greater than that of the whites. Somehow righteous outrage and smouldering bitterness seem more volatile than frustration and guilt. But in a way a ready made vent is available to the aroused Negro in his opportunity and need to develop and perfect his own talents. In matters such as these, exhortations to calmness are seldom as important or effective as are soundly conceived and broadly implemented strategies of action. Negro leadership has an excellent opportunity to initiate programs of achievement in the schools similar perhaps to those effected by Mr. Sheppard in the Benneker School in St. Louis. Community improvement programs could be instigated centering around successful Negroes in other parts of the country. Bi-racial undertakings could be encouraged and Negro initiative and resources turned to problems which have hitherto been problems of the white community but are in a legitimate sense problems of the community as a whole. Of particular interest might be the strategic deployment of Negro capital (local if possible, or from regional funds established by Negro entrepreneurs) to finance local sound industrial or manufacturing developments in the area with pointedly fair employment practices.

In just a few words, it appears from this distance that communities such as Burke and Edgefield Counties are marginal as viable, continuing communities. To continue the preoccupation of the counties with jealous concern for the maintenance of ancient inequities and protocol may be to find that the struggle will terminate in the decay and dissolution of the economic and social bases of community. And insofar as the sense of community may be important to residents of either race its preservation is altogether dependent upon the recognition that they share common problems and common responsibilities which demand common efforts at solution and fulfillment.

The final corollary condition necessary to any simple relaxation of social, economic, and educational policies in these communities--and this is implicit in what has already been said--is the necessity for reassessing the economic potential and aspirations of the region as a whole. The contiguity of both counties with a river of intermediate proportions suggests both a power and transportation potential which should be attractive to manufacturing interests, ~~and~~ especially those who process products for which there is an agricultural or forestry potential. Burke County, for example, produces important quantities of corn second in value only to cotton. Whether there is sufficient production or potential for production in the area to warrant establishment of a corn processing industry on a navigable river deserves exploration. Similarly, about half the area of both counties is forested. Whether such reserves together with those of near-by counties are adequate for the attraction of paper processing mills to a site boasting a power and cheap transportation surplus is worthy of careful, imaginative consideration.

These and doubtless other possibilities may already have been explored to some extent. And if indeed it can be determined that there exists no economic base for supporting growing communities perhaps the kindest consequence would be to expedite the demise of what would then be economically defunct communities. Caution in coming to such a conclusion, however, seems essential when we reflect that such a convenient term as "economic potential" is as much or more determined by inventive and aroused men as it is by ~~the~~ the structure ~~or~~ of environment.

It may be apparent that the important contention here is that communities function as an integrated unit, not along the separate dimensions which we abstract out of this integrity for purposes of communication. And while it may be essential and imperative that certain issues--such as racial injustices--be so abstracted and communicated, it is equally imperative that whatever real events issue from such discussion be discerned as having ramifications in every other dimension of the community. An effort has been made here to discuss a single community issue--education of the

young of both races--in its complex relationship with some other selected features of the community. The educational issue is here considered as an imperative. That is, no matter what may happen with respect to the rest of community life it is essential that this matter of education be elevated in a manner that is better commensurate with the needs that these young people will have--as it stands now--preponderantly in distant urban communities. Any substantial improvement in this respect might place a serious strain, not only on community resources as presently organized but on the community's traditional sense of investment in and control of the school as a conventional community institution. It seems unlikely that any sharp changes, such as have been intimated here as necessary, could be effected without some form of extra-community initiation, support and direction.

As an alternative to such disjunctions as might ensue from educational reform through external influence, certain changes in community conceptions, attitudes and aspirations could render change not only less threatening but could become an important element in reversing the slow community deterioration which seems to have accompanied basic economic drift.

Much of the present difficulty in these communities stems from the fixation upon disfunctional racial issues. Not only have these issues drained the energies and imagination of both racial groups in the past, but no formal provision for change in race relations seemingly can succeed in the future without a diversion of the attention and efforts of both races away from their differences and toward a mutual concern with the real community problems facing them.

III

THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS

At first glance, the schools of Burke County may appear to be much like those anywhere. There are of course fewer of them than one would find in a city or a suburb and some of them are small. However, the buildings and the classrooms, ranging from old to new in age, look much like those one would encounter anywhere in the United States. Of the roughly 7000 children of school age in the county, about 4500 Negro children and 1700 or 1800 white children are enrolled in the schools; some 700 to 800 children, mostly Negroes, are not in school. The white population is served by three high schools and five elementary schools, while the Negro population is served by one high school and six elementary schools. Average daily attendance of students in the system is fairly good, better than eighty-five per cent, and only a little higher among the white than the Negro students. Both the curriculum and the general arrangements of the schools appear fairly typical of what one might find in any school. The system is probably not unlike those in the rural South generally but, if anything, somewhat better than the average of these systems. In fact, given the basic conditions in which the system functions it can be called a good system.

The basic conditions referred to are the following:

(1) Total segregation. Actually, there are two parallel systems with an entirely white superstructure. The parallelism is not perfect, since the Negro system is not only over twice as large but is fully consolidated and in fairly new but poorly equipped buildings (the Negro high school is about as well equipped as the white high schools). Most of these structures were built shortly after the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The white schools are not fully consolidated, are only partly in modern buildings, but are with the exception noted somewhat better equipped and more adequately staffed than the Negro schools (on a numerical basis especially). Segregation is of course a universal fact of life in this county, and it should be noted that the discrepancies favoring the white schools over the Negro schools are far smaller than the discrepancies in almost all other aspects of life.

(2) Minimum funds for school operation. In fact almost the minimum the state permits is spent in this county. About eighty-eight per cent of its funds come from the state, and what little the county raises over and above that required by the state is spent in maintaining the unconsolidated white schools. In spite of the extensive poverty to be found in the county, it could clearly do much more than it is doing on this score. Per pupil expenditures for the county in average daily attendance figures was slightly over $265 in 1963-64.

(3) Widespread poverty. The customary correlates of poverty are all here, especially what is currently called cultural deprivation, with its inhibiting effect on intellectual growth. This phenomenon will be discussed later. We need note here only that trouble with school work is one major consequence.

(4) A still largely farm-based community. Especially among the Negroes the population is spread over a large area. Only one town in the county, the county seat, is holding its own, while the others, like the county as a whole, are losing population. The difficulties this dispersion and shrinkage can create are obvious.

Within the limits of these conditions, it is fair to rate the school system a pretty good one. Despite its shortcomings, the physical facilities are not markedly poor for American schools (although libraries should be so rated); the paper qualifications of the school personnel are at the state average, and the children do somewhat better academically than what some data on Georgia children indicate is average. Table 3 shows some of these data. Burke County children appear to do a bit better than this--thus white high school children are at about the national norm, and since the Negro-white discrepancy is no larger than that shown in the table it appears that the Negro schools are a bit above the Negro average for this state. Dropout rates and progress through school also meet state averages insofar as it is possible to get hard data on this matter. Neither the state nor the county keeps records adequate for fully assessing this point. However, the age-grade enrollment figures shown in Table 4 so indicate. Finally, it should be carefully noted that the system has its quota of able, competent, and industrious school personnel, all things considered, perhaps more than its share in the Negro system.

Obviously this is not perfection, and, even within the framework given, improvements are possible. Consolidation could be completed, more local money could be found, libraries could be developed, and so on indefinitely. But the same sort of statement could be made about almost any school system. Thus for those who like the status quo in the community and especially those interested in maintaining total segregation and minimum expenditure for school operation, the system is satisfactory, even good; and in fact in the white community such satisfaction is a common, perhaps dominant, feeling. There are, of course, some white citizens who want improvements in the white schools, but they do not appear to be an important segment of the community. Perhaps a few of these same people, but not many of them, are dissatisfied with the conditions in the Negro schools.

Among the Negro population dissatisfaction with the schools is probably not common either. In fact, one could argue that for large numbers of the Negroes in this county the schools are better than they really believe is necessary. What this proportion would be, however, is unknown. While there is some dissatisfaction with conditions among the Negro school personnel, many of them are pleased because conditions are vastly better than they were only a few short years ago. Thus while some of the professional Negro educators are perhaps not as satisfied with what they are doing and what they are accomplishing as their white counterparts, it would be difficult to maintain that any substantial proportion of the Negro community is unhappy with their schools, especially since it appears doubtful that there are many outside the professional personnel who are aware of the shortcomings that exist.

To repeat, then, within the framework of the basic conditions outlined, the school system is performing well and to the satisfaction of the people being served. Let us look more closely, however, at what this means. Taking the white schools first, although they serve a clientele well above the average of the county socially, economically, and intellectually, the students do not typically fall into such a group intellectually on a national basis; perhaps this would be asking too much of a small rural area with the economic problems that this community has. Still, only

about forty per cent graduate from high school, and of these only two-thirds go to college; even this relatively privileged minority in the county does not contribute its share of developed talent to the nation. Certainly only so long as Burke County can maintain its relative isolation will this white system prove satisfactory even to the county itself.

Clearly, however, the white schools are not where the serious problems in the county's educational system lie in any immediate sense. They are to be found instead in the Negro schools and in the Negro community. Given the assumptions with which we started this report, problems within this sector of the educational scene at Burke are very serious indeed. The fact that these Negro schools, like most of them in Georgia, may do far better than they did a few short years ago hardly means the picture is rosy. To give only a few examples: less than 40% of the children make normal progress through the sixth grade (i.e. without failing at least one grade), only 44% reach grade ten, and only about one in seven graduate from high school. When it is recognized that for these children in Burke County, as almost anywhere else in similar areas, a high school diploma represents on the average a level of academic and intellectual development far short of the typical tenth grade student in the United States, the seriousness of this problem can be seen. It appears probable that of the roughly 450 Negro children of a given age in the county, fewer than twenty ever develop in these intellectual and academic areas to a point where they might be called average in the country, and a clearly above average child is rare indeed. It should not be necessary to say more to make it clear that there is a serious educational problem in this county.

This problem stems basically from the social and economic life of the Negroes in this community, which results in what is these days commonly called cultural deprivation. A more careful description of the nature of these problems appears in the next section of this report.

To what extent is Burke unique on these counts? Although there are some differences, the similarities between the Burke County system and the Edgefield County system are more marked than the differences. Those differences that exist are not very large in nature. Nevertheless, they are interesting. In general, the white schools in Edgefield County seem to be somewhat better than the white schools in Burke County. Part of this is probably because consolidation of the white schools has been largely carried out in Edgefield County--perhaps because the distance to be covered by the children coming to the schools is smaller, or possibly because the school leadership has been a little more effective. Perhaps reflecting the fact that generally speaking the county seems a little more open to the world at large and a little more closely in touch with the adjacent urban areas than is true in Burke, the personnel in the white schools of Edgefield County seem to be somewhat more imaginative and to have somewhat more drive than those in Burke County and to be less concerned with maintenance of the status quo. The most noticeable differences were the apparently greater awareness among the Edgefield personnel of what quality work in education may be in the sense of what is necessary this day and age (this is not to suggest that the school personnel in Burke are not by their own standards as dedicated to achieving quality education as those in Edgefield). While the Edgefield white schools do not do much better than the Burke County schools in terms of holding their children in school and pushing them along through grades and on into college, they do seem to be achieving a bit more at any given level according to the academic accomplishments and the quality of work their children are doing.

In the Negro schools, however, the picture is somewhat reversed. Both systems are fully and adequately consolidated. Perhaps Burke has gone a little too far, but in general they are the same on this score. The Negro schools in Edgefield County are a little less well equipped than the Negro schools in Burke County, whereas the white schools are better equipped in Edgefield than they are in Burke. But these differences are not large, and the matter of equipment in the white schools of Edgefield is almost certainly more a reflection of their recent consolidation than anything else.

The major difference between the two Negro systems seems to be in the character of the personnel and in the characteristics of the community they serve. The Negro school leaders in Edgefield County schools do not have the same interest in--or perhaps it would be fairer to say they have a somewhat more defeated attitude about--overcoming the basic ~~handicaps~~ handicaps the children in their schools face. In Edgefield the Negro school people seem committed to working within the current framework and to not ~~attempt~~ attempting any serious alteration of the prospects of their students, even though the opportunities for Edgefield County ~~x~~ Negroes are much less limited than those in Burke.

Reasons for these contrasting attitudes are difficult to ascertain, but it is our guess that in Edgefield County the confidence and security felt by the powers that be in their ability to maintain conditions makes change seem improbable to Negro schoolmen. Their problem is compounded by the fact that there is a vocal, if not very large, Negro movement in the county. Thus, these school leaders are under pressure from other Negroes to do something and yet see no way at all of accomplishing important changes. In Burke County there may be an equal lack of realistic hope; however the white community is worried about the Negroes, perhaps with the dim awareness that the hopelessness of the economic situation may eventually lead to trouble, or perhaps because the activities of the Negro movement in the South are greater in Georgia than in South Carolina. In any case, since there is no Negro movement in Burke County, the only pressure for improvement comes largely ~~x~~from Negro school personnel themselves. Thus they are not under the same kind of pressure that the school personnel in Edgefield County are, and it is possible for them to think of doing things in their own way and time.

To repeat, these differences are not large, and the accomplishments of both school systems are very similar, whether one is talking about Negro children or white.

IV

THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILD AND SOME GENERAL SUGGESTIONS FOR HIS EDUCATION

Within the scope of the general task to which we have addressed ourselves is the complex problem of providing a good education for culturally deprived children. In locales such as those in which we are interested, any program having a reasonable chance of success in providing a good education for all the children must be based on the realistic recognition that more than half of them are from severely deprived backgrounds, both materially and intellectually. The majority are Negro and suffer the ~~impo~~ impoverishments of both lower class and lower caste.

Related to this fact, there are a number of educationally significant problems. They tend to fall into three categories:

1) Difficulties in obtaining support from the white community, especially the power structure, for programs designed to educate effectively children at all social and economic levels, including, especially, Negroes.
2) Severely limited opportunities for the educated Negro to assume social roles commensurate with his level of education.
3) Problems relating to psychological characteristics which are associated with cultural deprivation and which tend to be educationally debilitating.

Providing a good education for the children--all the children--of Burke County, or Edgefield County, is contingent upon finding solutions to problems of all three types. None of them can be ignored. We wish at this point, however, to deal with those in the third category. These problems are more narrowly educational in scope and are probably more amenable to solution through the efforts of educators. In contrast, the first two types of problems are more broadly social, political, and economic in nature. Their solutions lie farther beyond the competence and power of educators. But the distinction should not be over-stated. We do not wish to suggest that educators alone can solve the one set of problems and can contribute nothing to

solving the other two sets. Nor do we wish to imply that the problems are independent of one another. The severely limited career opportunities for Negroes are especially critical in connection with efforts to upgrade education.

Psychological Characteristics Important for Education

The psychological characteristics associated with cultural deprivation are of two types: (1) cognitive-intellectual and (2) emotional-motivational. Let us examine in terms of these categories certain salient characteristics which we believe to be educationally important. Our analysis is based mainly on studies of culturally deprived children reported in the educational and psychological literature, but it is consistent with our own first hand impressions of children in rural environments such as those in which we are interested. We believe that the characteristics of culturally deprived children noted below are acquired and can be modified by a proper educational program.

Cognitive-Intellectual Characteristics

1. Among the most important differences between culturally deprived children--Negro or white--and middle-class children are those in the area of perception. Culturally deprived children tend to be slower in perceptual development and to be behind their middle-class age-mates in ability to make perceptual differentiations. This fact probably can be accounted for in two ways. In the first place, lower class children seem to have fewer opportunities to make perceptual differentiations. It seems reasonable to suppose that this lack of opportunity is related to certain differences in the homes in which middle-class and lower-class children grow up. (5) The homes of lower-class children are more sparsely furnished and the furnishings are less varied. There are a smaller number and variety of dishes and cooking utensils. (8) The lower-class child has few if any toys, and his environment outside the home is severely circumscribed. But these facts almost certainly offer no more than a partial explanation. For, over and above differences in opportunity, there are differences in encouragement and reinforcement. Middle-class children are aided through labeling to make certain differentiations and are rewarded for doing so to a degree not true of lower-class children.

2. Relative to middle class children, culturally deprived children are also deficient in dealing with the abstract and symbolic. That is, culturally deprived children tend to be concrete-minded. They tend to prefer descriptive to analytic categories. (2) They learn in physical and motor ways; i.e. they tend to persist in a mode of thinking that depends upon the manipulation of objects. (10)

A similar suggestion is found in Bernstein's distinction between sensitivity to content and sensitivity to structure. Sensitivity to structure refers to the tendency to respond to objects in terms of a matrix of relationships to other objects, and sensitivity to content refers to the tendency to respond to what is within the boundaries of the object itself. The perceptions of the culturally deprived child as compared to those of the middle-class child reflect less sensitivity to structure, a difference which Bernstein attributes largely to the different language patterns to which the two groups of children are exposed. (3) It does seem reasonable that the greater range and variety of language used in the middle class home sensitizes the middle-class child to structure more so then the somewhat limited language to which the lower-class child is exposed. But, above and beyond the specific effects of language, middle-class parents direct the child's attention to relationships to a degree not true of the lower-class parent.

3. One of the most salient differences between culturally deprived and middle-class children is in the area of language development. According to Eells et al., culturally deprived children use a rather large number of words accurately, (6) and, according to Deutsch, there is some evidence that they use a colorful expressive vocabulary. (5) But in comparison to the middle-class children, those of the lower class are not nearly so familiar with words used in the school. According to Deutsch, they frequently come to school not knowing the meaning of many terms which teachers commonly take for granted, e.g. such concepts of comparability as high and low, near and far.

There are also differences with respect to knowledge of language structure. According to Bernstein, the language patterns of the lower-class are much much simpler than those of the middle-class. The language heard by the culturally deprived child is made up of a high proportion of short commands and simple statements. The symbolism is descriptive, concrete, visual, and of a low order of generality. Nuances of feeling and qualifications are expressed by non-verbal means. In contrast, the language which the middle-class child hears and learns to speak includes a more complex sentence structure, and feelings are conveyed through the subtle arrangement of words and sentences. (3) In consequence, lower-class as compared with middle-class children know less about the structural aspects of language and are less able to make use of syntax in filling in for words not heard or not understood. (5) This fact contributes to the difficulties which the culturally deprived child has in understanding much of what he hears and reads in school.

4. Accompanying these differences in the development of perception and language, there appear to be differences in attention and memory. There is evidence that the culturally deprived child as compared to the middle-class child tends to have a shorter attention span and a poorer memory. The extent to which this is a function of the means by which attention and memory are measured is not clear. Such differences, however, are consistent with certain differences between the worlds of the culturally deprived and the middle class. Orientation with respect to time, especially the future, is of particular importance here. For the middle-class person long-range goals are usually fairly specific in character. In contrast, in the lower class the future is regarded in terms of more general notions. Hence, present behavior has a kind of rational relation to future goals for the middle-class person which is not true for those in the lower class. This is basic to a difference in what Bernstein refers to as anticipation span. The middle-class person anticipates in terms of a broader time-perspective and this is reflected in a longer span of attention. (2)

Deutsch suggests that middle-class children are better able to remember things because they find it easier than lower-class children to imagine themselves in different times and different places. (5)

Emotional-Motivational Characteristics Important for Education

Important as cognitive-intellectual deficiencies are for education, the emotional-motivational problems addressed by the psychology of culturally deprived children are more critical for the school. The emotional-motivational characteristics of many culturally deprived children place many of them out of reach of schools as schools are conventionally constituted. The problem is generally seen in the school as a matter of ambition and achievement-motivation. The lower-class child, and especially the Negro child in the kind of rural environment in which we are interested, is simply not motivated to do well in school. In a number of instances we asked principals of the Negro schools we visited about children who had scored relatively high on standardized tests and were told that they had dropped out of school. To cite an example, one Negro girl who came to our attention had scored exceptionally high on both achievement and intelligence tests. During the 1963-64 school year she dropped out of school to work as a domestic servant.

There is both a very high drop-out rate and a very high absence rate in the Negro schools. Absentees are especially numerous during planting and harvesting seasons, when many girls as well as boys are held out of school to help with the farm work. Actually, many Negro children do not enter school in the fall until after crops are harvested and they drop out in the spring to help with such tasks as chopping cotton. There is a high absence rate throughout the year. Many Negro girls stay out of school one or more days each week to help with domestic chores. Negro school personnel report that there is an especially high absence rate on Friday, the day on which girls are most likely to stay at home to help with the family wash.[1] Much of the

[1] It is probably true, however, that many Negro parents are interested in having their children do well in school. They encourage them to get an education and are most willing to make sacrifices to this end. See Johnson, Charles S., Growing Up in the Black Belt.

absenteeism is a matter of economic necessity. About this there can be no doubt. But there also can be no doubt that the phenomena reflect to some important degree a problem of motivation. There are a number of ways in which the low achievement-motivation can be accounted for:

1. It reflects the value many parents place on education. Perhaps in terms of the world they know, it is realistic to regard schooling as essentially irrelevant. To see education as a way of improving one's lot in life would require a level of aspiration and an orientation to and faith in future possibilities which these people simply do not have. Negro school personnel commented, apparently with some feelings of exasperation, about parental disinterest in having the child even attend school. In Edgefield County there have recently been discovered a number of Negro children ranging in age up to the early and middle teens who have never been enrolled in school. In the presence of such parental disinterest in education, it is not reasonable to expect the child to value educational achievement or to be concerned about failure in school.

2. The low achievement motivation of the culturally deprived child is related to time orientation. That is, culturally deprived children do not regard the future in terms of specific long-range goals to which present behavior appears to be rationally connected, at least not to the degree which is usually true for the middle-class child. This in turn is reflected in what has been called the deferred gratification pattern. There is evidence of different kinds that persons from culturally deprived segments of our society are not inclined to delay or renounce impulse gratification in favor of future gain.

Differences in this regard between children of different segments of our society are probably to be accounted for largely in terms of social reinforcement and learning. Future goals are given a degree of reality for middle-class children which they do not have for lower-class children. Middle-class children are exposed to more consistent patterns of rewards and punishments relative to impulse control and achievement. The adult models to which they are exposed day after day manifest a degree of self-

discipline not generally seen in the adults with which the lower-class child has close emotional ties.

Anxiety reduction is probably also a factor in the culturally deprived person's failure to manifest the delayed gratification pattern. Grinding poverty and the intense threat under which the culturally deprived person, especially the Negro, lives is almost certain to evoke a high level of anxiety, the reduction of which is to some extent effected through impulse gratification.

3. Passivity in the lower-class child, especially the Negro, is another facet of the motivational pattern relating to achievement. One important manifestation of this passivity in the school is the child's failure to ask questions and seek clarification where it is needed. (5)

That children from the backgrounds in which we are interested should tend to be passive is not surprising. Their experiences are most certainly not such as would engender the feeling that the environment can be manipulated, controlled, and changed. This is probably especially true of many Negro boys, who grow up in a matriarchal household where the male is devalued as a person. The Negro boy is likely to come to school having had no direct experience with a successful male model. (1, 5, 8)

4. This whole motivational pattern--the tendency to be passive, impulse-directed, and to lack achievement-motivation--is related to and perhaps rooted in the culturally deprived child's concepts of self. This fact is important in connection with the education of the lower-class child, especially the Negro. What must be the most pernicious psychological consequence of a caste system is the tendency for individuals to accept as accurate for themselves, the social definitions of inferiority inherent in the system. (9)

There are a number of studies which indicate that Negroes from young childhood tend toward low self-acceptance. Negro children of pre-school age express greater preference for white than Negro children. (7) They are later than white children in acknowledging their racial identity. At an older age level Negro students tend

to judge themselves inferior to white students even in the face of objective evidence tending to contradict such judgements. (4)

Conclusions

This analysis perhaps suggests in general outline some of the things a school program effective in educating the large numbers of culturally deprived children in Burke and Edgefield Counties should accomplish. From such an educational program the culturally deprived child would (1) learn to feel more at home with and be more interested in the symbolic and the abstract, (2) come to perceive education as relevant to improving his lot in life, and (3) come to envision himself as a person capable of achievement and his environment as amenable to understanding and control. Moreover, the psychological world of the culturally deprived child would be expanded along both spatial and temporal lines so that it would become easier for him to imagine himself in different times and different places.

What would be th e nature of such an educational program? Following are some general characteristics which seem indicated:

1. The program should begin earlier than the conventional school entrance age of six years. For culturally deprived children some type of school experience should probably begin at age three.

2. Initially, the set-up should be permissive and loosely structured within a general context of regularity. It should be, as the children see it, largely a matter of playing. Within this context, the emphasis should be on the development of perceptual discriminations and language ability.

3. The structure of rewards should be such as to encourage and reinforce two kinds of behavior:

   a. Patterned sequences of behavior relative to goal attainment and task completion.

   b. Asking questions and seeking information and clarification. The aim here is to facilitate the development of an active rather than a passive orientation on the part of the child.

4. There should be a devoted effort to enlist the interest and cooperation of parents. Failure to capture the interest of parents could result in one, or both, of two probable consequences, i.e., (1) increase in the culturally deprived child's resistance to the educative efforts of the school; (2) increase in the extent to which education tends to alienate him from his parents. In this connection the recruiting and training of personnel for positions involving direct contact with the home becomes crucial. Perhaps it is more a matter of recruiting than of training: patience and sensitivity in dealing with culturally deprived parents, qualities not very amenable to formal training, are indispensable. This is, of course, not to say that professional training is unimportant. Familiarity with the structure of the community, both formal and informal, and with the perspectives of the school's culturally deprived constituents--their fears, prejudices, and aspirations--is important. For anyone who would function effectively in a home-school liaison position, appropriate courses in cultural anthropology and psychology would probably be of especially great value as professional preparation.

5. There is another category of school personnel which becomes highly important in the education of the culturally deprived, namely, guidance counselors. There are two problems which the competent guidance worker is called upon to deal with: (1) the unrealistic nature of the culturally deprived youth's vocational aspirations, i.e., his tendency to dream of success in terms of a glamorous occupation rather than in terms of plans for vocations which could sometimes be prestigious, gratifying, and, at the same time, reasonably within his grasp; (2) the culturally deprived youth's (especially the youth of a rural community) extremely limited knowledge of career opportunities.

6. There is one final suggestion relating to school personnel. It is perhaps a truism that the limit of the effectiveness of any educational enterprise is set by the competence of those conducting it at the grassroots level, i.e., the teachers. There must be every effort to recruit and retain the very best teachers possible to

obtain. But it is important to ask, "Best according to what criteria?" This is by no means an easy question to answer. Knowledge of a field of subject matter is important. But it does seem clear that the type of certification held and the number of college credits in various fields would not be the decisive criteria. A sense of mission about teaching, a sense of gratification in seeing small every-day instances of pupil accomplishment, and an enormous patience would be of inestimable importance.

We believe that special attention should be given to recruiting outstanding teachers of reading and of art and music. The need for good reading teachers is perhaps self-evident. But the usual need for them is compounded in the present instances by the impoverished perceptual and cognitive backgrounds of most school entrants. The importance of competent art and music teachers is probably not so self-evident, but it is believed that the skillful use of art and music as media of expression could serve as an especially effective means of reaching the Negro child from the small world of Burke and Edgefield Counties.

V

SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS FOR EDUCATION

Having outlined what we see as the major dimensions of the educational problems in counties of this sort, it remains to describe what we think are some of the practical suggestions that could be followed to contribute to the solutions of these problems. We hope that what we have said so far makes it clear that

(1) we are in effect saying that the lives of many of these people need to be completely transformed; it therefore follows that this will not be done overnight and will be very expensive relative to the amount of money that is currently being spent on education.

(2) desegregation of the school system and in fact of the whole pattern of community life is a necessary albeit not sufficient condition to achieve the ends that we have set.

(3) the steps to be taken must be many and various in kind and that probably an unlimited number of alternatives could be suggested.

(4) the schools need to try to do better the things they are not doing, but that alone will not be sufficient; as we have already pointed out, radical departures from standard school procedures and conditions are going to be necessary for any substantial effects.

What we are going to describe here, then, will be some specific possible ways of proceeding so that the general conditions we have just described can be met. We do not claim that our suggestions are <u>the</u> prescription, but rather that they are examples of the sorts of things that are needed. In many cases other alternatives are both possible and practical. The steps we are suggesting are the following additions and modifications to a standard school program.

1. Nursery-kindergarten units for children ages 3 through 5

2. The use of boarding units for children in the middle grades (4, 5, and 6)

3. The employment of senior high school students in the system so that all students from the tenth grade on up who want or are interested in work will have an opportunity to earn at least $50 a month as a part of their school program

4. An intercounty and college (or university) cooperative program involving a a coordinated plan of consolidation (including the elimination of separation by race, of course), joint purchasing, and joint inservice and preservice teacher training programs in cooperation with the college.

Beyond these steps and out of them we would expect such things as expanded remedial reading and library services (e.g. a set of mobile reading clinics and mobile library-bookstores—selling paperback books at nominal cost—serving the associated counties), expanded guidance services, and various special education services using, in many cases, college personnel and facilities. One simple but essential step would be to ensure that no child was inadequately fed (breakfast as well as free lunches should be offered) or clothed—something that is not now the case. We would also expect that job corps, work study, and community improvement programs financed through the "poverty program" (Economic Opportunity Act of 1964) would be inaugurated in the county. Furthermore the school buildings should be open 12 hours a day, libraries and supervised study halls should be available afternoons and evenings, evening adult education programs should be offered, extensive summer programs should be developed, and so on indefinitely. However we will not describe all of these steps. Instead we will elaborate only the 4 steps suggested above.

Using Burke County as our example, we shall describe these suggestions in somewhat more detail and then attempt to give an over-all description of what this county system might look like if all of these suggestions were adopted. We will then discuss briefly the cost of such a program and finally indicate what contrasts and alterations might be necessary to fit these suggestions to another county such as Edgefield.

The Nursery and Kindergarten Program

This program would be aimed specifically at those coming from the most deprived homes. While it would be necessary to rely on voluntary attendance, it is assumed that with proper efforts on the part of the school personnel, a large majority of children for whom this program is designed would come to the schools and many others who need it less would also, so one might expect that up to, say, 800 of the roughly 1400 children in the county ages 3 through 5 might choose to attend. We would propose seven such schools in or near the elementary schools currently operating in the county, with half the children attending morning classes and the other half afternoon classes, both groups of children receiving one meal as both an incentive and a necessary condition for their education. This would mean roughly sixteen teachers, each of whom taught two classes of twenty-five children a day. We propose that each teacher be assigned two high school students for each class each day to act as assistants. Thus each class of twenty-five would have in effect a staff of three. A program of this sort could probably be run for approximately $200 per pupil per year.

Since it has already been well established that day-care centers and nursery schools do not necessarily prove very beneficial to children, the nature of this program is its essential feature. The kind of program we are envisaging might be like that described by Gray and Klaus. They describe their program as follows:

> A casual visitor to our summer school . . . might think that the things we were doing were not unlike what goes on in the usual pre-school. . . . We however see several differences. . . . First of all the significance of what we are attempting to do lay not so much in the materials as in the particular uses to which we put these materials. . . . Secondly . . . the orientation of the adults toward the variables with which we were concerned is relevant. . . . Finally there are several differences in the relative weighting of time devoted to the several kinds of material. For example our children spent a great deal of time with one-inch colored blocks. These were used for any number of counting activities, the development of color concepts, and the development of concepts of size, direction, and the like. Although we had wheel toys and a jungle gym the length of time spent with these pieces of equipment was probably much less than one would find in the usual pre-school. (Gray, Susan W. and Klaus, Rupert A., Early Training Project: Interim Report, November 1963)

The program of Gray and Klaus centered first on attitudes toward achievement. They tried to increase the child's achievement motivation, his ability to persist toward a goal and to delay gratification, and tried to arouse interest in school-type activities such as listening to stories and looking at books. The second general area they attempted to work on were aptitudes for achievement by developing the more simple and basic concepts needed in school work, increasing perceptual discrimination and improving language usage. Thus in concept formation they worked on number and color concepts and concepts concerning objects of the world in which they live. In addition they stressed position words and action categories such as walk, run, jump, and hop. They tried to increase the children's abilities to recognize forms, shapes, and patterns and to discriminate among sounds, tastes, odors, and textures. In language development their major efforts consisted of encouraging the children to talk and in placing them in situations where language was necessary.

The central feature of the program was the procedure of reinforcement. They used both concrete reinforcement such as candy and social reinforcement in the form of physical contact with adults--petting, hugging, and so forth. Throughout their work, particularly at the beginning, they made efforts to make sure that reinforcement of the behavior they desired was as immediate and consistent as possible. Gradually they moved away from concrete reinforcement and made efforts to develop verbal rewards as reinforcers.

A program of this sort, to be effective, calls for trained teachers and for careful planning. But we believe that if the teachers running each class thoroughly understand what it is they are trying to do they can quite readily and easily make use of assistants who are much less well-trained and that high school students, both male and female--provided they receive some training related to the program--could work successfully and helpfully to both themselves and the pupils in such a nursery school situation. Thus we are proposing that high school students be

offered a course in child care and training in the high school and that as part of this course work, and for pay—say $10 per week—they spend two three-hour periods a week acting as assistants to the teachers. These teachers should be part of the staff of course.

Contact with parents in this program is also an essential feature of it, and one of the activities of the teachers should be to maintain close contact with the parents. There should be one person assigned this task as a full-time undertaking. The teaching staff and this home visitor should be the ones who contact the parents and persuade them to send their children to these schools.

A problem connected with this school that school administrators are likely to mention is the transportation of children, since it is planned that they spend only three hours a day at school. For this problem we are proposing that the school system, instead of having large school buses, have a number of station wagons or smaller buses which carry maybe nine or ten children and that high school students be employed to drive them. In fact, for this system as a whole we propose a large increase in the number of vehicles and a reduction of the size of their load so that the length of trips to and from school for all children in the system could be reduced. This would cost more money, but a fair portion of that money would go into the pockets of students in the system, and we believe that the tangible economic rewards for staying in school is an important element in the high school program, just as in the nursery school concrete reinforcement should be used initially.

We may finally note in passing that Gray and Klaus report gains in the I.Q.'s of the children with whom they dealt. Similar results have been obtained by a number of other researchers. Again we repeat, it is the nature of this program that counts, not the sheer existence of such schools. Nursery schools which are largely custodial institutions in which the children play without a planned program of learning would not serve any major function and would merely cost money.

Boarding Units

Our second suggestion for the program is the establishment of boarding units connected with each of the elementary schools in the county. Like the preceding suggestion, this is directed primarily to those children who come from the most deprived circumstances, and again its use would be voluntary and it would be necessary to sell the program to the parents. We are proposing that children in grades 4, 5, and 6 spend three months each year for three years in one of these boarding units, whenever the parents will agree to this. Thus again, between 1200 and 1500 children would be eligible for this program and one might anticipate that 800 to 1000 might actually participate. Since this program should run through all 12 months of the year roughly 250 children might be expected to be in these boarding units at any one given time. With roughly 25 children to a unit, there would be one or two units attached to each of the various elementary schools in the county.

As in the previous suggestion the important element in this program is what is done, not the mere existence of these boarding units. Most important would be the quality of the teachers because the chance of extensive, warm, personal contact with adults who represent middle class patterns of living, thinking, and values represents one of the major reasons for these units, since realistic models of this sort, for many of the children in this county, are not handy. In addition there would be the opportunity to live in an organized, stable environment in which books, music, art, and conversation are not only standard but valued activities. They also would have a chance to get some intensive tutoring during this time, and could also be taught how to study. It would be expected that each group would take a number of trips, especially to cities since that is where many of them will in due course live.

Each unit should be staffed by two regular teachers who carry a partial load in that school (e.g. share a class with an intern), one male and one female (a couple would of course be acceptable), plus two intern teachers in training (see below).

In addition, from three to five high school students would be allotted to each unit each quarter to act as assistants before and after school. These students would not only be given room and board but also paid something like $50 a month. The interns would also receive some pay, perhaps half the rate for the teacher, for the half year that they would be expected to be in residence. In addition to the direct service the interns and student assistants would give they would also provide the children with a sort of graduated series of models so that being like the--hopefully--admired and loved teacher might not seem so impossible--i.e. the children could see steps along the road and the possibility of variation. The regular school cafeteria could supply food but a dining room in the residence unit to be used for all three meals should be included in the plans. Mealtime is one of the periods of day when the kind of personal contact envisaged could be built.

The children would follow the regular school program by and large, would go home on weekends, and the teachers and interns would be expected to carry regular duties in the school. The teachers should receive a regular salary plus their room and board for these duties. They should be required to go through a special training program offered by the associated college or university in order to hold these positions.

There is substantial reason to believe that schools of this sort can have marked effects on students. It is open to question whether or not the period of time suggested--three months for each of three years--would be adequate to accomplish these goals. However, it is believed that at the very least these schools would have positive effects on motivation of the youngsters and that they would go on into junior high school sufficiently interested in doing good school work so the junior high could hold them. There is also reason to believe that the position of teachers in these units would have substantial attraction to good young teachers and interns. Some of these interns could be in preservice training but it should also be possible to include an internship in these schools as a part of the advanced training of teachers with one or two years of experience. Further, it could result in drawing to such rural systems a quality of teacher that they have been having difficulty in finding at the present time.

Employment of Senior High School Students in the School

A third major proposal we have to offer is that all students doing adequate work--for them--in the tenth grade and on up will have an opportunity to earn at least $50 a month as a part of their school program. By employing these students, as already mentioned, as assistants in the nursery school program, in the residential units, and as drivers, several hundred could be so employed. Other ways of employing these students that would be both educational for them and a service to the school system surely could be found. It is believed that these activities can be of substantial educational value--in fact the assistants in both the two programs suggested could well turn out to be the major beneficiaries of these programs if the school system and especially the teachers involved devote proper ~~xxxx~~ attention to helping these students understand what they are doing--but the purpose of the money is to provide an incentive for these children to stay in school and to give them concrete meaningful representation of the fact that the community and society in general values their attendance in school. It should be noted that the school system should also have a fund to provide direct scholarship assistance to students who need it and in special cases without the associated duties.

Intercounty Cooperation

Some of the problems of Burke County's schools are simply a function of its size: the system cannot justify the variety of specialized personnel and facilities that are practical in a large system where the cost can be spread over thousands of pupils. Segregation and the continued use of small unconsolidated units obviously accentuate these problems but they will exist even if the schools are consolidated and integrated.

Still these two steps come first. There is no reason for more than one elementary school in any part of Burke County outside of Waynesboro, where two might be in order (but even there one large school might do the job). We would recommend six ~~xx~~ elementary schools (nursery through grade 6) outside of Waynesboro, two junior high schools (one for the Sardis and Girard area and one in Waynesboro) and one senior

high school in Waynesboro. In view of the shrinking population out in the county the existing Negro elementary schools will soon be large enough for all. Thus no new buildings are needed although some renovation of parts of Sardis High School (to be used as a junior high) would be required. This would still leave a few of the elementary children and many of the older children living in the southern and western edges of the county with unnecessarily long distances to go to school. Unnecessarily long because with the cooperation of adjacent counties much more efficient consolidation would be possible.

We therefore propose the development of intercounty associations for, first, the better coordination of school attendance areas. However other cooperative ventures could develop such as consolidated purchasing, intercounty technical service and materials centers (audio-visual services, programed materials, curriculum materials, professional publications, etc.). Please note we are not talking about the consolidation of counties but rather cooperative ventures. For a variety of reasons including sheer distance a substantial degree of county autonomy remains a desirable condition.

An ~~additionax~~ additional and possibly necessary feature of this intercounty cooperative association is the inclusion of a nearby teacher training institution (pedagese for college or ~~mmk~~ university with a school or department of education). This step might prove necessary for the survival and/or the vitality of the association and quite probably would be necessary if the boarding units are to function in the manner we have described. The latter assertion stems from the need to train the teachers and provide the interns for these units.

We are suggesting that the college establish teacher training programs analogous to the so-called internship ~~mmm~~ master of arts in teaching programs now to be found at various universities around the country (e.g. Chicago, Emory, Harvard, Stanford, etc.) and that the students do their internship in the residential units in these counties. The college should also provide consultant services for the expanded remedial reading programs, guidance programs, and many other facets of both the regular program and these new steps.

What Would it Cost?

If there is any consequence of this report at all, one immediate result we are sure of is that there will be extensive assertions such as "Dreamwork," "Impractical," "It won't work," "You haven't considered . . .," "Don't you realize that . . .," and above all, "Too expensive." We believe these ideas can be made to work and that the many difficulties we haven't discussed here (an endless number) can be solved and finally that the payoff would justify the cost. The first two of these assertions will have to suffice for now. With respect to the last we would like to point out first that this country could and should spend much more on the education of its children than is now the case and second that the cost of these proposals is high only relative to what a county such as Burke now spends.

It is probable that to do these things might cost twice what is now spent. Thus the nursery-kindergarten would add something around $180-$220 per pupil per year (early education is cheap, later on it is not$) or around $160,000 a year. The boarding units would probably add no more than $200,000 a year (remember the staff would serve in the elementary school). The student assistance program (beyond that accounted for in the two preceding items) would add another $200,000 and if enrollment in senior high school was as high as this figure suggests--i.e. 1,000-1,200, the rest in the federally financed "poverty" programs--add another $100,000. This totals $660,000. The consolidation and intercounty cooperation should at least break even since substantial efficiency would be gained.

So to be cautious and to allow for the additional steps we have not detailed add $340,000 more and you get one million dollars, a round fat figure that is slightly under the current budget in Burke County. Since they now spend about $265 per child in average daily attendance and since we are adding--we would hope--about 25-30% to the average daily attendance count, the per pupil figure comes to around $410, an outrageously modest figure which is under the national median (but then we are not proposing to change the salary scale ~~xxx~~ of the teachers though perhaps we should).

Yet we are asked, "Where does this million come from?" First of all--though it may be denied--we believe that through proper tax equalization measures and by raising assessments to a proper level (e.g. 50% of fair value) the county itself could raise about $300,000 more. Furthermore, many features could be financed by state and federal funds now available (e.g. the Civil Rights Act, Economic Opportunity Act, and NDEA). The college's costs would partly be included in their regular budget since they do not train teachers; furthermore summer (summer schools for children running on shortened days offer very good teacher training possibilities) and inservice institutes can often be financed through federal programs; and finally we believe that aside from the desegregation feature, this proposal is such that additional state funds for such cooperative undertakings would soon be forthcoming. It does not seem fanciful to us therefore to expect that federal funds would (and should) play a major role in meeting this budget and that the state would at least match the additional local effort. In our opinion it may prove far easier to persuade the state and federal governments to do their bit in this than it will be to persuade the local citizens to take these steps and increase their contributions by this amount.

An Over-All Description of the School System

If Burke County were to undertake steps of this sort, obviously its school system would look much different from the way it does now. In the first place, it would be a larger system, since children from ages 3 to 5 would be in it and presumably almost all teenagers as well, whereas now the 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds are not in school and a large majority of children 15 years old and up are not in school. By keeping these older children in school, competition for jobs for the adults should be reduced. The community improvement programs, of course, would direct many of their activities toward creating job opportunities in the county, and the schools would be involved in providing training for the adults in the community for performing these jobs. There would be fewer school units in the county, but each one of them would be substantially more diverse in nature than it is now. High

school students would be frequently engaging in activities in and around the elementary schools. However, since more and smaller buses will be used they will spend a lot less time traveling to and from school. College faculty members and interns in the internship teacher training program would be coming and going; thus a much more diverse group of adults and a larger number of adults of much more varied backgrounds would be in the schools. And of course the schools would be centers of activity not only all day long but year-round.

While our suggestions were made largely with Burke County in mind most of them could be adapted with little change to a county such as Edgefield. To be sure, consolidation would be simpler and would involve fewer changes. Even though integrated there probably should still be two elementary schools in both Edgefield and Johnston and one in Trenton. Edgefield County High could be made a junior high school and Thurmond the senior high school. Establishing residential units and finding space for them would perhaps be simpler than in Burke County. On the other hand, finding space for the nursery schools and kindergartens might be somewhat more difficult and might involve new construction. It would also probably be easier in Edgefield for community improvement programs to be established and to find ways of making effective changes in the county. Aside from this it is difficult to see that there is anything of the program suggested that would be unworkable in a county such as Edgefield. Edgefield already uses student bus drivers (successfully) and for this and several other reasons such a program should be cheaper there even though they now spend less per pupil than Burke.

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Lest it be forgotten, perhaps we should point out that all of our recommendations are directed toward doing something about the problems of learning that children with certain kinds of backgrounds are likely to have. In Burke and Edgefield counties these children are likely to be Negro, but that they are has nothing to do with the basis for our recommendations. Indeed, implicit and explicit in our whole report has been the notion that children with similar social, cultural, economic, psychological, and intellectual problems should receive educational opportunities designed to help them solve these problems. That these problems happen to be associated with race is an accident of history and has nothing to do with the nature of the problems. The problems must be solved on the basis of their own demands. The communities in the rural South must become genuine communities in which every person is a member with the living of a life at stake in community growth and development. The educational problems of these communities ramify into the problems of the whole social and economic context. We have tried to suggest that the transformation of education in some sense calls for the transformation of a community. We think such a transformation can be brought about in the South only with the help of genuine local effort and concern, but it can be brought about only if the traditional basis for decision making regarding education is abandoned, and this is true whether the educational problems are attacked in an urban or rural setting. Sound educational decisions cannot be based upon classifications that have nothing to do with education. Our recommendations are based upon the belief that sound educational decisions must be directed toward bringing about the maximum development of all the children in a community and upon the belief that the maximum growth and enrichment of a community cannot be achieved unless every member of the community has, and can be led to see that he has, a genuine stake in the outcome of community affairs. Certainly our recommendations have been made with no intent to be merely critical. They have been made in the hope that others, closer to and more deeply involved with the problems, will join us in trying to help children who need help. Education must take place in a context. The transformation of education, in the long run, entails the transformation of a community.

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B R U N S W I C K

BY

PAT WATTERS

SEPTEMBER, 1964

This is the fourth in a series of Special Reports that seek to give an accurate view of southern cities in transition from segregation to a new kind of community living. Each report is about a city which has confronted its problems with realism and honest purpose, and which has sought to overcome them.

Earlier reports in the series were:

Charlotte, by Pat Watters (June, 1964)

Louisville, by Benjamin Muse (June, 1964)

Memphis, by Benjamin Muse (July, 1964)

POPULATION

	1950		1960	
	Brunswick	Glynn County	Brunswick	Glynn County
Total	17,954	29,046	21,703	41,899
Negro	6,994	9,288	8,909	11,648
Per Cent Negro	39	32	41	28

Brunswick, Georgia, is a coastal city of the Deep South, as ancient in flavor in many ways as its many fat-trunked live oak trees, draped funereally with gray Spanish moss, and as modern in spirit, often, as its great hope that Thiokol Chemical Corp. will establish there a huge plant to build and test solid-fuel rocket boosters, aiming for the planets.

Brunswick is 174 miles from Albany, Georgia, and in many ways partakes of the same general south Georgia culture. Brunswick is 81 miles below Savannah

on the coast, and the two cities are much akin in age and history and culture. While Albany shamed America before the world by marching thousands of Negroes protesting intolerable conditions to jail in the sullen summer of 1962, Brunswick was quietly negotiating the desegregation of its lunch counters. While Savannah's race relations unfortunately, and perhaps unnecessarily, detoured from progressive change to explode in the streets in the summer of 1963, Brunswick was quietly desegregating city and county recreational facilities, and negotiating one of the first voluntary school desegregation actions in the Deep South. As much of the rest of the nation faced the turning-point spring and summer of 1964 with guilty fear about its Negro population, as Negroes rioted in Jacksonville, Florida, 78 miles down the coast, and as St. Augustine, 30 miles farther, writhed in Klan notoriety, Brunswick leaders of both races were making headway on civil rights law compliance, including hospital desegregation.

More importantly, the leadership and public and business agencies of the city were moving with some efficacy toward undoing the damages of discrimination in housing, education, and job opportunities for Negroes -- a steadier beginning than in most of America on the difficult and mostly underexplored problems of the culture of poverty.

Brunswick achieved its racial rapproachments before the summer of 1964 without a single street demonstration or boycott, and without a law suit instigated by Negroes. (A suit was brought unsuccessfully by white segregationist attempting to block school desegregation; it was answered by Negroes. A suit was brought by Negroes to compel desegregation of facilities on the nearby state-owned resort, Jekyll Island.)

All of this is not to say that down there in the salt air and vivid white, blue, and green seascape, with the twistings and twinings of the streams of the beautiful marshes of Glynn, there is an island of pure democracy where the idealism and the practices of American society are finally met. Efforts of persons of goodwill, motivated by idealism in its true sense, have been important. But much that has been accomplished has been in a pattern increasingly becoming clear as one (if not the only) practical and hopeful way out of America's most paralyzing dilemma: a realistic recognition on both sides of enmities and prejudices, an awareness of the business and social (if not humanitarian) desirability of reconciliation, and the establishment of machinery for negotiation and mediation of opposed viewpoints and goals.

"Let me tell you something," said Dr. Joseph B. Mercer, the mayor of Brunswick, describing what he

tells Negro leaders, "I was born in the South. I was reared on a big old peach orchard plantation in middle Georgia. So everything that you start talking about -- doing this and doing that -- in the first place, I've got to go against my rearing to do it."

"This thing of getting that which is due you -- that's a lifetime work," said the Rev. Julius Ceasar Hope, president of the Brunswick Branch NAACP and architect of Negro strategy and goals. "I think we need to continue to push in all of these areas..."

Brunswick's success in reconciling these and other conflicting mental sets has been attributable to three things specifically: (1) an unshakable desire that notoriety in race relations be avoided; (2) the existence of a biracial committee through which change might be effectively and acceptably channeled; and (3) the pushing by the Rev. Mr. Hope and associated Negro leaders of aspirations through a concerted strategy which keeps demonstrations, boycotts, court suits, and the like poised -- like military force in a nation's diplomacy -- ready for use.

How and why and what in the permutations of time, events, personality, place, and history allows Brunswick to achieve something -- not a perfect solution,

but what looks like a workable path to it -- that other similar small communities all around it have missed?

What answers there are to this are to be found mainly in the people of the place, in how they view what has happened, what is happening, what is likely to happen. Paradoxically, one of the easiest things to hear from them is that, for all its dependence upon open lines of communication, Brunswick needs perhaps even desperately a better and more forthright communication between the races.

The struggles of civilization date far back in Brunswick. The Spanish came in 1563 and built their missions out of a pastel white amalgam of sea shells and mud called tabby, whose formula is lost. In 1736, General James Edward Oglethorpe built Fort Frederica on nearby St. Simons Island, among the earliest outposts of England in Georgia. From it, in a comic-opera little battle at Bloody Marsh a few years later, the English drove the Spanish out and in discouragement away from all the dominion of southeast America. In 1771, General Oglethorpe on orders of a Colonial Council, soon to be caught up in the American Revolution, established the town of Brunswick.

It occupies a peninsula surrounded by rivers, creeks, and marshland to the east, south, and west. (The city limits extend a mile or so into the Atlantic Ocean.)

peninsula

A natural harbor with a channel 30 to 36 feet deep in the Brunswick River supports a state-financed dock that can't seem to prosper, and a variety of industries, from seafood picking and packing houses to plants processing paper and building materials to the big smoke stacks of the Hercules Powder Company.

Across the marsh and causeways are St. Simons, a middle-class, unpretentious, and mostly unspoiled resort (with jungles of virgin timber blessedly preserved), long favored by middle-class Georgians; Sea Island, long a spa reserved for the non-Semitic wealthy, and Jekyll Island, once the private preserve of the richest robber barons of the Nineteenth Century and now a state-owned park with luxury-high prices. These three islands combine to form the most lucrative industry -- tourism.

The Glynco Naval Base exerts economic and social influence (and blocks from the north the only avenue of territorial growth). And Thiokol has its pilot force (300 families) on hand laying the foundations for a hoped-for Defense contract that could mean 8,000 jobs for the area, according to City Planner Fred Bell.

Negro population increased more rapidly, proportionately, than the total population within the city limits of Brunswick between 1950 and 1960, but less rapidly, proportionately, than the total population outside the

city limits -- which tells a familiar story about suburbia. Normal growth (without Thiokol) would mean a population of 26,000 in Brunswick by 1970, and 62,000 in Glynn County -- with 11,180, or 43% of the population in the city Negro.

A 1962 publication of the city on its Perry Park Urban Renewal project, from which most of the above figures are taken, makes much of a comparison of the economic status of Brunswick's Negro population with that of nearby Georgia cities. Mean family income for Negroes is $2,744 per year, an increase of 41% since 1950, and higher than all other cities in Georgia except Atlanta and environs and Warner Robins, site of a large military complex. That this is a commentary on the economic plight of Negroes in Georgia more than any cause for self-congratulation or celebration in Brunswick is indicated by another statistic -- the median family income for all citizens of Brunswick: $5,044. In comparison with other Negro communities of Georgia, Brunswick Negroes are slightly better off in such matters as employment and housing.

All of these things are important and have a bearing. So do such character traits of a city as the attitude about the trees. The wonderful old oaks, with limbs twisting and roots spreading in colonizing growths, are everywhere, even all of a sudden, to the astonishment

of out-of-town motorists, in the middle of a street, including some of the downtown streets. Unwary cars occasionally bang into them. No one may cut down a tree without permission of the city's park commission, which in Brunswick is called the City Park and Tree Commission.

Surely, too, an influence is exerted by the visual impact of nature in Brunswick -- a common and everyday thing to those who live there, a pleasant shock each time he looks up for the visitor -- a vividness of color (not as dazzling as farther south in Florida, more soothing), with tropical fecundity and form of the trees and flowers, long reaches of marshland and sky and sea, blue and green everywhere, and a limitlessness to the horizon -- stretching flat planes, with salt in the air and the rich, overripe, pungent smell of the marsh in the wind (when the wind does not bring the chemical stench of paper mills). It is landscape and light for an artist, and in it symbols abound for such a writer as Georgia's lyrical poet of the nineteenth century, Sidney Lanier.

Away from the "length and the breadth of the marvelous marshes of Glynn," out on St. Simons, a more modern symbol may be seen. Once the beach was perfect, wide and hard-packed, a fine playground even at high tide. Now parts of it have washed badly, so that at high tides

the waters come up to sea walls, and over them into yards, pushing farther back the lines of summer cabins and beach homes over the years. Somehow the dunes shifted or were by man destroyed, and the natural order of things put out of kilter. Now men, in an effort to set things aright, to regain something lost, beautiful and precious, pile rock and cement in great jagged chunks to keep the onrushing tides from encroaching further and destroying. These desperate impromptu sea walls, tumbling and jagged-edged, have no beauty and are in contrast with the majesty of the sea, a grotesquery; but eventually, it is hoped, they may do their work, and restore a harmony and a balance to the beach intended by nature.

It is in the mood of this eternal process of destruction and waste, and the instinct to build back and restore, that one seeks something of the full story of Brunswick's achievement, something more than a dry case study, and for it turn to the voices of the people there, telling, as all the truth of human stories is, something richly complex, full of subtlety and nuances, like the sound of the sea.

THE STORY IN GENERAL

There was, first, the Biracial Committee, an unofficial, highly secretive agency for mediation and trouble-shooting in racial disputes. It was formed in 1960, but did little until confronted with the catalyst of a militant Negro civil rights organization.

This was the NAACP. Under new leadership of the Rev. Julius Ceasar Hope, who came to Brunswick in 1959, it was transformed from an almost extinct organization of older people into a vibrant, modern Negro movement, well versed in all the techniques and aspirations of direct action.

By 1962, the NAACP was able to present itself in negotiations as a formidable force. The Biracial Committee was there as the agency through which negotiations could be funneled, and decisions filtered.

The 1962 breakthrough was on desegregation of lunch counters. There were three negotiating sessions between the NAACP and the Brunswick Merchants Association.

There had been thsee demands; removal of discriminatory signs; desegregation of counters; desegregation of jobs. There was acquiescence on the first two, postponement on the third.

A two-week trial period was set up on the lunch counters. Members of the NAACP agreed to appear at certain times, not rush hours, at four stores. They had agreed to leave immediately if there were any trouble. White members of the Glynn Council on Human Relations sat quietly as observers. When there was no trouble during the trial period, the counters were desegregated for good. But there was no announcement of this. People found out about it gradually. This was the pattern Brunswick fell upon as the safest and surest.

"It was kept out of the news media," said Sam Altman, president of the merchants association. "We figured the less bragging we did, the less noise they made the better it would work."

Mrs. J. C. Wolkes and her husband, a dentist, are among outstanding Negro leaders. She told a story to illustrate that the lunch counter desegregation worked out "real fine." A friendly white person had told her that she was at one of the lunch counters when Negroes came in, and another white person there looked up and said: "Oh,

Negroes are eating here now. Well it's about time."

The Rev. Mr. Hope described the trial period this way: "We had a certain number of people who were trained in non-violence -- this kind of a thing -- to go to the counters and get served and leave by a certain time, and this kind of a thing. At a certain time we would go to the counters. We would sit down. There wase whites, but it was calm. We would sit down just like nothing was happening. They were looking and staring. They didn't say anything. There were a few who would get up. But all in all, it was a very pleasing situation. We got service. But some places, we got better service. This can be expected."

It was the following summer, 1963, before the next breakthroughs. Recreational facilities -- city and county parks, including a pavilion at St. Simons, but not swimming pools -- were desegregated. The same procedure was used: negotiation, this time with the two governments, and a plan approved by the Biracial Committee for a test period. When it was successful, they were opened, again without any public announcement.

(The federal court suit against segregation at another set of recreational facilities -- on state-owned Jekyll Island -- was pending at the time of the interviews

for this report. Subsequently a federal District Court ruled that facilities operated by the state -- the golf courses, bathing beaches and bathhouses, swimming pools, and the like -- had to be desegregated. The ruling did not cover facilities leased by the state to private operators. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, however, does.)

Here is how the Rev. Mr. Hope described desegregation of the recreational facilities: "We had no incidents whatsoever. Whites and Negroes from the veryyfirst night skated together ... no incidents ... bowled together ... no incidents ... played tennis together ... no incidents. They were very cordial. For instance, you would knock a ball over in their court. They would stop and throw your ball back. I'd say thank you. Just -- just like a normal game."

Edward T. Rogers, co-chairman of the Glynn County Council on Human Relations, and Mrs. Rogers, also active in the Council, were among white members who observed at the St. Simons casino during the two-week trial period.

He said: "I did not hear one word of complaint. I saw a few surprised looks when they came in. When it first started the Negroes were bowling here, and the white people would go 'way over to the other side in the farthest lane. But by the end of the week, they were bowling lane by lane. They brought little kids over to ride the

merry-go-round, and -- aw, they were just having a ball."

At the time of these interviews, pools had not yet opened for the summer of 1964, and there was apprehension about whether they would be. Negro leaders, including the Rev. Mr. Hope, said they had been promised that if they would not push for this in 1963, it would be done in 1964. "We actually compromised at that point," said the Rev. Mr. Hope.

But Dr. Joseph B. Mercer, mayor of Brunswick, said a couple of months before the time for decision: "In this matter we just get down to basic economics. If the time comes for the pools to be integrated, and they say this is the year, then strictly on the basis not of race but of economics, these pools will close." He said attendance of the whites would be drastically cut. "If integration comes, the pools go." That was, in fact, what happened.

Mrs. Rogers said in the spring of 1964: "The children -- the colored children here [on St. Simons], they can't even go to the beach. There's not one swimming place they can go." (Since then, beaches have been desegregated.)

The Rev. Mr. Hope said that requests had been renewed early in 1964 to the city and county for desegregation

of the pools. "See, we don't let them wait until that time comes and say, 'We haven't had time to work it out.'" What if they were closed? "If they want to close the pools and nobody swim in them, we would go along with that. We're just asking for the same thing that our money is paying for. We're not asking for anything special."

An inevitable question in such a place as Brunswick is how well and how much have Negroes used facilities that have been desegregated. Dr. Wilkes said those who can afford it have. Mrs. Wilkes said, "The main thing is that you want to be able to go." Dr. Wilkes pointed out that adjusting to desegregation is as much a change for the average Negro as white person. But "once he passes through this, then he begins to recognize, "Well I am a first class citizen. I am going to do something about it.' Then you begin to uplift, which is as it should be."

The city's Negro general practitioner, Dr. James S. Ray, was asked if there was awareness of the new opportunities among the general run of Negro people he sees. He said, "It works two ways at the same time. Say I work for Mrs. Jones, see? If I go to Woolworth's store, and sit and eat there, Mrs. Jones will get rid of me. That's a kind of awareness there is. She gets it over to him that if you go there it means your job. Certainly there's awareness. All of the kids on the street are aware of it. But

the person who has the most to lose is not going to go against things."

Referring specifically to use of lunch counters, the Rev. Mr. Hope said: "It has been good. What we must understand is that Negroes have been accustomed to what they have been doing for hundreds of years. And I think when the white man understands that when they open these places, there won't be a whole lot of Negroes going in, things will be better. A lot of people say Negroes are not ready. Not all of them are. All of the white folks are not ready. All the nobody's are not ready. But there are some who are ready. Why leave them back?"

While the recreational facilities were being desegregated, negotiations were begun through the Biracial Committee with the school board on compliance with the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision. The NAACP let board members know that it had a suit drawn up, but not yet filed. The board realized that the suit would have meant dictation of terms. Voluntary action, as Dr. Wilkes put it, "would be to the board's advantage because it could set the pace."

Mrs. Wilkes said some of the board members were "quite receptive," others "not too pleased." Two later resigned.

W. A. Whittle, chairman of the board of education, a gray-haired, erect man of the older generation, recalled the "momentous decision" that came out of the negotiations. The board decided that it would be "best for the community, the school system and the people to start in a small way, believing that if they did, there would be probably less discord."

Six students, three boys, three girls, from the Negro high school (Risley High) were finally selected to attend all-white Glynn Academy -- two in the eleventh grade, four in the twelfth.

This time, the decision had to be announced, and, as Mr. Whittle said, it was publicised in the local paper and on radio, and "even on television -- Channel Four in Jacksonville." An organization not there-to-fore heard of, the Glynn Society, promptly placed ads on local radio against the decision. (Of the society Mrs. Wilkes said: "They're not leading people. A member of the Human Relations Council attended a Glynn Society meeting and didn't recognize anybody there.")

A more serious reaction was the filing of a suit in Federal court, by parents of white children. The Glynn Society was thought to be behind the suit. It was filed the day before school was to open. Federal Judge

Frank M. Scarlett, an avowed segregationist, enjoined the desegregation immediately, and school opened without the Negro children. The NAACP immediately appealed the decision, asking not only that the plan for the six students be allowed to operate immediately, but also that the entire school system be desegregated.

Thus, Brunswick was in the upside down position of having a federal court order it not to desegregate, and the local board appearing in appeals court to defend its right to do so. The board, however, opposed the NAACP demand for total integration of the system. Judge Scarlett's injunction was overturned quickly by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, and the Negro youngsters went into the school two weeks late. (Not until the summer of 1964 did it rule on the plea for total integration.)

"We had believed we would not have to have court suits," said Mr. Whittle. "If only they had left us alone."

Mr. Whittle said the leadership in the situation had represented a cross-section of the community, "a high type people" who wanted to "handle the situation in a way that promotes peace and accord."

One of the few white leaders in the city who had agreed readily to an interview, Mr. Whittle smiled gently and indicated courteously after going over all the facts

that he had said all that he had planned, apparently with some care, to say.

Carolyn Harris, 16, is one of the six Negro students. In the somewhat formal atmosphere of the middle-class living room of her wooden frame home near the center of town, she answered questions, often with a word or one sentence, about the first year, then drawing to its end.

Was she selected by Negro leaders or did she apply on her own? "I applied to go." The two-week delay starting school meant that "it was a little difficult at first because we had missed three or four chapters in some classes. We had to catch up. The teachers were very nice. They helped us."

What about the students? "When we first entered, most of the students -- they wanted to be friendly, but because of a few of the students there, they didn't speak to us. There were a few who wanted to speak, but they thought the other students would ridicule them. The first day one of the boys spoke to one of the boys there, and there was a kind of scrape there. But there was nothing else. The ridicule stopped altogether. After about a month everyone was speaking. Things are working out just fine. The students accept us in class. They want us in their group discussions."

Carolyn said courses at her old school and the new one are "basically the same." But the equipment at the new one is better. She said she had done about the same amount of studying in the new situation, once she caught up.

She is not a member of the NAACP Youth Council, she said, and her interest in going to Glynn was educational, rather than for the cause. "I've always wanted to go to Glynn -- especially after they got the new Science Building. I'm very interested in science; in fact, I'm majoring in it. I was just fascinated by the Science Building, and all the equipment it had in it. I wanted to work with it." She plans to be a biologist, and to go to Ohio State University.

What of extracurricular activities? Miss Harris said she was a member of the Science Club, Math Club, and Glee Club. And she was able to keep up with social activities in the Negro community. What about at Glynn? "We haven't participated in any yet. As I said, "I'm a member of the Math Club, and they're having a banquet on the tenth. And I'm going."

She entered a biology project in the school's science fair. It won second place, which meant a trip to the State Science Fair in Athens, Georgia. What was her

project?" "It has to do with decreasing cell activity to extend the life of man."

"I'm in an honor class in chemistry," she said. "That's an awfully good class." She praised the chemistry instructor, Herbert Handley, saying he "stands out brightest" among faculty members, all of whom are good. "He made us feel at home. He told us not to be nervous about anything. He really kept our spirits up that first couple of weeks."

What had she learned from the experience? "Besides education, I think I have learned about how people react. You can't judge people by what a minority says. You have to see the whole group. I have several friends. We help each other with all our things. I help them. We have a lot of conversations."

One of these friendships started in music class. It was with the girl who sat next to her. "I didn't have a copy of the music one day and she asked me if I would like to look on, so I told her yes. And then we started talking, and she takes geometry with me also, and when we would come in, we'd talk about the geometry, various ideas of how to work different problems."

Miss Harris said she made straight A's at Glynn except for a B in geometry. This made her an honor student, which, along with having an entry in the science fair, made

her a member of the Georgia Junior Adademy of Science.

Her other courses include English and history. She was studying modern literature. She prefers Hemingway to Faulkner. His "ideas are more realistic." Does Faulkner's South sound like anything she knows? "No, it really doesn't. But I know it did exist once."

She said her school life had become quite normal. "I go to school in the morning, go to class, speak to other students. Everything goes nonchalant.

"Brunswick is wonderful. The people in it are wonderful, also."

Dr. and Mrs. Wilkes are active in the NAACP and the Glynn County Council on Human Relations, and are prominent in Negro civic and social affairs. He is originally from Pennsylvania, articulate and extroverted, with a ready laugh; she is from Savannah, pretty, vivacious, stylish, happy-voiced. They talked in an office of his dental clinic, in the spring of 1964. Outside at dusk, children shrilled and occasionally shrieked some great game in a dirt alley; a train with its own noise and shrill shrieks went by; doors slammed; dogs barked.

Why in their opinion had so much progress been made? "If you ask me if any of this would have come about without the NAACP," said Dr. Wilkes, "I would say almost unequivocally no."

(unequivocally)

He went on: "We didn't want to arouse the community in terms of victory and defeat. It had to be and still has to be careful counseling. The Glynn County Council on Human Relations has been invaluable on this counseling thing in terms of readying ourselves, because we had people with knowledge of the mechanicx, so to speak, of the community. We have thus far been able to carry on our activities without outside interference... and I think this is the way it should be done. But don't think for a minute that we would offer any hesitancy about calling for additional help -- whether it comes from inside or outside -- if we needed it."

In any listing by whites and Negroes of those whose influence has been for the good of Brunswick race relations, the name of city manager Bruce Lovvern always dame high. He is soft spoken, casual, with a slight mountain (North Georgia) twang to his southern drawl.

(His office is in the city hall. This is a formidable, narrow and tall, old-brick building, constructed in 1899. Some of its fine high ceilings have been lowered to modern, cramping standards to save on winter's fuel bills, only to make newly necessary the extra cost of air-conditioning in the longer, more severe summers. On each of the two ornate, iron staircases which climb steeply from

the first floor lobby to meet at a second floor landing, are fine little two-foot high, iron statues of cavaliers in their boots and feathered hats. In Mr. Lovvern's office is a council table, ancient and scarred, with similarly seasoned chairs of graceful, frail, and curving lines.)

Like many of the white leaders, he was reluctant to grant an interview. This was because of early agreements, involving the Biracial Committee, to avoid all publicity on racial progress. There were apparently several theoretical grounds -- that publicity itself becomes an annoying factor, that some things might better be learned slowly rather than breathtakingly in a headline, and that publicity might attract "outsiders" of both segregationist and integrationist persuasion. (It was not certain at the outset if any city officials would grant interviews. County ones never would. Finally Mayor Mercer did.) Mr. Lovvern talked freely and frankly for the record when he, too, finally agreed to an interview.

"In Brunswick," he said, "it's simply this: The leadership on both sides is willing to communicate with each other about these problems. The talk is frank and above board. It didn't just happen. It came about with time."

The first Biracial Committee meetings were cold.

Trust built up gradually and out of "being able to solve a problem or two along the line."

There is "a problem with Negroes on the committee. Some glory seekers say they are not representative Negroes."

Asked if by glory seekers, he meant the Rev. Mr. Hope, he said he had a better opinion of him than some. "He has come to us before any step and told us his intentions." Thus, there have always been warnings of when, how, and why a demonstration might come, and this gives the Biracial Committee time to work out a solution. Mr. Lovvern said he told politicians Brunswick could be in much worse shape along these lines.

He said the Rev. Mr. Hope had started out antagonistic to the Biracial Committee. He came in time to a willingness to work with it.

Why was Brunswick as early as 1960 able to form such a committee? Mr. Lovvern cited elements which make the city different from most in the area: a sizeable Jewish population; a colony of Portuguese people, descendents of fishermen attracted to the shrimp-rich South Georgia shores; a Catholic influence, in sum, a seaport, cosmopolitan flavor giving people experience in tolerance toward those different from themselves.

He mentioned as another factor the pattern of

Negroes and whites living close together. On a spring drive through the old city, with azaleas in bloom, a flow of soft lavender and red in yards, he pointed out white and Negro residents sitting on porches of simple, square-shaped wooden houses, side-by-side in close-together rows. A fine residential street of wide yards and many of the big old moss-hung trees ended abruptly at a dirt road with rows of shacks occupied by Negroes.

(The drive showed other ways that chance and nature have blessed Brunswick, making it in many ways what modern planners recommend a city should be. There is the abundance of marsh and water. The shortage of land has resulted in a minimum of the evils of suburbia -- although they are spreading in treeless fields north of town -- and it has forced a remarkable diversity in land use, a healthful intermingling not just of races in neighborhoods, but of age and economic groups, and of residences and industries, amicably. The fascinating and not unlovely shapes and white-sand color and textures of a gypsum factory are the view out of picture windows in a fashionable neighborhood, and a child in the night through most of the town stirs to the grand sound of ship horns in the harbor.)

Mr. Lovvern said that of all the influences for racial progress, economics was the greatest. "The merchants

aren't fools." They know that Negroes comprise 40% of the population, that they make a large if not commensurate contribution to the economy, and that it would be costly to alienate them. "They had read and heard about boycotts."

At about the time of the 1962 negotiations on lunch counters, the Glynmo Naval Base began to exert an influence on race relations, he said. Orders and policies had begun to filter down -- things like not allowing personnel to participate in segregated recreation programs. There had been investigations of community attitudes, and the power structure knew it. "They feared the Navy would close Glynco or cut it back."

A visit to the straight-street, military otherworld of Glynco confirmed the impression of by-the-numbers correctness of attitude, and a certain tactfulness about it. There are apparently sincere efforts toward equal employment. Base personnel participate in the Biracial Committee, and one man attends meetings of the Council on Human Relations, but has not joined.

Thiokol, Mr. Lovvern said, had more to do with school desegregation than anything else. With the main office established, and the 300 families of the firm in the area, and a government contract being sought, the Biracial Committee

and school board knew they couldn't afford to let anything upset normalcy.

A problem in continuing race relations negotiations, Mr. Lovvern said, is a misconception on the part of some Negro members of the Biracial Committee about its real function. They tend to want to use it to say who will be hired or appointed to positions -- rather than to assure merely that Negroes are. They resemble ward-heeling politicians of the turn of the century seeking patronage, he said.

There was more resistance in 1964 to racial changes than two years before. He cited the influence of the Glynn Society, describing it as from the middle-low income grouping, "good honest Georgians who feel strongly." Somewhere behind them, he said, was power and money. "You don't hire attorneys like they had in the school suit for peanuts."

It would take harder work in the future to avoid "drawing the lines" -- getting a racial alignment over the issues affecting Negroes. He said he didn't think the Rev. Mr. Hope wanted to draw the lines, that in the past he had gotten good advice "somewhere, from people behind the scenes."

Mr. Lovvern was one of the few of either race interviewed who had a good word to say about the local newspaper, the Brunswick News. He said it had done a good

job, a very careful one, of not "blowing things out of proportion."

Summing up, city manager Lovvern said: "A political decision has to be made on any racial problem. It would be very easy to choose a path of total resistance. We are fortunate that the political bodies of Brunswick and Glynn County made a decision in 1962 that they would try to work things out, try to keep communications open. This is necessary. Communities who don't do it live to regret it."

He pointed out that a study of what was happening in Albany in 1961 and 1962 (the study was made by him) was instrumental in Brunswick's decision to do otherwise. "It will end the same," he said. "In this country, Albany can't win."

Both Dr. Wilkes and Mrs. Wilkes had expressed hope about the changing quality of white opinion. "Everybody knows now," said Mrs. Wilkes, "that we do want to integrate. It's not such a bad word now. In fact some white citizens take pride in saying there is no segregation."

Mrs. Wilkes told another of the stories she seems to cherish about what one white person said to another. One white woman said to another she didn't believe in forcing integration. The other replied that if she hadn't been forced

once to attend an integrated meeting, her attitude never would have changed. "But by forced integration, an entire new world had opened to her. She sees Negroes in a completely different light, and she's just so happy."

Dr. Wilkes said that for such reasons, he had no regrets about coming South to live. "I was a little disturbed the first couple of years because I didn't have the freedom I thought I should have. But it's done now. It gives a certain amount of pride and respect to know that since I've been in Brunswick I've been able to contribute to something that should go down in history. It makes me feel good. It makes me feel part of the community and this is what I think the Negro should be. He can't be if he's going to be restrained and neglected, and this, that, and the other.

"I'm proud of our county and what has happened, and we're looking for even greater things."

BRUNSWICK AT THE TIME OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

The following sketch shows how far Brunswick had been able to move through neighborly patterns of unforced change before federal law came with its commands.

A Howard Johnson restaurant was desegregated. No other restaurants were, and no motels were.

Few non-traditional jobs were open. Some of the large plants were advertising for help on a non-discriminatory basis, but considered few Negroes qualified. The chief project of the NAACP was an effort to get Negroes hired as cashiers and clerks in downtown stores; a training school was being conducted, with instructors from the National Cash Register Co. Another goal was municipal jobs: meter readers, firemen, and the like. According to Mr. Lovvern, the city "had to screen 40 to 50 people to get one Negro cop;" credit records were the main problem here. The city's Urban Renewal Department had one Negro typist; she worked for the one Negro professional in the department.

There were no problems with voting or voter registration. White politicians even urged it. The Rev. Mr. Hope had run for City Council in the last election, and was defeated, getting only part of the Negro vote. (This effort opened sore questions which were much discussed at the time of these interviews.)

A Negro, an aged man, had been appointed to the Park and Tree Commission.

The Glynn-Brunswick Memorial Hospital had an "open" policy, "not segregated or integrated, but open." Mrs. Wilkes, expecting a baby, had applied to be confined in the white maternity section. "They say we are having this baby just to integrate the hospital." The hospital had integrated its staff, with two Negro physicians, one a surgeon, and a dentist (Dr. Wilkes), and Negro nurses, including surgical nurses. Surgical suites were desegregated.

The schools had begun token desegregation, and lunch counters and most public recreation (except swimming) were, as has been noted, open. The library was desegregated, and so were most community service agencies.

In the other large area of people's hopes and needs -- housing -- Negroes and whites do as they typically do in a coastal city, live on the same streets, often side-by-side in the older sections. But in the newer suburbs, all is white.

Corrected

Robbie:

Please have this ready for me when I come in late Friday after attending consumer conference.

L.J.E.

Hope you can decipher my corrections.

L.

TWO LEADERS
(AND SOME CONCERNS OF THE DAY)

"No publicity," said Mayor Mercer. "I think it's been the answer. Every time you heard much of a furor, what the furor was about did not get done. And yet the things you didn't hear about, gradually people began to talk about, 'Well did you know this had been done and this was being done?' Whenever a great hullabaloo was made, that just killed it. So it became obvious that the Biracial Committee had very wisely taken the stand that they could get more done by trying to act [in secret]."

Mayor Mercer is a medical doctor, middle-aged, big, robust, full of energy, although his voice is slow and quiet, sounding deceptively older than he is, and sometimes sounding, especially in his complaints about things, sing-song querulous. When he finally agreed to talk, the interview was near midnight, the only time he had open all week. It was at his offices, new and big and elaborately equipped, near the city hospital.

He began: "This friend of mine said, 'You know,

Joe, the funniest thing is Brunswick needs you like a constipated man needs a good dose of castor oil. One good dose, and get it done with, but never again."

He said he hadn't been involved in any of the race relations matters until he was elected to the city commission in February, 1963 -- 14 months before. He wasn't involved in the lunch counter or parks breakthroughs. "I was not actually involved in the schools except to voice an opinion. Having run for office and having been elected by the people with the opposition of the majority of city commissioners, the majority of the county commission, with all the political powers that be opposed to me, and having won with an overwhelming majority, nearly a thousand I believe, better than two to one, I felt that I had a responsibility to speak. I felt that I could have some effect on their taking a moderate approach."

Of other racial matters, he said he wrote the constitution and bylaws of the hospital, "and in this field we made sure every doctor got equal standing from the beginning." Negro regular nurses are on the same level in everything as white ones, he went on. "The girl we thought would give them the most trouble was the one who invited Negro nurses to use the nurse's dressing room."

He said, "At the hospital we do things on the basis of what is right. Every premature Negro baby born there is carried right into the white nursery, on the basis of rendering a service to human beings."

In March 1964, when this interview was conducted, the most talked-about event in town was a one-day job walkout of the hospital's Negro employees. Although Negro leaders such as the Rev. Mr. Hope and the Wilkes were intently making the point that the walkout was strictly economic, had nothing to do with race relations, and had nothing, in fact, to do with the NAACP, Brunswick properly regarded it as another part of the civil rights drive, and it had been referred to the Biracial Committee.

Mayor Mercer had much to say about the walkout, but for background to his remarks here is, first, what was said about it by the Rev. Frank Nalls, chairman of the hospital authority. He is also superintendent of Epworth by the Sea, a Methodist Church hostel and meeting place on St. Simons. His office there has glass walls and rich, subdued modern furnishings, with a drawing of a planned new hospital and five Boy Scout certificates and plaques on a wall. His face, broad and tanned under gray hair, was troubled. He had, he said, just received word from Washington that a representative of the federal government would be in town the next week to investigate a complaint of discrimination at the hospital.

He made no comment on this for the moment, but talked instead of how the walkout had come "without notice," preceded only by a letter from employees requesting increased pay. The walkout lasted 24 hours. "As one man put it,"

he said, "how inhuman can you get, to leave sick patients in their beds?"

He lifted his hands and let them fall hard on his desk. "I felt we were coming along pretty well; this is the tragedy of it." There is, he said, no racial difference in pay scales; the walkout was by the lowest paid help, maids and janitors, all of whom are Negroes. It came after a change from weekly to bi-weekly pay. What they were asking for, the Rev. Mr. Nalls said, was the minimum wage. No hospital pays it. To do so would mean exorbitant room rents, he said. "I'm convinced [the walkout] was all planned by the NAACP."

He said the walkout endangered the moderate leadership in race relations, of whom he counted himself one. "I have a feeling of betrayal. They've betrayed all those who have worked to help them. I feel most reluctant to do anything further. Any concessions that are made are looked upon as weaknesses to be seized on and exploited, rather than as..."

He didn't finish the sentence. Then: "This is a place that prided itself on the advances made. Some of us were ready to accept the criticism we knew would come to us, for the sake of peace. And now, to have that peace threatened."

He said the request by Mrs. Wilkes for admission to "the regular obstetrics suite, with the hospital in a terrible crowded condition" had created resentment, criticism of me." When she was accepted, "it was shouted to the housetops." He said, "I doubt if she can stand the martyrdom this will cause her, and she can't back down."

And now the complaint to the federal government had been made. He said he didn't know who did it. "I'm afraid they've lost ground. Regardless of law, it's bad when you get the white citizens' backs up."

His whole posture, tone, and voice expressed indignation and hurt. Here was the voice of moderation in such a place as Brunswick under extreme pressure, with what it considered much provocation to anger.

"We have sacrificed friendships, subjected ourselves to criticismm needlessly, all of us. The biggest thing lacking in the Negro is a sense of appreciation."

Then with no question prompting it, he gave the rationale of his actions in race relations: "The Supreme Court is the law of the land. I feel that its members have violated their trust, and perjured themselves. Yet I feel that until what they have done is corrected -- and I believe it will be -- their rulings are the law. If I were a Hindu and if contempt for the Supreme Court were a

crime, I would spend the next three incarnations in jail. But I am still bound by its rulings." He said he felt the 1954 school decision had "ruined" all that Negroes "on their own merits" had earned for themselves.

His thoughts turned again to Mrs. Wilkes. "She's a fine woman. Her skin is lighter than mine. She is a college graduate. If anybody could break the ice, she's the perfect one. Yet now, if she does, it's going to create a hardship on her, a scar. Thousands of people could personally abuse her. Not physically. But she's such a cheerful person. It could poison her.

"People like her and me..." He was silent. Then: "The Lord help us if we don't keep the middle of the road in power."

Mayor Mercer's views were in somewhat different tone. He thought there had been "poor handling" by the hospital administrator. Doctors had been trying to work out solutions to some of the problems. The pay is low compared with national standards, he said, but quite high compared with, say, Waycross, Georgia. But one thing, he said, was "most disturbing." If the walkout was just purely a matter of economics, why hadn't the Negroes come to him and other white doctors first, asthey often had in the past with problems?

He cited instances where the hospital administrator had discharged Negroes for absenteeism in cases of genuine illness. One of these was the case of Missy. "Of course, Missy came back to the doctors [for help] because she was a favorite of all of us. She was a typical Aunt Jemima, a little old five-by-five, just as sweet and nice and everybody just dearly loved her, and so we jumped him right away and he was very adamant about it. He asked me what would I do, and I said I would put her back on the payroll whether she worked or not, to show my personnel that loyalty was going to be rewarded. A niece of hers had died and left many children, and she had gone up and brought 'em all back, and was trying to feed and clothe these children. And here she was about to die herself... He relented." He said he had told the administrator: "You educate yourself. Try to think as these people think. Try to see their problems."

Dr. Mercer said another thing that bothered him was that the Negroes knew how strongly he and other doctors felt about duty to patients. He said he "preached it" to them in orientation lectures. "What's the motive?" asked Dr. Mercer. "What are they after? Is it the NAACP? I don't know."

Mayor Mercer also talked about politics. He had

been first elected to the city council in February 1963, to fill the unexpired term of J. Russell Tuten, who had just been elected to Congress. He was then elected mayor in October 1963, for a full term. In this election, he had been opposed by the Negro leadership.

"The fact that made me feel good about all the problems of the last election was that Negroes called me and said, 'Doctor, they're telling a lot of lies about you. But you've been in my house at three in the morning and I didn't have a penny in my pocket and you took care of my child. I know you better than this.' How could the NAACP put out a letter to the Negro people saying that if they voted for me they were committing murder?"

He also commented that former Mayor Tuten "had probably in his own quiet country way done more in this town that he never got credit for than anybody."

Dr. Mercer had full Negro support in his first race. He had met with a group of Negro leaders. "They asked me what I stood for. I said that insofar as lunch counterssdsegregation was concerned, I was with them because I do not feel it is right for a man to have 21 counters in his store and say, 'I'll sell to you from 20 but you can't buy from the twenty-first one.' But I said let me make my position clear. I feel that any man who wants to go out here on Glenn Avenue and open up a business and hang

a sign over his door and say, 'I will sell only to one-eyed, one-armed Indians from Arizona,' who is that big a fool that he can sit there and wait for this, I defend his right to do it. Because it's his money made by the sweat of his brow and therefore, it's his right."

He said he told them he thought desegregation of public owned facilities was right "but when it came to private, this was something that had to be approached on the basics of economics and not on the basis of government, and I want it clearly understood." Everyone there, he said, including Dr. Wilkes, said all right, they understood. They might not agree but they understood.

"I told 'em this," he went on. "I said I want to tell you something. It has generally been stated that Negroes vote in a bloc. It's been generally stated that in Brunswick -- the reason I said it was because there were one or two people sitting in that room -- it's been generally stated that if the right money got into the right hands that the Negro vote would be delivered. I want to tell you here and now that when you work for me it will be a labor of love. I have no money to spend and I will spend no money. One man got up and left the meeting that night and went straight to the opposition. This man is now shown up.

"Dr. Wilkes said: 'Doctor, we don't want any Negro

to take one dime for working for you in this election. We want 'em to work according to good government principles and this is what we are trying to do.'"

When he ran for re-election, he said, "I stated that I was going to do what I thought was right for all races; that probably some Negroes would want me to go 75 miles per hour; there were going to be some white ones were going to want me to go into reverse; and I was probably going about 25 to 30 miles per hour on a road that I thought was right because my aim was to take the majority of people with me.

"I also made the statement that I thought they could legislate half a mile, they could carry through co-operative work three quarters of a mile, and I said it's up to God-a-mighty that last quarter, and I don't know what can ever be done about that."

Word went around, he said, that the Rev. Mr. Hope would run for the city council in that race. "I said if that J. C. in his name stood for Jesus Christ, he could not get anything done with the way things stood. This is not the time." He said he called Dr. Wilkes, thinking at the time he was secretary of the NAACP. He said he told him: "I ask you to use your influence to get Mr. Hope not to run. I don't think it's the right time. What I want is give me one year to see what I can do without stirring this pot now.

Give me one year and then you got elections coming up. If you want to run somebody you can. I'm not saying don't run anybody; all I'm saying is this is not the time."

The phone call was a disaster, "stupid" he had called it earlier, not trying to escape at least some of the responsibility for the outcome.

"We went through it four times. He got real nasty, and I got real nasty too, because I've got a temper. I said if you want somebody to tell what to do you better get another candidate. Three days later they came out for Copeland." This was Millard A. Copeland, then a city councilman and long active in the city's politics.

Mayor Mercer said he split the Negro vote in the campaign. He said Negro ministers asked him for cards; they said they couldn't speak out for him, but they could hand cards out.

Referring to a more recent election for county commission, Dr. Mercer said he thought political activity was still setting Negroes back. "They come out endorsing the people who have made promises over the years and broken every promise, instead of trying to endorse people who -- at least now -- are refreshingly saying different things from what they used to say."

He said he went ahead after becoming mayor as he would have if he had gotten all the Negro vote. He said he maneuvered the naming of the first Negro to a city board -- J. P. Atkinson to the Park and Tree Commission. Mr. Atkinson is a noted gardener in Brunswick, he said. He said he told the Commission: "I want a qualified Negro. I'm not wanting to just put a Negro on -- I want to stand up and say I have chosen a man because of his qualifications." He said he had hoped to name Dr. David J. Griffin, the Negro surgeon, to the housing authority, but he was "erroneously" accused of being part of the hospital walkout. He said he told him he couldn't do it, now. ok

Mayor Mercer described his modus operandi for bringing about consensus on a thing like a board appointment for a Negro. "I don't just do these things. My method is to pick out about ten responsible people, tell them what I'm going to do, discuss it with 'em in detail, and say all right, I want you to pick out about ten more. It pyramids. And then you get the support. You get other people seeing what you're trying to do. Being with you and helping you sell your program."

He said he had done this toward naming a Negro to the recreation board. "Then in the midst of it we got a letter from the NAACP saying they wanted W. C. McNeely,

the coach at Risley High -- the very man we were considering." Heesaid he got phone calls from the people he had called saying don't do it. "So last week we went ahead and named a white man."

"No communication at all," he exclaimed. "This man [Hope] has never called me or come to me. Apparently this man has decided that I am so opposed to him...And I am. I don't intend to go to him. I'm his mayor. He can come to me. I'd be glad to give him an audience. In fact I'd love to because I want him to know the truth from me. Because he's been told so much stuff. I'm beginning to think some of this at the hospital is an attempt to embarrass me. I hope this is wrong." He said his only basis for this was hearing that the Rev. Hope was at the hospital on the day of the walkout.

"My wife was down there giving bed baths to Negro patients, and it made her so mad she couldn't see straight."

He paused and then: "The very people who they need to help them are the ones they have alienated because these are the people who have compassion for people." Again a pause. "And yet I don't know. I'm confused right now. I tell you frankly, I'm so confused on this thing that I don't know what next step I'm going to take. You stop and wonder if you're right in what you think is right."

"The only thing we can do is go day by day trying to do what we know to be right and to conscientiously try, as people show one by one that they are more interested in finding out how far we will go rather than to go by plateaus. This situation didn't get there overnight and can't be cured overnight. And then to go as far as we dare go so long as we can take the majority of the people with us."

He said he was the only man in Georgia who ever ran for office with the avowed opposition of the Ku Klux Klan and the NAACP. "I made the statement repeatedly that if I had the power ~~of~~ and God would wipe my conscience clear, ok if I could cut 100 white throats and 100 Negro throats, the rest of us could do a good job of finding a solution." He repeated his belief that you have to carry the people with you, and he voiced his opposition to the federal civil rights legislation.

He described his own efforts to reduce the functions of local government and give private enterprise a larger share in solving public problems. "What I wanted to do was go in and condemn every substandard house in the city of Brunswick. Whambo. And then put a moratorium right here. Stop and say wait a minute: 'They're condemned now. If you property owners will come in here and replace this housing with standard housing, we will continue

for three or four or five years to give you the same tax structure that you had on the old house.' But there's no law. No legal precedent. You can't do it!"

He said the lending institutions "are banding together, trying to help people to become home owners rather than renters. They formulated the plan; I just gave 'em the general outline of what I wanted; they deserve credit for it." The institutions will fund a plan whereby anyone in the urban renewal area can make application to try to clear his credit to become a home owner. The institutions will get a complete credit record on the applicant and try to work out a plan for clearing it up. If they are able to close a home loan for the applicant, he pays $5. If they can't clear his record, he pays nothing. Every financial institution was cooperating.

The urban renewal project covers 70 acres in the heart of the city. In this area are 209 families, all but 39 of whom are Negroes. It includes some of the worst slums, but not the worst, and was picked mainly because of its large amounts of unused land. There will be a new elementary school and junior high in the area, and a park and playground with a community building. Private and public housing will replace slum housing, and the assumption is that most of the present occupants will move into it.

A byproduct of the project has been development of a Minority Committee of the Citizens Advisory Committee, a Negro group which has become a sounding board not just for urban renewal problems but those of Negro life in general. Subcommittees have worked out solutions to problems involving transportation, schools, parks, water and sewage, and street lights. Negroes have thus had an opportunity to express themselves to white officials who attend the meetings on long pent-up grievances, and to participate in civic problem-solving. White politicians have gained from this a new insight into Negro life and troubles. An exchange between the Negro community and city hall has thus been established, full-time.

The credit problem, according to Robert Mauney, urban renewal director, is the key to the tasks of relocation that urban renewal requires. Negroes might have a job and money saved for a down payment on a new home, but previous bad credit records block them. For some Negroes in the area, Mr. Mauney said, expectations have risen too high. The $7,000 home they can afford will be far better than the one they had, but palls in the light of the $12,000 one they would like to get. For others, the whole thing has meant a confusion almost schizophrenic under the strain of making

decisions of a kind they have never had to make before, and the prospect of total change in living conditions and habits. He told of hopes of getting social workers to help these people in the transition. William L. Blakely, the Negro assistant in the Urban Renewal Department, a sociologist with the M. A. degree, told of the plight of Negroes in the area who, on the strength of anticipated purchase of their property, fell victim to small-loan agencies and other offering credit at high rates. One woman had somehow been convinced of the wisdom of making $850 worth of repairs to her home, which was to be destroyed.

(In the midst of the interview with Mr. Blakely, a tall, serious-faced, slim, middle-aged Negro man in overalls came in. He was Mr. Dawson, a contractor, and was asked by Mr. Blakely to serve on a new committee concerned with the urban renewal project. He listened to details, considered the thing, and said finally, slowly, "Yes, I can do it." He talked awhile of the relatively progressive atmosphere in Brunswick, saying the middle Georgia county where he came fron had "no concept of progress." He went out, a serious, pumposeful man, grave, drawing slowly on his pipe, much dignity to him.)

Mayor Mercer, toward the close of the interview, alluded to the new tenseness that came over southern whites in the early 1950's. He told of how the state turned down a Negro bid to use the National Guard Armory for a heart benefit fund. "I said for God's sake tell me why. I can remember as a little boy -- at least 35 years ago -- I went to the Negro schoolhouse and watched their plays and they came to our schoolhouse and watched our plays. That was good. This was in the so-called backwoods. I said, for goodness sakes, what's wrong with this sort of a thing?"

And then turning back to the recent way of handling things, he said he knew of other communities taking the same quiet approach Brunswick has to racial progress. "We must have been one of the earliest ones with a biracial committee and so forth. I wasn't there so I can point with pride to the ones who were. Let me say this: there are men who are on the political other side of the fence that I wouldn't give air view in a jug politically that I have to admire for what they've done in this biracial situation because they have shown themselves to be, in at least one category, able to measure up."

"I've been a dreamer," said Mayor Mercer after another pause. "It's taking more out of me than I have a right to give. And the things I've tried to do, instead

of my enemies blocking me, it is the people I would think would be shoulder to shoulder with me. I constantly have to overcome them."

The Rev. Julius Ceasar Hope is a young man, tall, slim, handsome, with an intense, feeling way of speech. He had just returned to his small, pleasant home on a main Negro residential street near downtown Brunswick, next door to his church, the Zion Baptist Church. He had been away all week conducting services at a revival meeting in middle Georgia. The interview in his living room, with its pictures of Jesus and the late John F. Kennedy in prominent places, and its array of big and little toys belonging to Julian Hope, age two, was interrupted by phone calls and people coming by to see him.

The Rev. Mr. Hope came to the city in 1959. The Brunswick NAACP then was almost dormant, kept barely alive by a faithful few older people. One of these is Mrs. Georgia Gibbs, a lady of great dignity and much energy. She had helped found the chapter in 1929 soon after returning from Spelman College in Atlanta where she had as a student volunteer worked under Dr. W. E. B. Dubois in an anti-lynching

effort. Mrs. Gibbs said the Brunswick chapter asked the Rev. Mr. Hope to assume leadership. He said he would only if she and other older people would stay in, and help him. "Otherwise the Negroes would say it came from off-people."

One of the problems of his leadership, including his difficulties in the election, apparently stems from this tendency of the tradition-bound coastal community of Negroes to look askance at people from other parts. An older Negro man said: "One thing that holds us back is that Negroes practice discrimination. We've got what you call a 'been-here' concept of life. 'Been here' and 'come here.' A 'come here' can't be a 'been here.' I've been here 26 years, but I'm not a citizen yet."

Brunswick was the Rev. Mr. Hope's first full-time ministry. He had grown up in Mobile, received the B. S. at Alabama State College, and received his divinity degree at the Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta. While he was in college, he served three years as an assistant pastor at a Montgomery church, and worked in the Montgomery bus boycott under Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Did he consider himself the same kind of leader as Dr. King? "I'm what you'll let me be. I can be the negotiating type of leader, if you let me be that. Or I

can be a demonstrator, but not outside the law. Anything I do is within the law. If the state law conflicts with the constitutional law, I'll go with the constitutional law."

How did he come by the name Julius Ceasar? There was no significance that he knew of. "I tell you the truth I guess my parents just gave me that name. That's all." Then he didn't plan to rule the world? "No," laughing. Then seriously: "I don't plan to rule the world. I plan to help save the world."

Did he come to Brunswick planning to continue the civil rights fight he had experienced in Montgomery? "My interpretation of being a pastor is that you can't just be concerned with pulpit duties. There must be concern about the whole man. So therefore I've always been interested in civil rights and each man getting that which is due him."

The movement really started with an attempt in 1962 by several Negroes, including him and Dr. Wilkes, to play golf at Jekyll Island during a Negro dental convention. "When we got there everybody was playing. It was hot, the sun was shining, about 12 o'clock. They told us the course was closed for watering. At that point I said to myself we need some kind of organization, an organization that actually

when they said the place was closed down, we could stay there 'til it opened up."

"We organized." They studied statistics of what had happened all over the state and country where demonstrations had occurred. "We looked up their procedures and their methods. I tried to pick out the good and I tried to get around the bad."

It was decided that they would address the city commission, the county commission, the merchants association, the chamber of commerce, all those who had power in areas where Negroes were segregated. Letters were written to all those people, asking for conferences. He showed copies of those early letters: "We feel that you, the commissioners, are concerned about these grievances and are willing to work with us in the spirit of Godliness" ... "It isn't our desire to disrupt the peace and harmony of this community; but definite action must be taken at this time."

The reaction was "very, very interesting." Lunch counters were only one of many grievances cited. "We were talking about jobs, recreational facilities, Negro firemen, meter readers, policemen. We just covered the waterfront. Wherever we were responsible for paying taxes, we figured we ought to be able to receive some benefits if we are qualified. We are not asking for anything that we are not

qualified to get."

They also "tried to fix it so that it wouldn't seem we were demanding anything. We wanted to let them know that we wanted to negotiate, wanted to talk about it." They were aware of the Biracial Committee, but "as far as outward results, we hadn't seen much of it." The committee had gotten some Negro police, but "if they'd done a whole lot, we wouldn't have had all those grievances."

One of the first goals was getting discriminatory signs down. This was successful at city hall right away. The county took a little longer. So did downtown stores.

Then came the negotiations on lunch counters. "We had to come to a point where we said that we want this done by a certain time. We've talked about it long enough. We asked for a certain time; they gave us a certain time. This is all we were looking for." It didn't even have to be the exact time they asked for. "Just give us something to look forward to. They understood demonstrations would come otherwise."

Was he really prepared to demonstrate during negotiations? "I was in the service and I'm like Uncle Sam. I always like to stay in shape. If anything comes up I'm ready for it, see? But I don't want to do it. That's the

reason I want to try to work out the best way. We always stay prepared. We have one of the finest youth councils in the state."

Mass meetings were held every Thursday night beginning in the summer of 1962. Newsletters were published every week. He showed samples of these, early ones mimeographed, later ones printed. They contained peppery news of the movement, exhortations on specific local issues and general themes like non-violence and the need for Negroes to better themselves.

How many were in the movement then? The majority of the Negro community, said the Rev. Mr. Hope. How many would have marched? Three to four thousand "would have been dead with it."

When he came in, he didn't try to take over the NAACP, the Rev. Mr. Hope said. But when he was elected president, he began the movement. "Some people might have been against me, but they weren't against what I was doing. They might not have liked me. But they wanted a better time, too. You see? So therefore they didn't get out and work against me. Then, too, this thing was happening all around us, you see. And that had a big bearing on what happened. Albany did. Little Rock. Atlanta and all the

other places that had these demonstrations, all this bad publicity.

"We had to let these people know we weren't looking for publicity. We were looking for results. That's still our motto. Not publicity; results."

Were they conscious of a pattern of letting the Biracial Committee take credit for what the NAACP had initiated? "We weren't worried about credit. We know where it goes. All of us have had a hand in what happened here. Without the NAACP, nothing that's been done would have been done. If you do a job, people know who does it.

Did they rest between each breakthrough? The Rev. Mr. Hope looked patient. He explained: "This is our strategy. We have two or three things going on at one time. We've always got something on the docket. For instance, while we were fooling with the recreational facilities, we had the letters to the board of education asking them to move along with the Supreme Court decision of 1954. We put the whole thing before them, and try to pick the most vulnerable spots. We just keep moving."

Since the schools, "we've been moving in the area of trying to get Negroes as firemen, meter readers, and tryingtto get Negroes hired in other positions than sweeping floors, and this kind of a thing."

Here the Rev. Mr. Hope smiled. "I make a mistake sometimes. I took this matter [of jobs] to the Biracial Committee when the merchants association didn't do anything. But instead of going back to the Biracial Committee, I put forth this idea that if certain things didn't happen by a certain time, then we were going to boycott. I would have boycotted, but I would have gone back on my word, if I had gone and boycotted without clearing it through the Biracial Committee. It doesn't hurt me to apologize; any time I'm wrong I do that."

The boycott, he said, "is always there." In fact, at that time, Easter time, some people were boycotting anyway, "not because we've asked them not to buy, but because of the way people are treating them at this point."

Nearly everyone in Brunswick during the spring of 1964 mentioned a recent event when Negro youngsters went around town with placards urging people to register to vote. Many people thought a demonstration was finally taking place, until they got close enough to read the signs, with mottos like: "I'm too young to vote. What's your excuse?" The Rev. Mr. Hope chuckled about those signs. "We weren't demonstrating. We were just trying to get people to register. But some of our people can't read, you see. And when they saw those signs, they just didn't go in the stores."

After jbbs? "In all these areas, it's not total. So we've always got something to do. We want people on these aboards, see. Out of all the counters and the parks and all these other openings that we've got, if we don't get somebody on the inside, you see, all this stuff will be futile. We need somebody on the recreation board, on the board of education, to keep [the Political Action Committee] posted and keep the community up to date." There are no commitments on board appointments. The hope is to get them from people seeking office.

Then he said: "This thing of getting that which is due you, that's a lifetime work. I think we need to continue to push in all these areas, especially in this area ~~to~~ getting Negroes [on boards]. I don't mean just anybody, but somebody who's going to be representative, somebody who will do the kind of job that ought to be done and continue the kind of atmosphere that's here now.

"If we can continue to keep the doors open and continue to talk and reason together and try to work out our problems, understanding that we need to start working on them, you see, I think things will be peaceful here as long as this attitude can exist. But when you come and say we're not going to do this -- nobody's going to tell nobody what we're going to do and what we're not going to do. You

see. Then that's when you get trouble.

"As long as we can talk about it we can try to understand each other's problems and try to work it out for the betterment of all. Then I think we will have the kind of community [we want] and from this community the world can receive information to help them move on and have a better life for all men."

He said he was "very hopeful" of winning a seat on city council in the next city election. About his previous race, he said, "We fought a nice campaign. The guy I opposed, I think I was better qualified than he was as far as training was concerned. But the people -- some Negroes -- we've still got some Negroes who will sell their vote you see; we've still got some Negroes who still believe ~~what~~ white is right and that is that. See, they're accustomed to this. This is years of something within, I would say, that's going to take time and education to get out."

He said there was a heavy vote in his race, that he might have won had it been normal. He said he got more than half of the Negro vote, and some -- not a whole lot -- of the white vote. He said he thought there was enough "togetherness" in the Negro community this time for him to win. He said those who voted against him had had their consciences working on them since the election.

Asked whether the alliance with Mr. Copeland had hurt him with the Negro vote, and about reports that Mr. Copeland was formerly a close supporter of Marvin Griffin, former governor and statewide segregationist captain, he said: "We didn't know that. I couldn't endorse anybody that had anything to do with Griffin." He said he didn't think it was a factor in the vote against him though. "People in general know that I don't do any selling out. The reason we endorsed Copeland was that we had a conference with Copeland and he said he liked the way things have progressed. Insofar as opportunities are concerned, he would be willing to work with them and try to keep the thing moving in the direction that it was moving. He talked the way we wanted him to talk. Therefore we endorsed him.

"We did not endorse Mercer because Mercer was going in the opposition direction. Mercer ain't for all this. If he came out and told you the truth, he's not for all that's happening. He's not for each man getting that which is due him.

"I've had run-ins with him. I was in city hall one morning talking about this public accommodations thing. People are traveling these roads, As a result, CORE and SNCC and everybody else comes through here, and they go to these hotels and if it's not open, they're going to make

a mess out of it. I said, 'Now Doctor, why don't we call all these hotel managers and sit down and let's see if we can't work out something?' He just blew up, you see. He didn't even want to talk about it. He didn't want to work it out. Anybody's got a closed mind, he'll mess up your town. He's a good talker. Good talker. You got to watch him though."

Of federal civil rights legislation, which was at that time pending, he said: "When that comes through, we are going to move head-on, you see. What the law says do, we want the law observed." What did he mean by head-on? "We will never forget the channels. When I say head-on, we are going through negotiations, try to work it out." But it will help to "have the law directly behind the situation. Just like when we went to the hospital the other day. We went to negotiate, and if they had said they were not going to do it, then the next day we would have had a suit. The next day."

"I think I'll put in a plug for the police department," he said. "Chief Rex Deaver has been very helpful. At the beginning of the movement, I went and talked to him to let him know I was not a rabblerouser or trouble-maker. I let him know just what I was planning to do. Any time that negotiations bogged down, he always knew what might happen.

Everything we've done, he has known about it, even when we went to the lunch counters and recreation facilities. He's been straight down the line with me. I've been straight down the line with him."

Summing up the NAACP work in Brunswick, the Rev. Mr. Hope said everything was done locally, all decisions made by the local branch, with the executive board directing things. "The only time we go to the state office is for legal help."

As for the future, he said he was optimistic. "I don't see any problems. We will continue to try to reason these problems out together and try to work for the advancement and the betterment of our community, our state, our world."

Is Brunswick essentially any different from other southern communities where race relations progress is needed? "I don't think Brunswick is so much different," said the Rev. Julius Ceasar Hope. "I think it's the strategy that has been used. I think likewise Albany, Little Rock, Mississippi, and all those places helped here. In order for it not to happen here, we sit down and try to work it out. I don't think Brunswick is any different. I think the strategy is."

The committee, said the member, has been in existence five years "in an unknown and uncharted field."

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THE COMMITTEE

With the Biracial Committee's penchant for secrecy and anonymity, its members were understandably the most reluctant of all to be interviewed. Finally, one white member, on agreement that his name not be used, indicated a willingness to talk of the thought and philosophy behind the committee. It is important to say that this thought and philosophy were born in Brunswick, grew out of the myriad intertwinings -- like the marshes of Glynn -- of its Deep South, small city life, showing that amid all the intertwinings, the best of moral and intellectual truth still runs true and strong and can emerge to sustain a people.

The committee, said the member, has been in existence five years "in an unknown and uncharted field." It has regularly scheduled meetings, once a month. There is no permanent chairman. The chairmanship revolves down the alphabet for the six Negro and six white members. The

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committee has never issued a press release, and members never divulge what takes place at a meeting. For a long time, its membership was secret, and is not now well known. The committee has no official public responsibilities, and members are not appointed by public officials. Its services have been sought, its advice requested by all public bodies, including the city and county governments, the merchants association, and the board of education.

"In the end, they take action, not us."

It has dealt with "the usual problems" involving "removal of (I don't like to say integration or segregation) social and economic barriers, and the recognition of civil rights." There has never been a committee decision that was not unanimous, an agreed-on order of social change. As long as there is progress, there is cooperation. When the NAACP boycott deadline on the jobs issue fell in the midst of a low employment period, "colored members" of the committee sided with whites seeking deferment.

The hospital walkout was not a racial issue "because they say so." But all involved were Negro, in the lowest job classifications. The biracial committee was called in, and got them to go back to work. The matter was not then settled. They were told, "We can

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promise you nothing. But disease takes no holiday. You can't shut down a hospital like a steel mill." They were urged to go back and give a reasonable time to work things out. "It's still with us. We go from crisis to crisis."

Brunswick has its share of hotheads, anonymous letter writers and the like. Any race has its fine people and its sorry ones, he said. The Glynn Society hasn't been heard from since the school thing. "Radicals of either race are not the best people."

He discussed the economic increases made by Negroes since World War II. But economic development means that soon there will be no place for the untrained. It's cheaper for society to train people than support them for life. "If we don't prepare people for life, we will pay 100 times the cost. We are going to make illiteracy and lack of preparation for life a personal choice, a disgrace to the individual and not the society." Economics is the main concern of Negro members of the biracial committee: "a chance for their kids."

He said he had learned a lot during the 6K years he had spent on the committee, and had "a devil of a lot more to learn." But he did know that if every Negro made $100 a week, business would sell twice as much. You

can't do that with everybody mad, and throwing rocks and hauling people off to jail.

If there is any problem involving race, the committee will know about it. Such a committee is an essential for any city. "We can do what the politicians can't. Nobody solves anything without looking at it, playing ostrich." If Jacksonville had this, it wouldn't have had its riots of the spring of 1964. "I know our problems haven't all been solved, but we are facing them. We haven't failed in any crisis. We will soon turn a corner and be going down hill."

How did the committee come to be formed? He said the answer goes back to the first days after World War II, when, overnight, a big shipbuilding industry in Brunswick ended, with 16,000 people out of work and leaving. Brunswick's population dropped drastically. It had been up to 40,000. It was a disaster. "We had to build a community back. Adversity like this builds leadership and community spirit." As the effort to rebuild Brunswick was becoming successful, the South's racial revolution of the 1950's started up. The team meeting on other problems saw Little Rock and other disasters and felt it must cope with the problem locally. The Chamber of Commerce agreed to set up the committee.

Then, quietly, he spoke of the "international" meanings of Brunswick: "People must live with people if

the world is to have order. If domocracy will not work in Brunswick, it will not work in the nation, it will not work in the world. People must live with people. We have moved from the Civil War to an age when a button can be pushed that will blow up a nation. We must learn to live with each other."

A Negro member of the committee also talked briefly about its role. He said it had been difficult to get Negroes willing to serve.

He described how frank and free discussionsis on the committee. "We can call each other liars."

He said that if the economic problems could be solved, people would work out the social ones. "There is not much desire for a connection with the white man or his white woman but there is for being financially able. I was born and raised according to southern customs. I never felt white citizens were superior to me. But it was apparent what I didn't have. I have reached the conclusion that the way one conducts himself, one individual to another, the individual can reach what he wants, regardless of race."

But Negroes are a long way from being treated as first class citizens, he said. Some white people never associate with Negroes, never give race a thought.

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Getting representation in government will help. "And with good white people, we can put over our problems, with people who understand the problems." Then, he said: "The Negro isn't what he was years ago. Kids are not born with the same instinct. Maybe it's something intended. They are born different. Maybe it's just better environment, better training. We do more for our kids than they used to.

"The Negro doesn't feel the white man as he once did. I don't know if the white man has changed. Maybe he has; maybe he doesn"t feel as great as he used to."

He looked down a quiet neighborhood's row of yards, with toys in many of them, and children playing. "Our kids," he repeated, wonderingly, "are different now."

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THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Radio Station WMOG, in March, 1964, devoted one of its days fares of editorials to a flinging of the gauntlet to the Glynn County Council on Human Relations. The same editorial was, as is customary, repeated throughout the day with heroic trumpet calls and in a tone of voice masterfully mixing self-rightious offended dignity and oratorical pompousness.

"The Glynn Council on Human Relations... doesn't agree with our editorial policy," the thing began and went on to tell of how the council had complained to the Federal Communications Commission about the station. The editorial named the officers of the council, stressing Negro names, and telling when and where the little group meets. "In disagreeing with our editorial policy, the council is not alone," the metallic voice of the station went on, in a demonstration of the

kind of irresponsibility the council had complained about. "Ralph McGill and the Atlanta newspapers disagree. So does the NAACP, CORE, the Communist Party and Martin Luther King, Jr. ..."

In a final flourish, the announcer said slowly: "In effect the Glynn Council on Human Relations has squared off to battle it out with Johnny Reb Radio ... We didn't ask for the fight ... But we accept the challenge ... We promise we will not retreat ..."

The station is one of a string owned by Allan Woodall, a middle-Georgia businessman, who is a minor but affluent operator in state segregationist political circles. Albany has one of the stations. Their trademark is a drawing of a brutalized Confederate soldier, reminiscent of German art of the 1930's and resembling a storm trooper.

The council, a group of about 30 genteel local people, mostly middle-aged and older, seemed generally unperturbed by the ultimatum. The general attitude seemed summed up by a beach-tanned lady of the island who called the station and asked if each member could have equal time to reply to the editorial's "hogwash." Previously, the group had had the station's owner, who has a vacation home

on Jekyll Island, as a speaker to rebut the FCC complaint. The complaint was concerned with such things as the station's use of the word "nigger" in advertisements against the school desegregation.

Mr. Rogers, the council co-chairman, only recently took over the job. He and Mrs. Rogers praised the work of the previous chairman, Mrs. Emmet Johnson who worked actively in behalf of the early breakthroughs. She and her missionary husband have moved on to Africa. The Rogers live on St. Simons; he is a retired chemical engineer, having lost both arms in an industrial explosion. He uses prosthetic arms with such skill that one doesn't notice it. A middle-aged couple for whom the words jolly and at the same time earnest seem unavoidable, they laughed at the editorial, but also gave serious thought to whether to reply, deciding finally against it.

They told of the council's participation in the racial breakthroughs. It was formed about the same time the breakthroughs occurred. The Rogers became members a little later. They began with the story of school desegregation.

"Hope went to the school board and Biracial Committee a month without ever threatening a suit or demonstration," Mr. Rogers related. Finally the Biracial

Committee unanimously adopted a motion that it would write a letter to the school board asking that steps be taken. The Negroes then heard mothing for another month. The Council on Human Relations finally wrote a letter to the Biracial Committee asking results. It never got an official reply, but after the Council's letter, the Biracial Committee finally wrote the school board. This got prompt action, the announcement that the school board had decided to accept Negro students.

Then the council worked as it could to make desegregation a success, including smoothing some of the personal adjustments of students. Mrs. Rogers said every time the council got a complaint, "we had to make about ten telephone calls." When they <u>really</u> made calls, Mr. Rogers said, was when they heard about the suit attacking the desegregation plan. Mrs. Wilkes, who is ever alert, told them the night before it was to be filed, and they called the city attorney; he was grateful; he didn't even know about it. The council helped rally local support of the school board. It also investigated the background of the litigants and concluded Mr. Rogers said, "these people never would have on their own initiated the suit. It was apparent that these people were used." Only one local lawyer was involved and he

was a minor cog. Most of the litigants lived in an area that bordered on a Negro neighborhood.

The Rogers told also of the council's observing for possible trouble that never came at the lunch counter and park desegregations. Did they advise the Rev. Mr. Hope in any of the many wise and canny moves he had made? "He might ask an opinion of what we think, and we tell him," said Mr. Rogers. "Rev. Hope has done a wonderful job, and he's pretty generally accepted now by the white leadership as a responsible man. A lot of them say they'd hate to see Hope leave here because they'd hate to deal with a new man."

(The Council on Human Relations, the Rev. Mr. Hope had said, had been very helpful. "They have been giving us all the help that they could from the position that they hold. I think they've done a very excellent job.")

Mr. Rogers described current work of council members, calling on industries asking about open hiring. He said he went to the area union representatives, and was assured AFL-CIO national policies are adhered to. The union was then running two schools, one a school for carpentry in which there were no Negroes; in fact, there

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were no Negroes in the carpenter's union. "They said they have no applications." Mr. Rogers said he also went to Brunswick Pulp and Paper Company, partly owned by Scott Paper Company. "I know they were told you can open up your job opportunities and hire on an equal basis or Scott Paper Company is going to lose some government contracts." They have Negroes in skilled jobs in the plant, but when a company spokesman was asked about office personnel, "he changed the subject. I don't know whether it was purposely done."

Other council members went to other industries, including Hercules Powder, Bestwall, and Babcock and Wilcox. There was no question of their right to do so; in some cases the plant managers sat in on the interviews. "We were pretty well satisfied that the big industries here are fair about it. But there again, they get very few opportunities. You see there are very few Negroes in this area qualified as mechanics or engineers."

The Council on Human Relations brings together whites and Negroes concerned not only with their communities but with themselves, concerned not only with orderly desegregation but with adventuring into what is for all Southerners the new life of an integrated society. The sort of human hurts and personality defenses, and attempts to rescue personality, which underlie all the public and

two words: their selves,

practical problems of southern race relations can be sensed through the words of some council members. Mrs. Rogers, for example, saying with a smile:

"There are certain things to overcome. Certain things that all my life I've been accustomed to. I've always said colored. I can't say Nee-grow. I can't pronounce it. Another thing is, all my life it's been a colored woman and a white lady. Now isn't that a silly thing! But I catch myself. I don't feel that way in my heart. I asked Mrs. Wilkes point blank, I said, 'Mrs. Wilkes do colored people object to being called colored people? And she said no ..."

"You can run into a lot of things innate that you say and do that you -- I guess it's wrong, but I think if you have to be on your p's and q's and make yourself formal and not be natural -- If I can't be natural, I can't do anything."

Or an older Negro gentleman, rugged in the individuality of his opinion, not a council member but one of the Rev. Mr. Hope's staunch supporters: "Me'n these people came through the depression together. My hog meat raised 'em all. I'm not prejudiced against anybody. The old stock of Glynn County have a fine reputation between the races. Any prejudice that's here has seeped in."

Or there are Dr. and Mrs. Ray (he is the Negro

general practitioner), newcomers to the Brunswick area. He was born in Mississippi, educated at Fisk University and a California medical school. She is a native New Yorker with a master's degree in psychology. They live on St. Simons in a pleasant brick house with a neatly tended grass yard that fronts onto a road of rutted sand.

"We arrived in March [of 1962] and the Council on Human Relations started in April," Mrs. Ray said. "So we've participated in about everything it has done." She is a member of the council's executive committee; he attends occasionally but is not a member. The Mississippi born and raised Dr. Ray said:

> I'm not a part of it. It seems like they're not doing anything. It seems like there are a few people who really want to. But in the main it's a place where they get together and drink a little tea and eat a few cookies you see and that's about all you do. You don't want to hurt anybody's feelings. And you don't want to change too much. And there may be a group in there who may want to find out what you are thinking, in case you did start to think. That sort of a thing. Now I may be wrong because I haven't attended. It may be that it's just careful. It's not powerful as yet.
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> And it is one of the things that made me feel good about coming to a small southern town like this.

Or Mr. Rogers:

When I was in the service, and we were coming home from Japan, the fellows on the boat, the group I was with, possibly 150 to 200 men, about 40 or 50% of them were Negroes. Well they put us on the boat in Japan, and as you know you're stacked up about four high. I crawled in my bunk. Eighteen inches above in his bunk was a Negro, and 18 inches below was another Negro. Across in that bunk was another Negro. Now this was true throughout the whole troopship. There was not one incident of any trouble on that ship the whole way over. When we got on the train coming from California, we got in the Pullman. There would be a Negro in the lower and a white in the upper. We came all the way across the country. We pulled into Augusta, Georgia. We got off the train. They said Negro troops on this bus, white troops on this bus. And there was a Negro man who was rather indignant. He said, "What the hell does he mean Negro troops?" And this other little short Negro says, "Man, don't you know where you is?" He says, "You in Georgia."

This struck me right then. Here all the way across an ocean, all the way across the country, we had ridden side by side, we had eaten at the same table, we had stood in the same line, we bathed in the same shower, and there was not one case of any trouble. But when we get to Georgia -- Negroes here, whites there.

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LATER

Enactment of the civil rights law overturned many of the situations and assumptions implicit in the interviews of Spring 1964. For example, at that time there was concern about whether the federal court ruling on desegregation of Jekyll Island would include motels, restaurants, etc. leased to private operators. With the passage of the law, the question may have become moot.

Many of the goals of the Brunswick Negro movement, elusive after two years of negotiation, were obtained overnight. Indeed, there were overnight at least as many gains in desegregation of public accommodations as there had been during all the long period of negotiated agreements of which Brunswick was so proud.

Virtually all restaurants in the city and at Jekyll Island complied with the new law. According

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to the Rev. Mr. Hope, of the NAACP, a small place across from the court house refused to serve Negroes, and another place charged $6.00 for scrambled eggs. Both will be taken to court, he said. Another, the Salad Bowl, proclaimed itself a private club, its owner, R. L. Holtzendorf, emerging as something of a leader of newly invigorated segregationist ferment.

Hotels and motels also complied. The Rev. Mr. Hope said all the leading ones, including those of Jekyll, had been tested. Theaters complied.

But when 15 or 16 youths showed up at a white city swimming pool, it was closed, and subsequently all city and county pools were closed. Mayor Mercer, true to his word, apparently was instrumental in this. The Negro youngsters were not acting as part of the NAACP or the Negro movement, but on their own. Mr. Lovvern, the City Manager, said the pool they picked was the worst possible one, located in a neighborhood of newly militant segregationists. Mayor Mercer said there had been agreement through the Biracial Committee to leave the pools alone this summer, and declare the beaches ("God's good pool out yonder") open. But "now we can't deal with responsible Negroes -- we have to deal with people demanding rights." The Civil rights law, he said, "made our problems ten times more difficult. There's nothing to do but just see things get worse."

Mrs. Wilkes said she was upset about the pools; her youngsters love to swim. She wondered why Negroes weren't pushing harder to get them re-opened, and said the Negro members on the Biracial Committee were old and had forgotten the problems of keeping children entertained in in the summer. The Rev. Mr. Hope said a suit would be entered to re-open the pools, that there is precedent for it.

The danger of violence was cited as a reason for closing them. The closing came during a series of tense events in which this same danger was cited often.

Part of the buildup of the mood was a "hurricane alert" of National Guardsmen in the area. Mayor Mercer was particularly critical of all the "kids with bayonets" running around "armed to the teeth." He said many people thought they had something to do with enforcement of the new civil rights law. Major General George Hearn, state adjutant general, said that of course it was nothing of the kind, but merely a routine training project. Its purpose was to see how long it would take to mobilize the guard if it were needed in the wake of a hurricane, such as often occurs on the coast. The test was centered on Savannah, and involved men in Atlanta and Elberton as well as Brunswick. He said the mayor had gotten "perturbed" because he hadn't been told about the thing in advance, and that he had agreed to alert him in the future -- though, strictly speaking, any advance

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notification could hurt the purity of the test. (The guard was called out in earnest in September when Brunswick suffered the worst damages in decades from a hurricane.)

After the practice alert came a squabble over arch-segregationist Governor George Wallace of Alabama speaking in the area. He had been invited to address the Georgia Seedmen's Convention in session at Jekyll Island. But at the last minute, the Jekyll Island Authority refused him use of the island Aquarama on grounds that it would endanger public safety. There was much local criticism of this, including charges that it was another incident of bad blood politically between Mr. Wallace and Georgia Governor Carl Sanders.

A. J. Hartley of the Authority, known in the way of Georgia politics (of which he is a long-time and respected veteran) as "Judge," is the resident director at the state-owned island. He said the governor had nothing to do with the decision. He said he made it himself because of such things as the fact that the seedmen were giving out guest tickets to local people; the NAACP had asked for permits for 100 pickets of the meeting; Alabama "security agents" had come in, saying they were there to "protect" the governor; violence had broken out at a Wallace rally a few days before in Atlanta; several cars with Florida tags were around with ax handles in them; and a newly organized Glynn County Citizens Council had

offered help in maintaining order. All of this convinced him, he said, that the Wallace appearance might endanger life and property, and he had a lot of little children and women to be responsible for on the island, not to mention its tourist reputation.

An attempt by the seedmen to use the National Guard Armory in Brunswick for the speech was also unsuccessful. General Hearn said he merely quoted the state law to them that armories were not to be used for political purposes. Governor Wallace finally cancelled the speech. Local criticism made the point that both Governor Sanders and former Governor Marvin Griffin used the armory to kick off their last campaigns for governor.

Mayor Mercer was among those publicly critical of Wallace's being barred from the two speaking sites. His position was that the Alabaman had a right to speak, although he wouldn't invite him or introduce him.

But when the Citizens Council followed with announcement of a program featuring some of Georgia's extreme segregationists, Roy Harris, Lester Maddox, and former Governor Griffin, the mayor called a 7 a.m. breakfast of prominent white leaders, including presidents of all organizations. He urged that the Citizens Council meeting be postponed because of tension. He had drafted a strong statement; the group adopted a milder one, and he said he

felt let down. But, he said, and others confimmed it, the leaders subsequently got on their phones and acted to calm things down.

The NAACP, meanwhile, had let it be known that it would picket the meeting. There was genuine concern about this among supporters of the movement, including Mr. Rogers and Dr. Wilkes. Dr. Wilkes said he called the Rev. Mr. Hope and told him he had gone along with everything, but he couldn't go along with this. It might mean violence and would prove nothing.

The Rev. Mr. Hope said the NAACP decided not to picket when it became known that only Mr. Griffin would show up. The final decision wasn't made though until 6 p.m. of the evening he spoke. "We looked at what we would be picketing. Wallace represented something, but Griffin is a has-been. We'd have only given publicity to their meeting."

The emergence of the Citizens Council and a local Ku Klux Klan were upshots of the tension and controversy and of the summer's mood of extremism. Mr. Lovvern and others said the Citizens Council included the Glynn Society, but it had picked up some substantial citizens. About a thousand people attended the Griffin rally, and a sizeable collection was taken up. Subsequently, ads were run in the Brunswick News, drumming

up membership and setting forth goals. The newspaper gave full news coverage to the activities.

In a statement of "policy belief and aims," one ad said the Citizens Council is "dedicated to the restoration of states rights and curtailment of spreading 'Big government,'" It listed freedoms it is for, including freedom of association, and "this does mean racial segregation." An application card for membership stated goals more bluntly: "No compromise" on segregation. Integration means miscegenation. Communist influence is behind integration. "Do something," the card said in big letters, "positive," in smaller ones. Dues were set out on the card as $2, $5, or $10 a month.

Mr. Lovvern said the Klan had met three times on nearby Blythe Island. There were indications of overlapping membership and even leadership of the Klan and the Citizens Council.

Mayor Mercer had been criticized by the [redacted] on grounds that he was inconsistent about tension, harking to it on the Griffin and hurricane alert situations, but not on the Wallace speech. He had been criticized by segregationists for using the term "extremist" in connection with the Citizens Council rally.

The Rev. Mr. Hope made the point that all the time there had been agreement among whites on the

desirability of the Negroes keeping "outsiders" away from Brunswick, but great community support (including Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce resolutions) of the right of outsider Wallace to speak. He also criticized the mayor and council for not urging compliance with the civil rights law.

The Rev. Mr. Hope seemed not too bothered by the Klan and Citizens Council. They have been in Brunswick all along, he said. "Wallace just gave them something to talk about to get members."

Mayor Mercer, still speaking of the desirability of taking 100 Negroes and 100 whites and dropping them "16 miles out to see," said that the civil rights law and the Wallace incident had allowed six extremist groups which couldn't previously get together to jell into one. He claimed that in all that had happened, he had demonstrated his ability to say no to both the ones who wanted to go 75 miles per hour and those who wanted to go in reverse. Dr. Wilkes and the Rev. Mr. Hope said he and other officials should take a stand against the Citizens Council. Mayor Mercer said he was encouraging decent people who had joined, but found it distasteful, to stay in and keep in "moderate."

In the moist tropical heat, other things had been working themselves out. Carolyn Harris went to the Math club banquet, in the dining room of a big downtown motel, taking

a Negro youth, one of those who also desegregated the high school, as her escort, and had a good time. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare sent investigators down to look into the hospital situation. There was some suggestion that funds would be tied up, but apparently everything was worked out in the Biracial Committee.

Mrs. Wilkes had her baby, a little girl, Aundrea. She was admitted to the white maternity section, but only after a dismaying episode. Dr. Wilkes said that during the period when they had been told that the baby might arrive any time, their doctor received a letter (hand-delivered) from the hospital superintendent saying that the hospital authority had found regulations which prevented honoring Mrs. Wilkes' reservation in the white maternity section.

Mrs. Wilkes wrote to the Rev. Mr. Nalls saying that the letter, coming at the time it did, had made her "frustrated to the point of utter despair." It said that she was suffering "humiliating debasement and mental anguish at a time I should not be." She would be "chagrined if I am forced to seek care outside the state." What, the letter ended, would each authority member feel if it were his wife so treated?

The Rev. Mr. Nalls was "just wonderful," Mrs. Wilkes said. He called the authority together and rescinded

the action, and everyone treated her "very, very nice" in the white maternity section. Beyond that, Mrs. Wilkes has as a result of the experience yet another communication from a white person to treasure, this one a letter to Dr. Wilkes from a white man, a citizen of Brunswick they didn't know and had never even heard of. He was a patient at the hospital when the baby was born. The letter said:

> Rumors have been flying around this hospital about the possibility of insurrection and riot in the third floor ward when your baby arrived. I understand that one of the babies was organizing a Klan Chapter and in protest would wear diapers designed like the Confederate flag.
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> It was with condiderable apprehension that I felt the comparative safety of the 2nd floor and went up to the turbulent third when they displayed the babies.
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> The first amazing thing I say was that no babies wore side arms; there was no evidence of their throwing baby bottles at each other; the neighbors on either side of your lovely child seemed totally unconcerned over the fact that their skins differ slightly in color. There were no bi-racial committees in session; they did have a couple of soap box orators -- but their topic of debate did not concern racial problems. The most amazing thing was the fact that all eating, rest rooms and other facilities were completely integrated. Isn't it amazing how distorted stories become? I wonder if we all shouldn't get smart like the babies?

Dr. Wilkes, who is building a home on Jekyll Island, said he was proud that a child of his was born in Georgia. "Regardless of all that has happened, I'm still proud of the community."

The Rev. Mr. Hope did go to see Mayor Mercer; and they had a talk. Neither, telling of it, seemed impressed with results.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled on the NAACP request to desegregate all schools. It said that in the fall of 1964, the ninth through twelfth grades had to be desegregated. Some 24 applicants from Negro students to transfer to white schools had been received by early August. Nineteen were finally accepted. Four Negroes had been accepted by midsummer as students in the new junior college which was to open in the fall.

Voter registration had remained a priority project, with good results. The Rev.Mr. Hope said that by midsummer, approximately 4,000 to 6,000 eligible Negroes had registered in the city, and another 4,000 of an eligible 7,500 in the county.

The efforts to get jobs for Negroes had been at least partially successful, but had also involved picketing by the NAACP, the first time any kind of demonstration has been resorted to in Brunswick, "Somebody said that ruined the record," said the Rev. Mr. Hope. "We're not

interested in a record -- We're interested in results."

The Rev. Mr. Hope said that the negotiations through the Biracial Committee resulted in "ten of fifteen" Negroes getting jobs as clerks and cashiers in downtown stores. But negotiations, while successful with some grocery stores, broke down with others. These are stores in the Negro district with predominantly Negro trade, the Rev. Mr. Hope said. He sent pickets to two of them on a weekend at the end of July, and went on the radio to say that there had been efforts for two years to reason with the owners "with no tangible results." He urged Negroes not to buy at stores that wouldn't hire Negroes.

After the weekend of picketing, the two stores agreed to hire Negroes, and a third store did so, too. The Rev. Mr. Hope said there were others, and that systematically, two at a time, they would be picketed, with efforts for a tight boycott. Ataa mass meeting (where the congregation sang "We Shall Overcome" in its original hymn version), movement followers asked detailed questions on exactly what was and what wasn't legal activity in such campaign.

Mayor Mercer took a dim view of the campaign, saying that in some cases store owners who didn't employ cashiers (but worked the cash register themselves) were being forced to hire them. The Rev. Mr. Hope said energies would be concentrated on jobs "for months to come." Statistics of

Negro buying power and patterns, were being developed, and demands for jobs would be made on all businesses with a high percentage of Negro patronage, including, he said, insurance agencies. "We will try to do it through reasoning, but when reasoning won't work, we'll do it with a picket line."

On a warm summer afternoon, Jekyll Island beach, once the private playground of a few millionaires, and further back in history touched by the slave trade, was desegregated for the first time. A litte group of white vacationers sat about in the shade at the public bathhouse next to the Aquarama; a state patrol car sat unobstrusively in the parking lot; a car driven by the Rev. Mr. Hope pulled up, and seven young Negro men and women got out. They paid their fees and went into the state-owned locker rooms (reporting later that in both the men's and women's, a nice work was said by people who happened to be in them), and emerged in bathing suits. As the Rev. Mr. Hope watched from the cement walkway, a slim, erect, lonely figure, they walked down to the beach, little Julian pulling away from his daddy to join them, running and jumping on the beach.

They swam for about an hour, staying together, between, but not very near, groups of white swimmers. A man with a northern twang said, "Aw look at that.

They'll ruin it." But he and his wife and children went waddling on down to the water. A young man at the bathhouse said to his wife, with obvious approval: "See. They're desegregating the beach. This is the first time." The swimmers and Julian romped and splashed.

There were no incidents, no ugly words even. Judge Hartley, who had been warned in advance and probably had employees out watching, said the same thing had been true of other desegregation at the resort. A few residents provately complained; one man had an axe handle with lead in the end of it which he called his "nigger stick," but Negroes weren't hampered in enjoyment of facilities, including the golf course.

Later, the Rev. Mr. Hope's NAACPhheld its annual dinner at the island's Aquarama, another first. Some 900 persons, including Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. Frances Pauley, director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, a white attorney from Savannah, Mr. Mauney, representing Mr. Lovvern, and one or two other white persons, attended. Tough looking whites stood about the entranceway, but police were there in force, and looked like they meant business. A number of other white persons, apparently merely curious, drove by staring. The Rev. Mr. Hope read off the names of white politicians who had been invited, and their excuses. But for the most part, it was an evening of quiet celebration and happiness, the theme of it expressed in a speech which

recalled that the Wanderer, the last slave ship to operate on the American coast, had been captured at Jekyll Island (a huge iron cooking vat from which slaves were fed commemorates the event at a historical marker), and now descendants of slaves were, at the meeting, enjoying one more symbolic mark of emerging status as first-class citizens. Continued efforts toward full attainment of that status were pledged.

So the myriad affairs of Brunswick, above and below the surface, continued. Mr. Lovvern, among other white leaders, said communication is not as good as before between the races. The Rev. Mr. Hope no longer comes to talk to him, after a dispute between them about the NAACP request for picket permits. The Rev. Mr. Hope now talks with the police chief, knowing that the police chief relays the information to Mr. Lovvern. One knowledgeable observer said he thought the time had come for the Biracial Committee to broaden its base, get more representative members, and quit being so secretive.

The integration in the city for the most part remained a strangely formal sort of thing -- Negroes in a group ritualistically using previously all-white facilities. No white person goes along with them to swim at Jekyll, or to dine at a fancy motel restaurant. Even among people of both races most dedicated to the equal society, there is

litta interracial visiting. The meetings of the Glynn County Council on Human Relations and, ironically, of the Biracial Committee remain virtually the only outlets for biracial communication that is anywhere near normal.

Mayor Mercer, talking now of a plan dependent upon Negro business investment that would clear up 50% of slums in five years, said almost gloomily, "Good solid things come painful and slow. Revolutions never get what they set out for. The average Negro is losing out."

The Rev. Mr. Hope, in his quick, energetic way, said things would continue getting better in Brunswick, that there might be setbacks, but "truth crushed to earth rises again."

"We are going to win," he said, his voice dropping, his face abstract, almost as though he were telling himself this. "I don't worry abot that, see. Because, you see, we've got to win. What we are for has got to win. What we are for, the ideas, the things we're after -- they're right. What is right is not going to lose."

THE STORY IN GENERAL

There was, first, the Biracial Committee, an unofficial, highly secretive agency for mediation and trouble-shooting in racial disputes. It was formed in 1960, but did very little until confronted with the catalyst of a militant Negro civil rights organization.

This was the NAACP. Under the new leadership of the Rev. Julius Ceasar Hope, who came to Brunswick in 1959, it was transformed from an almost extinct organization of older people into a vibrant, modern Negro movement, well versed in all the techniques and aspirations of direct action.

By 1962, the NAACP was able to present itself in negotiations as a formidable force. The biracial committee was there as the agency through which negotiations could be funneled, and decisions filtered.

The 1962 breakthrough was on desegregation of lunch counters. There were three negotiating sessions between the NAACP and the Brunswick Merchants Association. There had been three demands: removal of discriminatory signs; desegregation of counters; desegregation of jobs. There was acquiesence on the [redacted] first two, postponement of the third.

A two-week trial period was set up on the lunch counters. Members of the NAACP agreed to appear at certain times, not rush hours, at four stores. They had agreed to leave immediately if there were any trouble. White members of the Glynn County Council on Human Relations sat quietly as observers. When there was no trouble during

the trial period, the counters were desegregated for good. But there was no announcement of this. People found out about it gradually. This was the pattern Brunswick fell upon as the safest and surest.

"It was kept out of the news media," said Sam Altman, president of the Merchants Association. "We figured the less bragging we did, the less noise they made, the better it would work."

Mrs. J. C. Wilkes, and her husband, a dentist, are among outstanding Negro leaders. She told a story to illustrate that the lunch counter desegregation worked out "real fine." A friendly white person had told her that she was at one of the lunch counters when Negroes came in, and another white person there looked up and said: "Oh, Negroes are eating here now. Well it's about time."

The Rev. Mr. Hope described the trial period this way: "We had a certain number of people who were trained in non-violence. This kind of a thing. To go to the counters and get served and leave by a certain time, and this kind of a thing. At a certain time we would go to the counters. We would sit down. There were whites, but it was calm. We would sit down just like nothing was happening. They were looking and staring. They didn't say anything. There were a few who would get up. But All in all, it was a very pleasing situation. We got service. But some places, we got better service. This can be expected."

It was the following summer, 1963, before the next breakthroughs. Recreational facilities--city and county parks, including a pavilion at St. Simons, but not swimming pools--were desegregated. The same procedure was used: negotiation, this time with the two governments, and a plan approved by the Biracial Committee for a test period. When it was successful, they were opened, again, without any public announcement.

(The federal court suit against segregation at another set of recreational facilities--on state-owned Jekyll Island--was pending at the time of the interviews for this report. Subsequently a Federal District Court ruled that facilities operated by the state--the golf course, bathing beaches and bath houses, swimming pools, and the like--had to be desegregated. The ruling did not cover facilities leased by the state to private operators. The civil rights ~~law,~~ Act of 1964, however, does.)

Here is how the Rev. Mr. Hope described desegregation of the recreational facilities: "We had no incidents whatsoever. Whites and Negroes from the very first night skated together...no incidents...bowled together...no incidents...played tennis together...no incidents. They were very cordial. For instance, you would knock a ball over in their court. They would stop and throw your ball back. I'd say thank you. Just--just like a normal game."

Edward T. Rogers, co-chairman of the Glynn County Council on Human Relations, and Mrs. Rogers, also active in the Council, were among white members who observed at the St. Simons casino during the two-week trial period.

He said: "I did not hear one word of complaint. I saw a few surprised looks when they came in. When it first started the Negroes were bowling here, and the white people would go 'way over to the other side in the fartherest lane. But by the end of the week, they were bowling lane by lane. They brought little kids over to ride the merry-go-round, and--aw, they were just having a ball."

At the time of these interviews, pools had not yet opened for the summer of 1964, and there was apprehension about whether they would be. Negro leaders, including the Rev. Mr. Hope, said they had been promised that if they would not push for this in 1963, it would be done in 1964. "We actually compromised at that point," said the Rev. Mr. Hope.

But Dr. Joseph B. Mercer, mayor of Brunswick, said a couple of months before the time for decision: "In this matter we just get down to basic economics. If the time comes for the pools to be integrated, and they say this is the year, then strictly on the basis not of race but of economics, these pools will close." He said attendance of the whites would be drastically cut. "If integration comes, the pools go." That was, in fact, what happened.

Mrs. Rogers said in the spring of 1964: "The children the colored children here [on St. Simons], they can't even go to the beach. There's not one swimming place they can go." (Since then, beaches have been desegregated.)

The Rev. Mr. Hope said that requests had been renewed early in 1964 to the city and county for desegregation of the pools. "See

we don't let them wait until that time comes and say, 'We haven't had time to work it out.'" What if they were closed? "If they want to close the pools and nobody swim in them, we would go along with that. We're just asking for the same thing that our money is paying for. We're not asking for anything special."

An inevitable question in such a place as Brunswick is how well and how much have Negroes used facilities that have been desegregated. Dr. Wilkes said those who can afford it have. Mrs. Wilkes said, "The main thing is that you want to be able to go." She told of how a white friend had found many Negroes used the old Negroes-only counter in a variety store. She went over and joined them because they "were having such a good time."

Dr. Wilkes pointed out that adjusting to desegregation is as much a change for the average Negro as white person. But "once he passes through this, then he begins to recognize, 'Well I am a first class citizen. I am going to do something about it.' Then you begin to uplift, which is as it should be."

The city's Negro ~~physician~~ general practitioner, Dr. James S. Ray, was asked if there was awareness of the new opportunities among the general run of Negro people he sees. He said, "It works two ways at the same time. Say I work for Mrs. Jones, see? If I go to Woolworth's store, and sit and eat there, Mrs. Jones will get rid of me. That's a kind of awareness there is. She gets it over to him that if you go there it means your job. Certainly there's awareness. All the kids on the street are aware of it. But the person who has the most to lose is not going to go against things."

Referring specifically to use of lunch counters, the Rev. Mr. Hope said: "It has been good. What we must understand is that Negroes have been accustomed to what they have been doing for hundreds of years. And I think when the white man understands that when they open these places, there won't be a whole lot of Negroes going in, things will be better. A lot of people say Negroes are not ready. Not all of them are. All of the white

folks are not ready. All the nobody's are not ready." But there are some who are ready. Why leave them back?"

~~Also during the summer of 1963,~~ while the recreational facilities were being desegregated, negotiations were begun through the Biracial Committee with the school board on compliance with the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision. The NAACP let board members know that it had a suit drawn up, but not yet filed. The board realized that the suit would have meant dictation of terms, ~~said Dr. Wilkes.~~ Voluntary action, as Dr. Wilkes put it, "would be to the board's advantage because it could set the pace."

Mrs. Wilkes said some of the board members were "quite receptive," others "not too pleased." Two later resigned.

W. A. Whittle, chairman of the board of education, a gray-haired, erect man of the older generation, recalled the "momentous decision" that came out of the negotiations. The board decided that it would be "best for the community, the school system and the people to start in a small way, believing that if they did, there would be probably less discord."

Six students, three boys, three girls, from the Negro High School (Risley High) were finally selected to attend all-white Glynn Academy--two in the eleventh grade, four in the twelfth.

This time, the decision had to be announced, and, as Mr. Whittle said, it was publicized in the local paper and on radio, and "even on television--Channel Four in Jacksonville." An organization not there-to-fore heard of, the Glynn Society, promptly placed ads on local radio against the decision. (Of the society Mrs. Wilkes said: "They're not leading people. A member of the Human Relations Council attended a Glynn Society meeting and didn't recognize anybody there.")

A more serious reaction was the filing of a suit in Federal court by parents of white children. The Glynn Society was thought to be behind the suit. It was filed the day before school was to open. Federal Judge Frank M. Scarlett, an avowed segregationist, enjoined the desegregation immediately, and school opened without the Negro children. The NAACP immediately appealed the decision, asking not only that the plan for the six students be allowed to operate immediately, but also that the entire school system be desegregated.

Thus, Brunswick was in the upside down position of having a federal court order it not to desegregate, and the local board appearing in appeals court to defend its right to do so. The board, however, opposed the NAACP demand for total integration of the system. Judge Scarlett's injunction was overturned quickly by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, and the Negro youngsters went into the school two weeks late. (Not until the summer of 1964 did it rule on the plea for total integration.)

"We had believed we would not have to have court suits." said Mr. Whittle. "If only they had left us alone."

Mr. Whittle said the leadership in the situation had re= presented a cross-section of the community, "a high type people" who wanted to "handle the situation in a way that promotes peace and accord." ~~He outlined efforts over a number if years in the city to raise school standards, and said Negro school buildings and teachers were on a par with white ones.~~

~~"We have a tradition of this," he said.~~ One of the few white leaders in the city who have agreed readily to an interview, Mr. Whittle smiled gently and indicated courteously, after going over all the facts that he had said all that he had planned, apparently with some care, to say.

Carolyn Harris, 16, is one of the six Negro students. In the somewhat formal atmosphere of the middle-class living room of her wooden framed home near the center of town, she answered questions, often with a word or one sentence, about the first year, ~~which was~~ then drawing to its end.

Was she selected by Negro leaders or did she apply on her own? "I applied to go." ~~Because of~~ The two-week delay starting school meant that "It was a little difficult at first because we had missed three or four chapters in some classes. We had to catch up. The teachers were very nice. They helped us."

What about the students? "When we first entered, most of the students they wanted to be friendly, but because of a few of the students there, they didn't speak to us. There were a few who wanted to speak, but they thought the other students would ridicule them. ~~for speaking to us.~~ The first day one of the boys spoke to one of the boys there, and there was a kind of scrape there. But there was nothing else. The ridicule stopped altogether. After about a month everyone was speaking. Things are working out just fine. The students accept us in class. They want us in their group discussions."

Carolyn ~~Miss Harris~~ said courses at her old school and the new one are "basically the same." But the equipment at the new one is better. She said she had done about the same amount of studying in the new situation, once she caught up.

She is not a member of the NAACP youth council, she said, and her interest in going to Glynn was educational, rather than for the cause. "I've always wanted to go to Glynn--especially after they got the new Science Building. I'm very interested in science; in fact, I'm majoring in it. I was just fascinated by the science building, and all the equipment it had in it. I wanted to work with it." She plans to be a biologist, and to go to Ohio State University.

What of extracurricular activities? Miss Harris said she was a member of the Science Club, Math Club, and Glee Club. and she was able to keep up with social activities in the Negro community. What about at Glynn? "We haven't participated in any yet. As I said, I'm a member of the Math Club, and they're having a banquet on the tenth. And I'm going."

She entered a biology project in the school's science fair. It won second place, which meant a trip to the State Science Fair in Athens, Georgia. What was her project? "It has to do with decreasing cell activity to extend the life of man."

"I'm in an honor class in chemistry," she said. "That's an awfully good class." She praised the chemistry instructor, Herbert Handley, saying he "stands out brightest" among faculty members, all of whom are good. "He made us feel at home. He told us not

INTRODUCTION

In the Spring of 1964 we spent a number of days visiting the school systems of a county in Georgia, and a county in South Carolina. We wanted to look at examples of southern rural school systems. For many years the schools in the large cities of the nation have struggled with the educational deficiencies imposed on them by migrants from the rural South. We went to look at the roots of this problem. We went knowing then, as we know now, that large numbers of people from such areas grow up without an adequate education. We also knew before we started that school segregation did not help the situation; in fact, desegregation of the schools was in our minds as a certainly proper and a probably helpful step. Unquestionably what we saw in these two counties was influenced by our preconceptions.

Still, we were strongly impressed in two ways. First, in both school systems large numbers of intelligent, energetic, and sensitive people are performing remarkably well and in a professional fashion. We, therefore, do not believe that if one could put an appropriate number of the

teachers and administrators drawn from one of our better suburban districts into these two systems, many of the school problems would thereby be solved. Secondly, the feature of life in these communities that struck me most forcefully was the dominant role played by race and segregation in the lives of all. Even the two of us raised in the South were impressed all over again with the salience of race in the thoughts, actions, and patterns of life of the citizens, white and Negro alike, in these two counties.

These two impressions have been the leading influences in what we see as the educational problems facing rural areas of this sort and what we think might be done about these problems. The first impression has led us to propose drastic changes in the arrangement of the school system. It seemed clear to us that, if people of the calibre we encountered in these county school systems are unable to do any better than they are doing, it is not possible to achieve the desired improvements in children's learning by doing more adequately the same sort of things. It seemed evident to us that some basic changes in the system itself would be necessary to accomplish much. Our second strong impression suggested what the first step in this direction needs to be. We concluded that the starting

point for improvement of education in such communities must be the complete elimination of segregation. It seems to us that these two basic propositions have not been fully faced by those concerned with education, either in communities of this sort or anywhere else in the country.

To be sure, the situation has changed dramatically since the Spring of 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 mean that formal desegregation of school systems in counties of this sort is beginning to take place and that relatively large amounts of federal funds are now available to these systems. These are helpful steps, but by themselves they are not enough.

It is our purpose in this report to explain why they are not enough and especially why, after formal desegregation, ordinary school improvements are still likely to prove inadequate. To this end our discussion will include brief descriptions of the conditions of living and of education we found in the counties visited; these examples are offered in the hope that our discussion of the nature of the basic educational problem will be clearer. Finally, again using the two school systems for illustration, we shall offer some suggestions for changes in the standard pattern of schooling which we believe indicate the kind of alterations conditions in the rural South make necessary.

Segregation and Education

Inadequate education is a prominent feature of life for most people growing up in the rural South; so is poverty, so is segregation. We have asserted that the elimination of segregation is the first step toward making the education adequate. But this simple assertion does not dispose of the matter because segregation is not a simple matter; it is complicated, and it is a particularly difficult fact to come to terms with in education. Segregation doesn't just mean that white children go to "white" schools with white teachers (but Negro janitors), while Negro children go to "black" schools with Negro teachers(and no janitors). Segregation creeps into the fiber of the society and culture within which education as a process takes place. There are many practices which could be cited as part of the general fact of segregation, but it isn't always clear just how these practices affect education -- only that they do, directly or indirectly.

What does it mean for education when Negro adults, regardless of status and personal attainment, are all called by their first names by all the members of the white community they meet? What does it mean for education if there are no Negro doctors or Negro lawyers in a community on the one hand, and no white janitors or white maids on

the other? What does it mean for education if life is so arranged that to the casual, uniformed visitor, the group which in fact constitutes the majority in a community appears to be a tiny and unimportant minority? What does it mean for education, when the language used in all the books studied by a child is not the same as that used by anyone like him? What does it mean when all the pictures in the books, about both present and past times, are of members of another group?

To put it another way, education always takes place in a context. If a community being served by a school is largely lower middle class, then this fact tells something about the kinds of values and the kinds of expectations children bring to school with them. It tells something about the kinds of things that parents are likely to want for their children, and are likely to expect the school to provide. If 50% of a high school's graduates go on to college, then certain kinds of educational practices are obviously more appropriate than others. If 70% of the children who leave high school go into industrial jobs, then certain other kinds of practices are called for.

In rural southern communities, these ordinary difficulties are multiplied by the fact of segregation. One can expect some of the white students in the community to

return as doctors or lawyers, and the like. But what of the Negro students? The manners and mores of the great middle-class are perhaps obviously appropriate for the white students, but are they for the Negroes? Every student must be taught the responsibilities of good citizenship, such as the responsibility of voting, but are Negroes expected to vote? Whatever facet of the community one chooses to study in order to relate it to educational practice, the picture is complicated by the fact of segregation, and if the full intellectual development of all children is the goal of education, then segregation is inappropriate. Segregation is corrosive of the basic processes that make it possible for education to take place.

For example, a child who asks questions about the society around him must be answered honestly, for his full intellectual growth. In fact a child needs the stimulation to ask such questions as well as honest answers to the questions to attain this growth. The answers one can give to a Negro child in a fully segregated society,,amount either to the assertion that he is inferior, or that he is being treated unjustly. A child who accepts the notion that he is inferior loses much of his drive to achieve. A child who believes he is being treated unjustly is angry and frustrated, so that while he will have strong drives, he

will not learn to think well or clearly. Thus, either answer will arouse feelings that will thereafter interfere with intellectural growth. The remaining alternative, and probably the course adopted most often, is to prevent the children from asking questions. This, also, interferes with adequate education.

An analogous difficulty is created for the white child. In such communities he also is not encouraged to ask questions about segregation and certainly it must often happen that when he does the answers given are not accurate, although on occasion they may be honest as the teacher sees it. These conditions also are less than positive contributions to intellectual growth. However, for the white child in contrast to the Negro, there is the encouragement and stimulation to intellectual growth that can come from the belief in one's superior ability to learn. Probably more serious are the distorted views of his responsibilities as a citizen that develop as he learns to ignore the incongruities between the practices of segregation and the statements about equality and freedom he is asked to learn.

In short, it is immediately, painfully, and unmistakably obvious that in southern rural communities Negroes are assigned an inferior role, and it follows directly that for Negro children especially, proper intellectual growth is impossible. Segregation is both the symbol of this situation

and the means for its maintenance. Consequently, we do not believe a proper education for any child, white or Negro, can be provided in a segregated system.

But school desegregation is only one of the changes needed to eliminate segregation as an influence on education, and it is beyond the scope of this report (and our ability) to discuss the ways of accomplishing legal desegregation. Our suggestions are designed to help solve the educational problems that remain after this necessary condition to intellectual development has been established.

This does not mean that we shall avoid further consideration of the fact of segregation. As a pervasive and dominant feature of life, its role in education requires repeated attention. We shall assume, however, that the educational practices we are proposing will take place in school systems in which all concerned treat race as irrelevant to educational decisions. Recognizing that this assumption is currently contrary to fact let us turn to our second proposition. It is that legal desegregation is only the first step and that in rural Black Belt areas profound educational problems will remain. The nature of these problems can first be understood by looking more closely at the life of these areas.

CHAPTER II

TWO RURAL COUNTIES

A. Geography and Economics

Burke County is just south of Augusta on the Savannah River. As counties go in Georgia, Burke is large; it is roughly triangular with each side extending for about 40 miles. While not flat, there are no large hills and most of the land is arable. There is one central town, Waynesboro, in which about one-fourth of the county's 20,000 residents live. The remaining three-fourths is spread throughout the county in such a way that there are few clusters of population sufficient to support schools. There are a half-dozen much smaller towns scattered around the county, several of them near the apexes of the triangle; these towns are rapidly dying, and in some cases, are already too small to justify a school of their own.

This dispersion creates problems of several kinds. It complicates the sheer mechanical problem of getting children together in sufficient numbers for a sufficient length of time to have a full school day. It means that many children spend unreasonable lengths of time getting to and from school, and, for many of the children, that contact with

other children outside their own families is largely limited to the chances schools(and buses) provide.

These facts are important because children probably do more to educate each other than schools as such do, which is one reason why it is difficult to raise the educational level of a community by "good" schools or lower it by "bad" schools. We do not mean that a group of children without a school would learn what they would in school. We mean that by acting as models for each other, by setting standards and by supporting or squelching each others' interests and expectations, the children in the classes of all but the most rare teachers set both the the upper and lower limits of achievement. The most strenuous efforts of teachers, principals, and superintendents rarely alter these limits. For the most part, the time and effort spent going to and from schools is not a very constructive force in childrens' education. Long rides in crowded, noisy buses do not provide learning conditions conducive to academic progress. These particular educational problems are probably characteristic of most rural school systems, although they undoubtedly vary in degree.

The economic conditions in Burke County also create

educational problems.[1] Historically, the county depended on agriculture (principally cotton) for its economic health, and agricultural activities are important sources of livelihood still, especially for Negroes. The county has a few small industries which do not depend upon agriculture. These industries have not greatly increased in number of size in recent years, and have not been able to counteract the problems created by the shrinking number of jobs in agriculture; they mostly employ only whites, the group least in need of job opportunities. Cotton production was once an adequate basis for a plantation economy employing many people. Twenty-five years ago, farming alone employed more people than are in the total labor force today. But while there is still substantial cotton acreage, it has proved to be an increasingly inadequate source of income for the county.

The amount of land being farmed has declined a bit (10% since 1945), but the number of farms has declined even more (50% since 1945), because the size of farms has increased (84% since 1945). Burke County has always had some large plantations. It still does. But

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[1]What follows describes the facts to be found in Tables 1, 2, and 3. For some, reading the tables will suffice.

for a long time Burke also had many small farms, a number of which were owned by Negroes. The average size of farms is increasing partly because these Negro farmers are being put out of business. The declining number of Negro farm operators indicates that the Negro is among the first victims of the complex and mounting pressures on small farmers. Heavy machinery and technically trained personnel are increasingly necessary for successful farming. All of these phenomena, then, point to the same thing: a dramatic reduction in the need for unskilled farm labor, a fact which means in a place like Burke that there is no longer much need for Negro labor.

Table 1 shows these and other economic facts about Burke County. One obvious consequence of these conditions is widespread poverty, especially among Negroes. As shown in Table 2, the 1960 census data indicate the median family income of Burke Negroes was approximately $1,200 a year, less than half of the $3,000 per year now commonly cited as the minimum needed by the typical family in the United States. Only 11% of the Negro families in Burke County had in 1960 incomes of $3,000 or more per year, while two-thirds of the white families had incomes meeting or exceeding this minimum. In short, a large portion of Negroes in Burke County live in conditions of severe poverty and have little

prospect of change as long as they remain in the county. There are also substantial numbers of whites who live in conditions of poverty, but their prospect of a better future is not quite so plainly unattainable.

It is not surprising that the Negro population in Burke has decreased more than 18% between 1950 and 1960, while the white population has remained fairly stable (see Table 3). Not too many years ago, Negroes made up more than 80% of the population in Burke County. Today, about two-thirds of the population is Negro, but among adults the ratio of whites to Negroes is beginning to approach 1 to 1. It should be noted that not only does this suggest that Negroes tend to have larger families than the white residents of the county, but it also reflects the fact that a great many Negro parents leave their children in the county while they go to cities to work. A crude survey taken in Edgefield County suggests that approximately 25% of the Negro children in the schools had one or both parents working and living somewhere else (usually in the North). While the parents migrate, they frequently let the county educate their children. Migration, then, relieves the county of less of the educational burden than the migration rates suggests.

Edgefield County is across the Savannah River in South Carolina about as far north of Augusta as Burke is south of Augusta. Like Burke ,

it is roughly triangular, but a bit smaller, with each side running roughly 30 rather than 40 miles. In one sense, it is even smaller than that size indicates, since much of the northern border of the county is part of Sumter National Forest, and is thinly populated. The county has three sizeable towns: Edgefield, Johnston, and Trenton. While Trenton is shrinking, both Edgefield and Johnston are reasonably vigorous communities more than holding their own in size (i.e. slight growth, as in Waynesboro). Another important difference is that while Edgefield was also once primarily a cotton producing county, it is now a peach producing area, and much of the land is in peach orchards. The agricultural problems of the county seem slightly less severe than those of Burke County, but a glance at Table 1 will show that the changes have been about the same with respect to number of farms, their size, and the role played by Negro operators. Exactly as in Burke, the number of farms has decreased dramatically while average size has increased, and it has been the Negro operator who has been squeezed the most. In Edgefield, as in Burke, agriculture is no longer the principal kind of employment.

Unlike Burke, however, employment opportunities for Negroes in industry have increased. The number of such jobs is still not large, but the difference in direction

of change is probably one reason why Edgefield has lost less of its Negro population (see Tables 2 and 3).

Perhaps the most prominent difference is the use the citizens of Edgefield County make of employment opportunities outside the county. For example, a perceptible number of citizens of the community work at the Savannah River Project, a large nearby Atomic Energy Commission installation. Burke County, directly across the river from the project (but the nearest bridge is in Augusta), has few residents who work at the project, and has at least some prominent citizens who are pleased rather than irritated at this lack of involvement with the federal government. In Edgefield, both whites and Negroes find work outside the county, not only at the Savannah River Project but in Aiken, Augusta, and in the counties east and north of Edgefield. Nevertheless, while Negroes have not been totally excluded from industrial jobs in Edgefield, to date at least, industrial employment has not been a substantial solution to their problems. Income of the people in Edgefield, while a little better than in Burke, still puts a substantial number of whites and most of the Negroes in the poverty-stricken category. The median family income among Negroes in Edgefield, as Table 2 indicates, was approximately $1,500 a year. This is severe poverty. The consequences with respect to population have been much

the same in Edgefield as in Burke, the Negro population having declined about 10% between 1950 and 1960. Furthermore, the white population declined by about 3% as well. Back in 1920, the Negroes were about three-quarters of the population in Edgefield County; now they are barely more than half. The rate of Negro emigration from Edgefield in proportion to the total population, however, has decreased in recent years, compared with the 30's and 40's.

In both Burke and Edgefield Counties, and in counties similar to them, unless there are dramatic changes in trends, large numbers of children will continue living and going to school under conditions of severe poverty, with little prospect of bettering themselves in their home communities. Most of those who do succeed in getting educated will leave home. The prospects for those who stay are dim indeed among the Negroes. A fair number of the better educated and more successful white youths will also find it advantageous to leave these counties, as they, too, have been doing.

The consequences for education are many. These affect Negro and white students somewhat differently. If a Negro student and his parents are to see that education is a path to an adequate livelihood as an adult, they must recognize that the student is preparing to live somewhere else. In other words, they must have enough foresight and enough knowledge of the world to understand what is needed in other

parts of the country. Generally speaking, such knowledge and foresight come through education. On the other hand, the white student, although he may also see greater opportunities outside of his county, can see that he probably can make an adequate living at home, providing he acquires an appropriate education. For whites, education provides immediate visible opportunities; for Negroes, education provides the only possible opportunity, but it is less visible. This lack of visibility is only one of the reasons why the educational efforts of the school systems are not very successful, and why segregation stymies educational progress.

One way of describing this situation is to say that for the Negro attempting to live in his home, neither education nor anything else leads anywhere. Essentially, it is a situation of "no hope." This problem's solution clearly involves recommendations that go far beyond the field of education.

There are no educational recommendations that will be sufficient even to attack the problems of "no hope" in education, because these problems stem from the function of education in a society. What good will imaginatively conceived vocational education programs be if there is no place in society for the use of skills developed? What good

will supplementary educational services be if education itself fits an individual to live in a social, cultural, and economic milieu that simply does not exist? Educational recommendations cannot have their proper effect unless something is done to allow the use of education by all members of society. In order for education to have its desired effect, the problem of giving hope to education must be addressed and solved by the community. Fundamentally, this means that the community must display to the school that educational accomplishment entitles one to social, cultural, and economic rewards. The rural communities of the Black Belt South do not do this, and until and unless they do, plans, energies, and money poured into their schools will do little to solve their basic educational problems.

This means that Negroes must be allowed to compete openly for jobs, and that there must be jobs; it means that cultural opportunities must be made available to all who want them and are ready to appreciate them, and that there must be cultural opportunities; it means that social interaction must become a function of natural factors such as temperament, education, concern, and interest. In sum there are no educational recommendations we can make that will restore hope to education; to alter the function of education for the Negro community means to make the good things of a free society available to all men.

B. The School

At first glance, the schools of Burke County appear to be much like those anywhere. The buildings and the classrooms, ranging from old to new, look much like those one would encounter anywhere in the United States. Of the roughly 7,000 children of school age in the county, about 5,500 Negro and 1,800 white are enrolled in the schools; apparently, some 700 - 800 children, mostly Negro, are not in school. The white population is served by three high schools and five elementary schools, while the Negro population is served by one high school and six elementary schools. Average daily attendance of students in the system is fair, but is higher among the white (88%) than among the Negro (78%) students. This difference is at least partly because some Negro children do not enter school in the fall until after crops are harvested. Both the curriculum and the general arrangements of the schools appear fairly typical of what one might find in any school.** The system is probably not unlike those in the rural South generally but, if anything, somewhat better than the average of these systems. In fact, given the basic conditions in which the system functions, it can be called a good system.

**For a summary of educational statistics, see Table 4.

We have already described two of these ~~counties:~~ conditions: the severe and widespread poverty and the low and decreasing density of population in most of the county. A third condition is partly but not entirely a consequence of the first. This is the fact that monies for school operations in Burke County are very nearly at the minimum the state permits. About 88% of these school funds come from the state (1963-64 data), and what little the county raises over and above that required by the state is spent for the teachers in unconsolidated white schools that the state will not support. In spite of the extensive poverty in the county, it could clearly spend more for education. Per pupil expenditures for the county in average daily attendance figures were slightly over $265 in 1963-64. The corresponding figures for Atlanta, ~~or~~ for Georgia as a whole, and for the entire country were $380, $295 and $460, respectively.

The fourth and last condition is -- as of 1964-65 at least -- total segregation, the importance of which we have already discussed briefly. Actually, there are two parallel school systems with an entirely white superstructure. The parallelism is not peffect, since the Negro system is not only over twice as large but is fully consolidated and in fairly new but poorly equipped buildings. The Negro high school is about as well equipped as the white high

schools. Most of these structures were built shortly after the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The white schools are not fully consolidated, are only partly in modern buildings, but are, with the exception noted, somewhat better equipped and more adequately staffed (numerically, at least) than the Negro schools. Segregation is, of course, a universal fact of life in this county, and it should be noted that the discrepancies favoring the white schools over the Negro schools are far smaller than the discrepancies in almost all other aspects of life.

Within the limits of these conditions, it is fair to rate the school system a pretty good one. Despite its shortcomings, the physical facilities are not markedly poor for American schools (although the libraries are); the paper qualifications of the school personnel are at the state average; and the children do somewhat better academically than some data on Georgia children indicate as state average. Table 5 shows some of these data in the form of average lag in grade placement scores of Georgia children relative to national norms. Burke County children appear to do a bit better than this; white high school children are close to the national norms, and it appears probable that the Negro children, though considerably lower than the national norm, are a bit above the state average for Negroes. Dropout rates

and progress through school also meet state averages insofar as it is possible to get hard data on this matter; neither the state nor the county keeps records adequate for fully assessing this point. However, the age-grade enrollment figures shown in Table 6 seem to indicate that the rate at which children progress through the grades is much like that found elsewhere in the state. Finally, it should be carefully noted that the system has its quota of able, competent, and industrious school personnel; all things considered, perhaps more than its share in the Negro system.

Obviously, even within the social and economic framework given, improvements are possible. Consolidation could be completed; more local money could be found, libraries could be developed; and so on indefinitely. But the same sort of statement could be made about almost any school system. For those who like the status quo in the community and especially those interested in maintaining total segregation and minimum expenditure for school operation, the system is satisfactory. In the white community, such satisfaction is a common, perhaps dominant, feeling. There are, of course, some white citizens who want improvements in the white schools, but they do not appear to be an important segment of the community. Perhaps a few of these same people, but not many of them, are dissatisfied with the conditions in the Negro schools.

Among the Negro population, dissatisfaction with the schools is probably not common either. In fact, for large numbers of the Negroes in this county the schools are better than they really believe is necessary. While among the Negro school personnel there is some dissatisfaction with conditions, many of them are pleased because conditions are vastly better than they were only a few short years ago. It would be difficult to maintain that any substantial proportion of the Negro community is unhappy with the schools, especially since it appears doubtful that there are many outside the professional personnel who are aware of the shortcomings that exist.

To repeat, within the framework of the basic conditions outlined, the school system is performing well and to the satisfaction of the people being served, and we suspect that few school systems working within familiar conditions do much better. Let us look more closely,however, at what this means. Taking the white schools first, although they serve a clientele well above the average of the county socially, economically, and intellectually, their students do not typically fall into an above-average group on a national basis. Only about 40% graduate from high school, and of these only two-thirds go to college; even this relatively privileged minority in the county, i.e., the white citizens, do not contribute their share of developed

talent to the nation. Only so long as Burke County can maintain its relative isolation will this white system prove satisfactory even to the county itself.

Clearly, however, the white schools are not where the serious problems in the county's educational system lie, in any immediate sense. They are to be found instead in the Negro schools and in the Negro community. Problems here are very serious indeed. These schools, like most in Georgia, do far better than they did a few short years ago but, still, fewer than 40% of the students reach grade ten, and only about one in seven graduate from high school (see Table 6). When it is recognized that for these Negro children in Burke, as almost anywhere else in similar areas, a high school diploma represents, on the average, a level of academic and intellectual development far short of the typical tenth grade student in the United States (see Table 5) the seriousness of this problem can be seen. It appears probable that among the 400-450 Negro children of a given age in the county, fewer than 20 will ever develop intellectually and academically to a point where they might be called average in this nation. Of about 4,500 school children, 4,200 must be classified as academically retarded or slow by the end of their school careers. This appalling fact is evidently characteristic of the rural South.

Although there are some differences, the similarities between Burke's schools and those of Edgefield are more marked than the differences. Those differences that exist are not large. The white schools in Edgefield County seem a little more open to the world, and somewhat more intellectually diverse and stimulating. Strom Thurmond High School in Edgefield is not only well equipped, but reflects an attempt to incorporate new ideas in school planning into its structure. The new Waynesboro High School in Burke County is much less well equipped, and does not show signs of such an attempt. Perhaps another sympton, or perhaps a cause, of this difference is the fact that the white high schools in Edgefield were recently consolidated in spite of an ancient football rivalry. The Negro schools are fully consolidated, a little less well equipped than the Negro schools in Burke County, and more than in Burke Negro schoolmen seemed committed to working within the current framework and to not attempting any serious alteration of the prospects of their students. To repeat, these differences are not large, and are, of course, mainly impressions. The accomplishments of both school systems are similar, whether one is talking about Negro children or white, and we believe that both of these school systems are at least as good as most similar rural systems. We must also emphasize

that whatever criticism we might make of these schools -- and obviously many are possible -- the thing that sets them apart from others in this country is not their physical arrangements, their curricula, their books, or even the professional characteristics of their teachers. What is different is the product.

We suspect many people will find this assertion hard to accept, since it is part of the widely believed American educational mythology that all educational deficiencies can be attributed to poor teaching. This is false.* We are not claiming, of course, that these schools are staffed by the cream of the crop, and we do not deny that better teachers , better books, libraries, and other facilities might, here as everywhere else, improve matters -- a little at least, and maybe even a lot. But we do not believe that achievement scores of the sort shown in Table 5 can be explained this way, if for no other reason than that these schools and these teachers are not very different from those to be found elsewhere. Many cities which pay high salaries and which have adequate equipment have whole schools of students who perform no better than these children, probably for many of the same reasons, most of which depend on who the children are. The reason is plain. As we noted earlier, education takes place in a cultural context. All over this country in communities in which children are

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*For a discussion of this point see Green, D.R. Educational Psychology, Prentice-Hall, 1964.

"disadvantaged" -- in city slums, on Indian reservations, among migrant workers -- similar achievement scores are found. The currently popular term used to describe this phenomenon in educational circles is "cultural deprivation."

Giving it a name does not solve the problem or even explain its nature. The phenomenon has drawn a great deal of attention in recent years, focusing largely on the slums of large cities. But it is not just a problem of the cities. It is not just a problem of segregation or of poverty, and it can involve a majority of the children in a community. The serious and widespread deficiencies in the educational systems of the rural South cannot be readily solved within a standard framework. The schools of a county like Burke or Edgefield could be rather easily made to be like those ~~are~~ of one of our "good" suburban systems in all respects but one, because they are not very different now. But they cannot be made "just like" because the students are different, they belong to a different culture, and the "standard" American school is ill-suited to their needs.

This matter has been the subject of some research, but much remains to be learned in spite of the recent attention it has been getting. Although current knowledge is largely derived from research among children in city slums, it provides some clues as to what kinds of educational procedure might be effective in a rural setting.

CHAPTER III

CULTURAL DEPRIVATION*

Many children in the rural Black Belt, particularly Negro children, can be classified as "culturally deprived." We assert that it is for this reason that schooling is so relatively unsuccessful among these children.

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*The material of this section is our interpretation of the research on the topic of cultural deprivation. We have not cited this research directly but references to most of it can be found in one or more of the following:

Bloom, B. S., Davis, A., and Hess, R., Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation. New York, 1965.

Green, D. R., Educational Psychology. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964.

Passow, H. (ed.), Education in Depressed Areas. New York, 1963.

Reissman, F., The Culturally Deprived Child. New York, 1962.

For those interested in pursuing the language problem the following two references will be more helpful than the preceding four:

Bernstein, B., "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning," in Halsey, A. H. et al. (eds.), Education, Economy and Society. Glencoe, Ill., 1961.

Loban, W. A., The Language of Elementary School Children. National Council of Teachers of English, 1963.

What do we mean (and what do we not mean) when we say that some individual is "culturally deprived"? Broadly speaking, we mean that there have been omissions and deficiencies in the background of the individual so that in comparison with the "typical" individual in the culture under consideration he has had little opportunity to acquire the knowledge, skills, and abilities needed for successful functioning in society. In particular, then, we are asserting that the skills and abilities, the knowledge and information, and, to some extent, the values that the children of the very poor rural Southerner learn in their childhood at home, especially if they are Negro, do not provide an adequate foundation for their schooling.

Note that we are not saying that such children do not acquire any knowledge, ability, or values at home. However, there is no doubt that regardless of what these children do learn at home, they do not learn -- or do not learn well -- those things that the standard school procedures and patterns of organization make it necessary that children know in order to progress successfully in school.

In all groups to which the label "culturally deprived" has been applied, the children start school with marked language deficits. These deficiencies usually create difficulties in school work immediately, because language

skills are needed for learning to read and most schools make reading the first and foremost order of business. The child who cannot succeed reasonably promptly in learning to read almost always faces continuous failure from that point on and may quite realistically lose hope of ever having any real school success even if he does gradually learn to read a bit.

The seriousness of the consequences of this language deficiency is much clearer than its exact nature. It has traditionally been assumed that lower class children --, and, in fact, all those children rating low in language proficiency-- have learning problems because they do not know enough words and thus lack the concepts needed. Such views have shaped the programs offered in most schools.

Educators have known for a long time that language facility is an important factor in academic success and programs to increase the vocabularies and language skills of children are part of the curricula of all schools. For example, direct vocabulary instruction, in which children compile lists of new words and look up their meanings, has been a technique used widely for many years. These traditional approaches are not, however, a hopeful line of attack, because, in spite of the efforts and ingenuity that has been put into them, they have not done the job.

It now appears that vocabulary deficiencies may not be the root of the problem. In fact, culturally deprived children often use a rather large number of words accurately. To be sure, in comparison with the middle-class children, those of the lower class are not nearly so familiar with the words normally used in the school, and it is true also that these children do not know much about many of the objects and paraphenalia of middle-class life in America. Television is helping to change this. Because of this they have special problems in understanding many of the things talked about in their textbooks and in relating these things to their own lives. But it should be understood that this particular sort of problem is not so much a deficit as it is a difference. It is to be sure a difference that calls for action. A child can and should read about life in other places and other cultures; but he ought to read and learn about his own as well, since that is his base of reality and the beginning of all thought. In short, this so-called deficit is in the school material and not in the child's mind.

In any case, the importance of sheer knowledge of words is not entirely clear since recent work in this area suggests that the difficulty is more subtle. It lies in the flexibility and skill children develop in their language usage. Culturally deprived children (or adults for that

matter) use a language that at first blush is not very different from that of anybody else. But on closer examination it appears that they use relatively large numbers of standard expressions and cliches that fit the situation generally, but that lack precision and clarity. The symbolism used is descriptive, concrete, visual, and of a low order of generality. Nuances of feeling are expressed by non-verbal means. The language used in a given situation lacks both the variety and specificity to the situation one finds in the language of middle-class children and it deals with abstract ideas relatively rarely. Although the often knows the words needed, the culturally deprived child will seldom use alternative ways of saying something even though such variations can be used to make meanings clear, to draw distinction, and to add emphasis. Instead the same standard phrasing is used over and over. In addition, hypotheses and conditional statements are infrequent as are all indications of tentativeness and uncertainty.

It seems probable that these and related deficits carry over to listening as well as reading skills, thereby creating extra problems for these children everywhere they turn. Perhaps more than any other single thing, they need to learn to play with language meanings, to learn to get variety and nuance of meaning into their speech, to increase their

~~speech, to increase their~~ appreciation and awareness of the value in the distinctions and refinements of meaning that shifts in word order and the addition of subordinate and qualifying expressions can bring. We are talking about communication and the expression of ideas, and, therefore, this training must involve speech in use, and it must be functional in the childrens' lives from the start;* from this it follows that practice in communicating and elaborating their own ideas, not those of others, comes first. Furthermore, this practice must be extensive in each of as many kinds and varieties of situations as possible if it is seriously to affect the thinking of children.

Conversations with adults aware of the possibilities of the language and concerned with helping the child learn to use it is, it seems, the most effective way for children to learn these language skills, at least until reading becomes a prominent part of the child's life (if it ever does), and perhaps still even then. Probably this training is most effective in the early pre-school years when basic language patterns are being established.

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*We hope very much that this notion will not be read as necessarily asking for more of the pedestrian "real life" material which seems to plague our school texts. Children find poetry, fantasy, and sheer word play (e.g. nonsense rhymes) intelligible and functional in their lives.

But use of language is not the only problem. Among others, all of which are very closely related to language, there is the apparently slower perceptual development of the disadvantaged child, i.e., his more restricted awareness of the perceptual discriminations possible among many sensory dimensions, such as size and volume. These children are not likely to be taught, or rewarded, at home for learning the appropriate quantitative discriminations among objects or to attach the proper descriptive labels to objects (e.g., "tall" rather than "big," and so on). Consequently, orderly development of abstract quantitative concepts is hindered.

Relative to middle-class children, lower-class children tend to be concrete minded; they are oriented toward objects and direct physical action, rather than toward abstractions and conceptual manipulation. They often continue more or less indefinitely to learn through motor or physical actions; that is, they tend to persist in a mode of thinking that depends on the manipulation of objects, whereas middle-class children usually begin to shift to symbolic and verbal substitutes for action sometime between the ages of ten and fourteen.

Perhaps related to this is another intellectual difference which through its effect on motivation has far reaching educational consequences. Lower-class children

seem to have shorter attention spans, memory, and (therefore?) what may be called anticipation span; -- that is, they function more with reference to immediate than distant goals. For the middle-class person, long range goals are usually fairly specific in character. In contrast, in the lower-class the future is regarded in more general and vague notions and for the most part is not considered as something one controls through present action. Hence, present behavior has a kind of rational relation to future goals for the middle-class person which it does not have for those in the lower-class. The middle-class person anticipates within a broader time perspective.

That culturally deprived children do not see as clearly specific long range goals to which present behavior appears to be rationally connected helps cause what has been called the "deferred gratification pattern." They are not inclined to delay or renounce impulse gratification in favor of future gain. Future goals have a degree of reality for middle-class children which they do not have for lower-class children. Middle-class children are exposed to more consistent patterns of rewards and punishments for impulse control and achievement. The adult models to which they are exposed day after day manifest a degree of self-discipline not generally seen in the adults with whom the lower-class has close emotional ties.

Anxiety reduction is probably also a factor in the disadvantaged person's failure to manifest the deferred gratification pattern. Grinding poverty and the intense threat under which he, especially if Negro, lives is almost certain to evoke a high level of anxiety, the reduction of which is to some extent affected through impulse gratification.

Passivity in the lower class child, especially the Negro, is another facet of the motivational pattern related to achievement. One important manifestation of this passivity in the school is the child's failure to ask questions and seek clarification where it is needed. That these children should tend to be passive is not surprising. Their first hand experience most certainly does not teach them that the environment can be manipulated, controlled, and changed by anything they do. The Negro boy is likely to come to school having had no direct experience with a successful male model.

This whole pattern -- the tendency to be passive, impulse-directed, and to lack motivation for achievement -- is related to and perhaps rooted in the child's concepts of self. The most pernicious psychological consequence of a caste system must surely be the tendency for individuals to accept as accurate for themselves the social defintions of inferiority inherent in the system.

For example, there are a number of studies which indicate (a) that Negroes from young childhood on tend toward low self-acceptance; (b) that Negro children of pre-school age express greater preference for white than Negro children; (c) that they are later than white children in acknowledging their racial identity; and (d) the result is that at an older age level Negro students tend to judge themselves inferior to white students even in the face of objective evidence tending to contradict such judgments.

Finally, we should add that the homes of these children do not help them do well in school for other reasons. The parents don't know how to teach their children how to learn. They tend to be particularly inept as teachers of their own children (again partly a language problem). Also the homes usually lack books and there are rarely places for students to read and study in peace and quiet.

In the face of all these severe problems, an ordinary school as typically constituted at present is fighting a losing battle. These schools are organized and run on the assumption that the child has been growing in the ordinary middle class home, and that he has had the years of direct individual training that this implies. Whenever this assumption is not justified the school tends to fail.

To succeed the school needs to provide substitutes for the experiences these children lack.

1. The children need extended contact with educated adults as early as possible in their lives; the school must provide many additional opportunities for these children to converse with each other, with older children, and with adults about all kinds of things. This experience should have a degree of direction and order and lead the child in the direction of the abstract.
2. The school must also provide the deprived children with more assistance in the important pre-adolescent years. First, they need help in learning to deal with problems using abstractions, both with words and with other symbols systems; thus the school must do more than it now does to help the children shift to adult patterns of thinking. Second, the school must help the child develop long range goals. This means that he must see visible and believable steps along the way to these goals. If he is to remain in contact with his family without conflict, the older members of his family, older brothers and sisters as well as parents, must also come to believe in both the goodness and the real possibility of these goals. Third, the school

must provide the child with solid evidence that effort, persistence, and self-discipline in school tasks are expected and rewarded.

3. To inculcate these attitudes and to avoid misunderstanding and conflict means that the adolescents and adults in the community must also be drawn into these efforts sufficiently both to support and at least to some degree understand the school's objectives.

CHAPTER IV

SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS FOR EDUCATION

We have tried to make clear that education takes place in a social context. What schools can accomplish is tightly limited by the environment within which those schools operate. Schools of a rural slum are not likely to produce persons able to be constructive members of a community, unless the school gets into the children's home and neighborhood life. It follows that an educational program which offers full opportunities for intellectual growth to all children is not possible where economic and other forms of social advancement are racially segregated. This is categorically true, we believe, for the Negro children. It is true as well for the white children, though present arrangements are much ~~and with~~ less unsatisfactory ~~understanding~~ for their intellectual growth.

Education can be more successful when schools are desegregated. But only partially so, because, again, education occurs in a context, and when life and opportunities outside the school are segregated, the best efforts of schoolmen to develop the talents of students will be

handicapped severely.

Even were all segregation removed in Black Belt counties, their educational problems would still be immense, because of the economic and cultural lags burdening them. We have said, therefore, that improvement of the schools along standard lines is not the answer. If the states of Georgia and South Carolina (or the United States) were to pour unstinted resources into Burke and Edgefield schools, the educational results would not be greatly different, if the added resources only helped the counties do what they are now doing better.

We have said that basic transformations of the Black Belt schools are needed, by which we mean new practices aimed at compensating for the cultural handicaps brought by the children to the school-door. Given the economics of the Black Belt, even such basic transformations cannot be expected to overcome the handicaps imposed by the environment on the children -- schools cannot do everything -- but in time, perhaps, they could reverse the environmental conditions, and they can, in any event, truly educate a larger proportion of the children than they now manage.

What we are going to describe here, then, will be some specific possible ways of proceeding. We do not claim that our suggestions are the prescription, but rather that they are examples of the sorts of things that are needed. In some cases, other alternatives are both possible and practical. As indicative of the kind of changes which we believe could result in

more successful education in the rural South, we would suggest:

1. Nursery-kindergarten units for children ages three through five;
2. The use of boarding units for children in the middle grades (four, five, and six);
3. The employment of senior high school students in the system, so that all students from the tenth grade up who want or are interested in work will have an opportunity to earn at least $50 a month as a part of their school program;
4. An intercounty and college (or university) cooperative program involving a coordinated plan of consolidation, joint purchasing, and joint inservice and preservice teacher training programs in cooperation with the college.

Beyond these steps and out of them we would expect such things as expanded remedial reading and library services (e.g., a set of mobile reading clinics and mobile library-bookstores, selling paperback books at nominal cost, serving the associated counties), expanded guidance services, and various special education services using, in many cases, college personnel and facilities. One simple but essential

step would be to insure that no child is inadequately fed (breakfast as well as free lunches should be offered) or clothed. We would also expect that Job Corps, Work Study, and Community Action Programs financed through the "poverty program" (Economic Opportunity Act of 1964) would be inaugurated. Furthermore, the school buildings should be open twelve or more hours a day; libraries and supervised study halls should be available afternoons and evenings; evening adult education programs should be offered; extensive summer programs should be developed; and so on indefinitely. We shall not describe all of these steps. Instead, we shall elaborate only the four steps suggested above.

A: <u>The Nursery and Kindergarten Program</u>

There is a tendency in some quarters to hold out nursery schools as a panacea for cultural deprivation; they are not that. Nevertheless, where, as in the Black Belt, the problem is the lack of educational growth in the home, there is a pressing need to get the children as early as possible into organized learning opportunities and to establish school-parent relationships. We think there should be a pre-school program for these five-year olds.

This program would be aimed specifically at those coming from the poorest homes. Day-care centers and nursery schools do not necessarily prove very beneficial to children, so the nature of the program is all-important. The kind we are envisaging might be like that described by Gray and Klaus.*

Their program centered first on attitudes toward achievement; trying to increase the child's achievement motivation, his ability to persist toward a goal and to delay gratification, and to arouse interest in school-type activities such as listening to stories and looking at books. Secondly, they attempted to improve aptitudes for achievement by developing the more simple and basic concepts needed in school work, increasing perceptual discrimination, and improving language usage.

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*Gray, S. W., and Klaus, R. A., Early Training Project: Interim Report, 1968.

Gray and Klaus worked on number and color concepts and concepts concerning objects of the world in which they live. In addition they stressed position words and action categories, such as walk, run, jump, and hop. They tried to increase the children's abilities to recognize forms, shapes, and patterns and to discriminate among sounds, tastes, odors, and textures. In language development their major efforts consisted of encouraging the children to talk and in placing them in situations where language was necessary. The central operating feature of the program was the procedure of reinforcement. They used both concrete reinforcement, such as candy, and social reinformement in the form of physical contact with adults: petting, hugging, and so forth. Throughout their work, particularly at the beginning, they made efforts to make sure that reinformement of the behavior they desired was as immediate and consistent as possible. Gradually they moved away from concrete reinforcement and made efforts to develop verbal rewards as reinforcers.

A program of this sort, to be effective, calls for trained teachers and for careful palnning. But if the teachers running each class thoroughly understand what it is they are trying to do theycan quite readily and easily

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*Untrained adults might well be employed as aides also, and it should be evident that there are opportunities for tie-ins with adult education programs too.

make use of assistants who are much less well-trained; high school students -- both male and female -- provided they receive some training related to the program, could work successfully and helpfully, to both themselves and the pupils, in such a nursery school situation. We would propose that high school students be offered a course in child care, and training as part of this course work, and that for pay -- say $10 per week -- they spend two three-hour periods a week acting as assistants to the teachers.* These teachers should be part of the staff of the high school course. A course of this sort is part of the curriculum of many high schools, but some preliminary training of all teachers would be desirable and probably easily arranged through the associated college.

Contact with parents is also essential, and one of the activities of the teachers should be to maintain it. Trained social workers should also be involved in this part of the program. Attendance of at least the three and four year olds should be a matter of parental choice. The regular teaching staff and the social workers should be the ones who reach the parents and persuade them to send their children to these schools. Having a pre-school program creates transportation problems both because of added number of children to carry and because these very young children

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*Untrained adults might well be employed as aides also, and it should be evident that there are opportunities for tie-ins with adult education programs too.

should spend only three or four hours a day at school. These problems will be minimized, however, if the school system, instead of having large school buses, ~~have~~ has a number of station wagons or smaller buses which carry maybe nine or ten children, and if carefully selected high school students be employed to drive them. For the system as a whole we would propose a large increase in the number of vehicles and a reduction in the size of their load so that the length of trips to and from school for most of the children in the system could be reduced. This would cost more money, but a fair portion of that money would go into the pockets of students in the system, and we believe that tangible economic rewards for staying in school are important for the same reasons that concrete reinforcement should be used initially in the pre-school classes.

We may finally note in passing, that Gray and Klaus report gains in the I.Q.'s of the children with whom they dealt. Similar results have been obtained by a number of other researchers. But it is the nature of the program that counts, not the sheer existence of such schools. Nursery schools which are largely custodial institutions, in which the children play without a planned program of learning, do not serve any educational function and merely cost money.

B. Boarding Units

Our second suggestion is the establishment of boarding units connected with each of the elementary schools in the county. Like the preceding suggestion, this is directed primarily to the poorest children, and again its use would be voluntary and it would be necessary to gain agreement from the parents. We are proposing that children in grades four, five, and six spend three months each year in one of these boarding units, whenever the parents will agree to this.

As in the previous suggestion the important element is what is done, not the mere existence of these boarding units. Most important would be the quality of the teachers. The chance of extensive, warm, personal contact with adults who represent middle class patterns of living, thinking, and values represents one of the principal reasons for these units, since realistic models of this sort, for many of the children of the rural South, are not handy. In addition there would be the opportunity to live in an organized, stable environment in which books, music, art, and conversation are standard and valued activities.* They also

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*At this point we would ask the reader to re-read what we have said about the institutional need to relate material to the children's own life. See above, page .

would have a chance to get some intensive tutoring during this time, and could be helped with their study habits. It would be expected that each group would take a number of trips, especially to cities, since that is where many of them will in due course live.

In fact, it might be well to plan a fourth quarter in grade seven, spent at a residential unit in a city. Perhaps some cities would be willing to develop exchange programs with counties, sending children to the boarding units in the country and accepting an equal number in a unit in the city for a quarter. Three months in a city school accompanied by a careful orientation to the city might add much to the perspective of these children about the need for eddeation. The city children could probably profit at least as much from a period of time in a rural community.

We envisage these units as having about 21 children, seven to eight from each grade, with approximately equal numbers of boys and girls. A unit would be staffed by two regular teachers who carry a partial load in that school (e.g., share classes with an intern), one male and one female, plus two intern teachers, in training (one might have had some previous experience, while the other might be a beginner). In addition, from three to five high school students would be allotted to each unit each quarter to

act as assistants before and after school. These students would not only be given room and board but also paid something -- say $40 a month. The interns would also receive some pay, perhaps half-rate for the half-year that they would be expected to be in residence. In addition to the direct service that student assistants (drawn from the same cultural background) and interns would give, they would also provide the children with a sort of graduated series of models so that being like the -- hopefully -- admired and loved teacher might not seem so impossible; i.e., the children could see steps along the road and the possibility of variation. The regular school cafeteria could supply food but a dining room in the residence unit to be used for all three meals should be included in the plans. Mealtime is one of the periods of day when the kind of personal contact envisaged could be built.

The children would follow the regular school program by and large, would go home on weekends, and the teachers and interns would be expected to carry regular duties in the school. The teachers should receive a regular salary plus their room and board for these duties.* They should

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*It is of interest to note that the notion of having such prequisites attached to teachers' positions is actually traditional inccounties like Burke, many of which used to maintain "teacherages" or teacher residences.

be required to go through a special training program offered by the associated college or university in order to hold these positions. This could lead to a hierarchy of teacher ranks justifying substantial salary differences, related to competence and responsibility rather than pure seniority and course credits. There is reason to believe that the position of teachers in these units would have substantial attraction to good young teachers and interns. Some of these interns could be in pre-service training but it should also be possible to include an internship in these schools as a part of the advanced training of teachers with one or two years of experience. Further, it could result in drawing to such rural systems a quality of teacher that they have been having difficulty in finding at the present time.

There is substantial reason to believe that schools of this sort can have marked effects on students; but it is open to question whether or not the period of time suggested -- three months for each of three or four years -- would be adequate to accomplish these goals. However, it is believed thataat the very least these schools would have positive effects on motivation of the youngsters and that they would go into junior high grades sufficiently interested in doing good work so that the school could hold them.

C. Employment of Senior High School Students in the School

The third proposal is that all interested students who are doing adequate work in the tenth grade and up have an opportunity to earn at least $10 a week as a part of their school program. By employing these students as assistants in the nursery school program, in the residential units, and as drivers, several hundred could be so employed. Other employment that would be both educational for them and a service to the school system surely could be found. It should be noted that by keeping these young people in school, competition with adults for jobs should be reduced. These activities can be of substantial educational value; in fact the assistants in both the two programs suggested above could well turn out to be the chief beneficiaries of these programs if the school system and especially the teachers involved devote proper attention to helping these students understand what they are doing. The reason for paying the students, of course, is to provide an incentive for these adolescents to stay in school and to give them concrete representation of the fact that the community and society at large value their attendance in school. It should be noted that the school system should also have a fund to provide direct scholarship assistance to students who need it and, in special cases, without the associated

duties. A school board should always remember that it costs parents money to send children to school, even though the schools do not charge tuition.

D. Intercounty Cooperation

Some problems of rural systems are simply a function of size: the system cannot justify the variety of specialized personnel and facilities that are practical in a large system where the cost can be spread over thousands of pupils. Segregation and the continued use of small, unconsolidated units obviously accentuate these problems but they will exist even if the schools are consolidated and integrated.

There should be, therefore, intercounty associations for the better coordination of school attendance areas. Once these associations are started, other cooperative ventures could develop, such as consolidated purchasing, intercounty technical service, and materials centers (audio-visual services, programed materials, curriculum materials, professional publications, etc). We are not talking about the consolidation of counties, but rather cooperative ventures.

Cogent reasons for intercounty consolidation and a statewide plan for it are embodied for Georgia in the recent "Peabody" report. It should be recalled, however,

that children already spend more time in travel than is sound practice. Cooperation can solve this and will be needed for some children regardless of district size. School districts should not get so large and far away that the people in the district are not interested in them. The notion of local responsibility has merit because it is, potentially at least, a powerful educational force which can function to create a sense of belonging and identity in the students. This asset should not be discarded lightly.

An additional and possibly necessary feature of this intercounty cooperative association is the inclusion of a nearby teacher training institution, which probably would be necessary if the boarding units are to function in the manner we have described. What we are proposing here does not seem to us to exceed the institutional resources already available: in Georgia, for example, there are 10 public supported and 14 private colleges and universities now offering approved teacher training programs; in South Carolina, there are 4 and 13.

These colleges should establish teacher training programs analogous to the so-called internship master of arts in teaching programs now to be found at various universities around the country (e.g., Chicago, Emory, Harvard, Stanford, etc.), and some of their students should do their internship

in the residential units of these counties. The colleges should also provide consultant services for the expanded remedial reading programs, guidance programs, and many other facets of both the regular and new programs. This arrangement would supply the interns and provide the school systems with a first chance at young beginning teachers as well as provide a way of obtaining special services to students and inservice training for teachers otherwise awkward to arrange. Large colleges might well become members of several such associations.

E. Is It Practical?

One immediate response to these recommendations will be assertions such as "Dreamwork," "Impractical," "It won't work," "You haven't considered...," "Don't you realize that...," and above all, "Too expensive." We believe these ideas can be made to work, and that the many difficulties we haven't discussed here (an endless number) can be solved, and that the product would justify the cost. This country could and should spend much more on the education of its children than is now the case. Furthermore, the cost of these proposals is high only relative to what a rural southern county now spends. It is probable that to do these things might cost twice what is now spent. Let us look at

what it might cost in a county the size of Burke.

The nussery-kindergarten would add around $300 per pupil per year (early education is cheap, later on it is not) or about $250,000 a year. This figure is based on the assumption of roughly 800 pupils in classes of 20-25 students staffed by a senior teacher, a junior teacher (or a nonprofessional assistant), and two (or three) high school assistants. Each teacher would have two classes, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. This figure also is based on the assumption that present structures could be used with relatively small alterations and additions.

The boarding units might seem expensive at first glance but most of the salaries could be charged to the regular instructional budget. The staff would be carrying teaching loads in the school at about 3/4 rate (two teachers and two interns carrying three classes). Consequently, the eight or nine boarding units a county the size of Burke might require would probably cost no more than $300,000 a year.

The student assistant program (beyond that accounted for in the two preceding items) would add another $300,000, assuming that about 800 students in senior high school would be earning about $10 a week. This totals $850,000. The consolidation and intercounty cooperation should at least break even since substantial efficiency would be gained.

To be cautious, and to allow for the additional steps we mentioned but have not detailed, add $250,000 more for a total of $1,100,000, a figure that is a bit under the 1964 school budget in Burke County. Since Burke spent about $265 per child in average daily attendance in 1963-64, and since we are hopefully adding about 25-30% to the average daily attendance count, the per pupil figure comes to around $400, an outrageously modest figure which is under the national median (because we are not proposing here to change the salary scale of the teachers, though probably we should).

"Where does this million plus come from?" First of all, through proper tax equalization measures and by raising assessments to a proper level (e.g. 50% of fair value), the county itself could raise much more. Furthermore, many features could be financed by state and federal funds now available; e.g., Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the National Defense Education Act, and above all, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The colleges' costs would partly ~~would partly~~ be included in their regular budget since they now train teachers; furthermore, summer and in-service institutes (summer schools for children running on shortened days offer very good teacher training possibilities) can

often be financed through federal programs. Additional state funds for cooperative undertakings should be forthcoming. It does not seem fanciful to us, therefore, to expect that federal funds would (and should) play a large role in meeting this budget and that the state would add to the additional local effort. In short, we believe that suggestions as basic as our's could be adapted to most rural counties and could be financed if the community were really interested in its children's education. All of our recommendations are directed toward doing something about the problems of learning that children with certain kinds of backgrounds are likely to have. In the Black Belt South, most of these children are Negro, but that they are has nothing to do with the reasons for our recommendations.

The communities in the rural South must become genuine communities in which every person is a member with a stake in community growth and development. The educational problems of these communities ramify into the problems of the whole social and economic context. We have tried to suggest that the transformation of education in some sense calls for the transformation of a community. We think such a transformation can be brought about in the South only with the help of genuine local effort and concern. Our recommendations are based upon

the belief that sound educational decisions must be directed toward bringing about the maximum development of all the children in a community and upon the belief that the maximum growth and enrichment of a community cannot be achieved unless every member of the community has, and can be led to see that he has, a real stake in the outcome of community affairs.

TABLE 2

1960 FAMILY INCOME

Percentage With Incomes	Burke County			Edgefield		
	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
Under $1,000	9	43	29	8	31	19
Between $1,000 - 2,000	11	33	24	12	34	23
" $2,000 - 3,000	16	13	14	9	18	13
" $3,000 -10,000	58	11	31	65	17	41
Over 10,000	6	0	2	5	--	3
Median	$3,900	1,202	1,855	4,250	1,557	2,595

TABLE 1

FARMS AND JOBS IN BURKE AND EDGEFIELD COUNTIES -- 1940-1960

	BURKE COUNTY GEORGIA							EDGEFIELD COUNTY SOUTH CAROLINA						
	1940	1945	1950	1954	1960	1950-1960 percent change	First date to 1960 percent change	1940	1945	1950	1954	1960	1950 to 1960 percent change	First date to 1960 percent change
FARMING														
Number of Farms		2362	2159	1654	1176	-45	-50		2311	1966	1688	1076	-45	-53
Average Farm Size (Acres)		156	196	254	287	+46	+84		96	106	105	160	+51	+67
Farm Acreage (in thousands)														
Operated by whites			305	331	276	-10				154	139	152	-1	
Operated by Negroes			119	69	61	-48				55	38	20	-64	
Total		362	423	420	337	-20	-10		223	209	177	173	-17	-22
LABOR FORCE														
Employed:														
In Agriculture														
White			746		455	-39				632		340	-46	
Negro			4105		1892	-54				1802		1086	-40	
Total	7105		4851		2347	-52	-67	3766		2434		1426	+41	-62
In Mfg. Mng. Const.														
White			527		856	+62				1039		1079	+4	
Negro			679		444	-35				572		865	+51	
Total	623		1206		1300	+8	+108	695		1611		1944	+12	+180
In Other Occupations														
White			1110		1243	+12				936		1291	+40	
Negro			1124		1330	+18				718		938	+31	
Total	2193		2234		2573	+15	+17	1290		1654		2229	+35	+73
Complete Labor Force														
White	2368		2432		2653	+9	+12	2411		2649		2744	+4	+14
Negro	8161		6031		3878	-36	-52	3792		3133		2964	-5	-22
Grand Total	10529		8463		6531	-23	-38	6203		5782		5708	-1	-8

File: CDGM

NEWSWEEK NYK via air mail 10-28-66

To: Fation, Iselin & Goldman From: Jaffe, Atl Re: Poverty-Advisory1

Over the past few weeks I have scheduled various approaches to a story on the difficulties encountered by an independent Head Start program in Missxissippi, known as MCDGM. As you know, in late September I was sent to Mississippi to file on CDGM at a time when it looked like the ~~xxxxxxx~~ controversial two-year old program would not be refunded. This prophesy has now come true, and at the risk of whipping a dead horse, I would like to again tout it for Newsweek. In this ~~xxxx~~ story I see everything that is wrong with the poverty program: it starts processes in motion that eventually run counter to the existing power structure, and because it is a government funded program, finally runs amuk in political tangles and cannot make good on its promises. To~~m~~ me, if Johnson does not have the will to fulfill the potential of his great society, he will have done worse than if he had not puffed it all; he will have taught ~~m~~en like Willie Burns of Mileston that they can act and think for themselves; when he tells Burns to stop, a violent revolution ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ may ensue; for however dormant the Delta Negro has been, only fear and poverty ~~xxx~~ and ignorance have kept him in that st te; organiz ed and setafire with hope and high flown desires, he will be no ~~xx~~ mere panther, but a black tiger, who may indeed ~~x~~ oneday devour his white cousins for their legacy of bloody bullying. This then is the~~x~~ purpose for this memorandum, updating developments in the struggle to refund CDGM.

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Chronology: In May,1965, Child Development Group of Mississippi given $1.4 million three-month grant to operate 85 centers for 6,000 poor pre choolers. At that time, ~~xxx~~ no other organization had applied for Head Start funds in the state, and the grant had to be made through a "straw man" to avoid possible gubernatorial veto.

Between Aug.27,1965-Feb.23,1966, no other OEO funds were forthcoming. However,CDGM contined to operate 50 volunteer centers for about 3,000 children. Sharecroppers donated turnip greens and carrots for the students' lunches; maids stayed away from white kitchens to teach and care for them; some Northern donations trickled in to defray adminitrative costs.

In the interim, ~~the~~ OEO began negotiating wit CDGM to cclean house. A 41-year-old New York lay phychoanalyst, Tom Levin, had successfully managed to mix civil rights and Head Start to the point that CDGM books were a confused maze of irregularities. AFter a quick audit and investigation, OEO presented Levin ~~xxxx~~ and his board with a list of 14 ~~xxx~~ ultimatums--changes that must be made prior to refunding. One that caused little fuss at the time:"CDGM will (1) make all efforts to immediately establish a working relationship with CAA, (2) work toward combining its activities with those of the CAA, and (3) submit a progress reprot to OEO of each such effort with the CAA's in question." An unwritten 15th ultimatum was that Levin go.

By and large, the government got its conditions and CDGM its grant--retroactive to Jun.1, ~~xxxxx~~-month $5.6 million program to operate 121 centers for 9,000 children. This was extended so that the program fully ended on Sept.31--though ~~xxxx~~ che to the center that funds stopped at the end of August. -more-

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In the meantime this year, under encouragement of Gov.Johnson, local whites have applied for and won grants much larger in scope and dollars, establishing CAP (community action program) centers that in nine counties competed with CDGM. Not all of these have been successful in getting refunded--Biloxi is the most recent program to be refu ed--usually because either the governing boards were not biracial or the programs did not seek to involve "maximum feasible participation of the poor --one of LBJ's preconditions.

OEO was dismayed to see such competition--and a task force has been working in the state for almo t two months now to affect some sort of coordinated effort.

But the Task Force was outflanked in its effort to arrange a truce, when OEO suddenly destroyed CDGM in a single decision made in late August, finalized in eptebemr, made public in October, that the organization "in its present form...cannot lawfully be refinanced."(Board of CDGM received such notification Oct.?.)

CDGM had asked for a one year grant of $20.3 million to operate 170 center for 13,500 children in 37 counties. OEO said no, changing (a) that virtually the total enrollment was Negro and "increasing resistance to use of white per onnel on the part of ome staff member ." (b) use of inadequately qualified personnel(a point of pride with CDGM which claims it is providing on the job training to poor people by making them teacher and administrators). (c) poor program quality (a que tionable charge; in the centers I have visited or heard about, interest and participation--two key factors--is extra ordinarily high and th programs,becau e they are impromptu,fresh and exciting).(d) failure of CDGM to cooperate with CAPs,as per the "special

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condition."(CDGM's John Mudd pleads guilty, charging that cooperation with the hostile, sometime white supremacist dominated CAPS is impossible): (e) use of poor facilities (an abuurb charge, because no counties have denied CDGM use of public facilities and the grant has not permitted major capital expenditures)1 (f) formation of an alliance with the Freedom Democratic Party(unsubstantiated, by OEO's own admission); (g) use of CDGM cars,food and personnel for civil rights support,i.e., the Meredith March-(probably true, but there is a good argument that CDGM personnel should be allowed to spend their off-time as they wish). (h) overpayments for rentals of facilities (apparently, not done intentionally; in many cases, to save time, CDGM did not use the competitive bidding system of letting contracts, but took an OEO publishedx average as a standard, a practice to which up to now,OEO approved of, tacitly. Also,CDGM can make a good argument that its program is economical--CDGM's cost per child per week is $19, well below OEO's guidelines and less than the cost of education provided by the CAPs.)(i)salary irregularities (possible kickbacks in one center is under investigation, but not substantiated; delay in payment, OEO says, resulted from x inexperienced personnel handlingthe paperwork; in the one instance where a local repx tried to put someone on the payroll xx not involved in the center,CDGM fired the rep.

In addition, Sen. Stennis and his Senate Appropriations Comm'ee has issued a series of charges that say basically, the Government has been paying here for services never rendered and that funds have been channeled into civil rights programs. An OEO white paper issued as an addendum to a review of CDGM's chronology (dated Oct.14,1966) states:

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"The charges made about the administration of the first ('65) grant should be separated from those made about the second ('66) grant. A number of serious charges were made about the administration of the former grants over $1,400,000. OEO has disallowed $8,741 as being improperly accounted for. An additional $8,501 was disallowed xxxxxxxx of xxxxxxxx extensive negotiations over the level of payments for accounting fees and to the Delta Ministry for accomodations xxxxx at Mt.Beulah. In total then, slightly over 1 per cent of the total funds were disallowed. It should be emphasized that these disallowances relate almost totally to poor accounting or differences in judgment on appropriate level of fees and NOT TO MISAPPROPRIATION OF FUNDS.//Caps mine.// "

In the same addendum, OEO summarizes CDGM's accomplishments thus:"(1) Over 15,000 children and their families have been involved in a worthwhile program of health, education, nutrition and social services. No other organization was interested in or capable of serving such a large group. (2) Nearly 2,000 persons from the poor of Mississippi have been profided with training and meaningful employment. (3) The economy of Mississippi is being strengthened by the infusion of over $800,000 a month."

If this sounds like xx a schizophrenic judgment, against the backdrop of Shriver's decision not to refund, it is. I understand 100 employees in OEO have signed a petition threatening to resign if CDGM is not refunded. The group's friends are xx legion in the liberal community from Walter Reuther and his well-organized lobby, Citizens Crusade against Poverty, to Martin Luther King. I am told by a reliable Washington source that Prof. Galbraith was about to join the blue-ribbon

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Board of Inquiry formed by CCAP to clear X CDGM of the multi-farious charges Stennis had issued, but big Ken received a call from Sarge who threatened "Our very friendship depends on this issue." I am not privy to Shriver's political ambitions, but he has made no attempt to ~~x~~ hide his loss of cool over the attacks he has ~~xxxxvix~~ received after deciding to cut off funds. "Say it ain't so, Sargent Shriver," blared a full page NYTimes editorial paid for and signed by CCAP. (Oct.19)

To this Shriver answered with a long letter:"...It is shocking to me that any Americans, and especially members of the clergy, should rush into public print impugning the motives of a public official before ascertaining the fact . Fortunately...a number of other individuals called for information before agreeing to sign and withheld their signature."

But as Shriver said in the letter and later told CDGM personally in a closed meeting last week in Atlanta,"I received the unanimous/(underlined by him)/recommendations of all the OEO officials involved--Community Action, Head Start, Auditing, Inspection, Civil Right , Legal--that under the circumstances I could not again legally refund CDGM."..We could not in clear conscience and under the law ignore findings of payroll padding, nepotism, conflict of interest and misuse of property."

While Shriver stonily denies he was "knuckling under to any pressure ," it is well known that he had to do a plaintive dance before Congress this fall to salvage the poverty program generally, and that his people had several private meetings with Stennis and his aides , in which it was promised that CDGM would not be refunded, in order that Stennis and other Southern enemies

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might not combine to sabotage the entire program. This was and is a sellout. Furthermore, the charges Shriver made in his letter have never been formally presented to the CDGM in sufficient detail and before an appropriate forum, so that the organization could present a rebuttal. OEO advisors to Shriver argue that there is no precedent for such procedures, but I understand they were used prior to the ~~xf~~ denial of funds to Biloxi.

With this posture, the Atlanta meeting was bound to be a flop and it was. Shriver sat in for two hours and in that time managed to get MMM kicked out of the conference room, but accomplished little else--he dodged newsmen after first promising them a question-answer exchange. His five top advisors stayed until 8 pm. that night hashing about for some compromise, but the two sides couldn't even agree on a joint statement of what they had discussed. Later at dinner, ~~x~~ CDGM chief John Mudd said he had been offered $4 to $5 million, on condition he would reconstitute the board, desist in those counties where CAP was already at work--and where MAP, the newly formed, biracial moderate group designed by OEO to succeed CDGM, would ~~xxx~~ be funded, and agree to more rigid auditing procedures. Mudd was in a quandry whether to accept and indeed, he wasn't even sure the offer had been made--The OEO executives apparently had been fishing to see if they could xplit the CDGM board and the opposition of liberals by funding CDGM on a small scale for a year. Mudd was certain that even with the monies the program would be a flop and when it was over, OEO would be able to perform last rites without a whisper of protest.

Said a statement by CDGM: "We express keen disappointment at the failure of today's negotiations with Mr. Shriver. We expressly

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regret OEO's misinformation, instransigence and lack of understanding of Mississippi's problems. We have, in good faith, been willing and remain willing to discuss with OEO appropriate steps to be taken by CDGM toward refunding on a continuing and substantial basis. Toward this end, additional meetings will be held in the very near future between OEO and CDGM officials. We will, however, continue to put before the public all of the facts surrounding OEO's actions regarding CDGM and to use every available means to insure refunding."

Again Shriver acted with apparent shock at the resistance he was receiving to his unsympathetic peace feeler. "Incredible," said he, describing the above. The meeting had been "productive" and he thought there had been a "candid exploration of areas of misunderstanding." About all they could agree on, though, was to order sandwiches and milk sent up from Don Jose's Sandwich Shop in the OEO building and at the end of the affair, the negotiators had spilled out into the office foyer, where before me, there had been this acrimonious exchange:

Herb Kramer: "I think I am a reliable and transient man."

Rou (sp?) of CDGM: "Well then why is that all day long we have had to listen to the charges against us as if they are credible and yet you won't admit that we might be right in our charges against OEO?"

Kramer: "There've been plenty of accusations against OEO we've listed and too-not only chargeable but credible...Mr.Shriver has testified to as much."

Marian Wright: "We'd just like WANT you allowed Biloxi."

Kramer: "That is precisely what was done last February"

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~~applications~~/It was the feeling of the agency, this was the second time around."

Rau: "Oh what's the use! You refuse to recognize ~~more~~ how much we've done."

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Apparently what Shriver is attempting to do is put into practice a policy outlined in his memorandum of Sept.9,1966, entitled: "Involvement of the Poor in all OEO Programs." In a colorful passage he quotes a man from Watts who told him:

"Sargent Shriver, you listen and you listen good. I'll tell you exactly how it is. We want to run the jobs. We want to run the programs. It is our lives. It is our future."

Wrote Shriver: "We have no intention, of course, of letting any one group, even the poor themselves, "run the jobs" or "run the program". That's not Community action. But it is crucial that all of us understand the intensity of poor people's determination to participate actively in programs designed specifically to help them help themselves.

Our refusal to be bound by strict formulas or uniform applications of the principle of "maximum feasible participation" must not be interpreted as softness on the principle itself. While we accept flexibility in the implementation of such participation, we are inflexible in our determination to achieve it as fully and as rapidly as possible.

"Involvement and active participation by the poor do not, it must be understood, rule out important roles for other parts of the community. The very concept of community action means that- more-

the whole community i involved--public officials, ~~xxxxx~~ private agencies, profe sional ~~xxx~~ societies, industry, labor, church and other . The poverty program will succeed only as all of the e sectors of community life make their appropriate contributions.."

Fine talk, but the hard fact i that Mississippi, the insular society ~~that it is~~, is by no means ready for an honest interchange of money and idea that will give the Negro poor a leg-up into the socio-economic white station wagon. It is hard to motivate the Negro to take the risks he mu t to join in program like Head tart, which have been bombed and threatened, just like any other project designed to help the Negro. Shriver ought to take advantage in Mississippi of that motivation wherever he find it, the more indigenous the better.

Furthermore, in enforcing a policy of ~~xxxxx~~ poverty belongs to everyone, hriver may offend certain liberal centers of power which want it rescued in a particular manner. Between the ~~xxxxx~~ angry forces of right and left, the eggshell stepping Poverty chief may find his benevolent image dashed, and the program too, making the story worthy of coverage starting now and finishing next January when I am told Shriver will quit the post and go back to Illinois.

Note: pix taken on my last CDGM sojourn of action in the Milestone center. ~~Xxxxx~~ Regards. Endit.

Copies of this memo sent to Washington, Stout, and Atlanta, Cumming.

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THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 19, 1966

File

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Here is a copy of John Lewis' memorandum and that of Frank Jennings. The latter is sent to you in confidence, which means that I do not have Vernon Eagle's permission to do so. Please, therefore, do not show it to others.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

MEMORANDUM DATE: Nov. 23, 1966

TO: VAE

FROM: fgj

SUBJECT: Visits to Child Development Group of Mississippi headquarters in Jackson, Mississippi and several community centers - November 15-17, 1966

I was met at the airport by Mrs. Polly Greenberg and Marvin Hoffman. Since he was leaving shortly for Washington, we stayed at the airport for an hour to talk about the present crisis. It was not very profitable. The two of them spent most of the time repeating what had been written in their reports and proposals, in spite of my assuring them that I'd read them.

After Hoffman left Polly and I went to the CDGM offices in Jackson which they now share with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. The offices are in a slovenly condition and I cannot help but feel that they are deliberately so kept. There is much running around, not only by the CDGM staff, but by people from the FDP. Polly contrasted these offices with "the beautiful ones the OEO threw us out of." She told me how, quite literally, over a weekend they had to take what equipment they could carry and what files they could save from their handsome, efficient, and modern offices in the business section of town and trundle them through the streets to their present location in the Negro section. She told me too how much of their equipment and files and some of the teaching materials, books, and toys for children have been taken from them and locked in a warehouse in Jackson.

Polly Greenberg is an eager, effusive, intelligent, and superficially disorganized young woman who talks a great deal, gesticulates even when driving, and mixes very sophisticated commentary with romantic irrelevancies about life in Mississippi.

None of the people who had planned to meet with me ever did so. Nor did any of them make any attempt to either phone or leave a message at the motel. I did succeed in catching up with John Mudd on the evening of the second day and with him arranged for a dinner meeting that night and a work session in

his office on Thursday morning. But for the rest, I quickly realized that the most useful thing I could do was to go with Polly out to some of the centers and to talk with some of the people in their communities. I did manage to meet with about twenty-five such people, and I visited four community centers in two of which were some children with some kind of program going on.

After we left the offices, Polly and I drove out to a small Negro community north of Jackson called Richmond. We met five of the local center teachers in the home of Mrs. Parish, who is clearly the leader of the group. She was "ailing badly from asthma", she said, as she chain-smoked seated before a gas heater in a tiny room. There were the usual exchanges of formulas at first about how important it is to keep the centers going and how they hope that someone can provide effective arguments to make the OEO reconsider. I realized that these women were saying these things as much for Polly's benefit as mine, and I told them so. I wanted to know what it was that they thought was good about these centers and what it meant for them to be working in them. The talk changed abruptly, except for one woman who insisted over and over on the need to bring these young ones closer to God and teach them good Christian habits. Mrs. Parish, looking like a kind of earth mother, brushed these comments aside and said that what really counted was that all of the adults working in these centers were finding out ways to take care of and pay attention to children that they never knew about before.

I heard none of the jargon of the romantic allusions to "growth" and "self-respect" and "identity" that I got from Polly and later from some of the other white CDGM people. (Never from John Mudd.) I do not mean this as criticism; I am certain that there is something that is powerful, precious, and audacious in what Polly and her friends have done and that it is in fact something they no longer can fully comprehend. From what these semi-literate middle-aged Negro women told me and from what I heard and saw over and over again in all of the centers, there is a process of profound social and educational change that is under way, which will not be stopped because the money has stopped, and which will not be dissipated because other agencies are becoming involved in the process. (By "other agencies" I mean MAP and CAP and their centers.) What I saw and understood as I talked with these women was that field hands, domestics, factory workers, and unemployed adults were discovering, initially with the aid of young white activists like Polly Greenberg, but now more and more on their own, the values of orderly child care, the ways of learning, how to talk with children, how to pay attention to them in their play, and in their learning, and, perhaps most important of all, learning how to ask for specific professional help. There is none of

the anti-educationist attitude which disturbed me in the proposal Polly Greenberg sent to us. In fact, I realized that she had simply misunderstood what these people in the centers were saying.

They are quite right in mistrusting most of the accredited and practicing Negro teachers whom they know in Mississippi. Mrs. Parish said to me, "I know too many of those ladies who got certified as teachers even though they couldn't read and write. They paid for their jobs and got them through family connections. I don't want them telling us wrong things to do."

I must say in defense of Polly and the others that it is very easy to be caught up in the excitement that these people generate as they build an educational system where none ever existed before. One has to remember that there is no compulsory education in Mississippi, that there are no kindergartens and no organized nursery schools in the public system. These centers are quite literally expressions of the communities' insistence that education no longer be denied them. And so, although they begin with no training and no equipment, they quickly gain the first and make the second. In so doing, these women succeed in liberating their own intelligence and in giving a shape to their communities that had never before been apparent.

I regret that I did not have a tape recorder with me. Polly tells me the women are quite at ease in the presence of a microphone and even use the recorders themselves in their work with children. On the other hand, it is probably better that I did not, and am relying instead on remembered impressions.

For what Mrs. Parish and her co-workers were saying to me was simply that although these centers were created out of the urgings and under the guidance of CDGM, they had survived without funds on two earlier occasions and would continue if necessary without funds in the future. Although it was not expressed, the implication was plain that sooner or later the sovereign state of Mississippi and the federal government itself would have to come to some unspecifiable terms with the centers. As one of the other women, Mrs. Nichols, said to me, "We have gotten used to teaching, and the children are getting used to learning, and there's just no sense in stopping any more, but someone has got to teach us, too."

On Wednesday morning (Nov. 16) Polly and I drove out to Durant near the Big Black River in Holmes County to pick up Mrs. Hattie Belle Saffold, whom I had seen the night before in the CDGM film Chance for a Change . In the film, which I take to be a faithful record of the development of a "center",

she is the eager and almost inarticulate teacher-trainee. Now she is poised and self-assured with a quiet professional bearing that bespeaks understood experience. Mrs. Saffold is a slender, aquiline-featured woman of about forty whose husband is the first Negro in Mississippi ever to get an FHA loan. She is representative of a growing number of men and women who are able and willing to deal with the "white power structure" on terms that are becoming less unequal. There is nothing mysterious about this; it is a mixture of economics, the inevitability of the vote, an increasing capacity to pay attention to political details, a growing sophistication about civil rights and social "pressure points."

This is most evident in the Negro communities that are now dealing with the Community Action Program administrators. Typically, the director of a CAP group in Mississippi is a white man, often the local plantation owner, who "shares" his authority with a biddable Negro. What is happening is that the Negro is not biddable, merely quiet, and that the Negro community does its homework, knows the "rules and regulations", knows how to assure the conduct of an open meeting, and is able not merely to resist but to turn aside unprofitable proposals.

There was a meeting in Lexington the night before (Nov. 15) in which the white CAP official offered a proposal for a "sag ja!" vote. He read the short statement, which his audience clearly understood would assign all control to him and his office, but when he called for a vote he was challenged by an elderly Negro farmer who said he had a counter proposal to read--which he did, all eighty pages of it. Half way through, the white man started to walk out. He was reminded that another chairman could, legitimately, be chosen if he did so. He returned, sat through another hour of reading, and then had to watch his proposal be defeated by the more detailed one which assured "maximum feasible participation".

The first center we visited was Sunnymount, close to Durant. It is a sound, barrack-like structure about 30' x 60'. The front half is a play and study area. There are toys (mostly hand-made) on the floor, children's drawings on the walls and nursery school furniture. The rear half of the building is heated by a wood-burning stove and is divided by a partition which separates an individual study and testing area from the kitchen in the back of the building. Water is supplied from a cistern which collects rain from the roof. On the walls of the study and testing area there are a few colored pictures

of animals and children, some alphabet charts in block letters and cursive writing, and two innocuous SNCC posters with hortatory legends about freedom and responsibility. (This was all the evidence of SNCC I saw in any center.)

When we came into the building there were about a dozen children, ages four to six, having lunch at a low table--grits, canned apricots, hot dogs (with bright red skins), and milk--four women in their early forties, a girl of eighteen with a little boy on her hip, and the kitchen staff of three women supervised by a mountainous female of indeterminate age, a veritable dark Buddha. She appears to have enough energy and resources to keep the center going even if Washington should vanish.

I had my Minox camera and flash gun with me and asked if I might take a few pictures of the children around the table. When I took the thumb-sized instrument out of its leather case two of the littlest boys grabbed each other and started to scream, their eyes streaming tears. The silvery finish on the camera was evidence that I was the "doctor man", come to give them more "shots." Of course the screaming was contagious. Soon most of the children were howling. The women took over with skill that I have rarely seen in the best nursery schools. Not only did they quiet the children, but they turned the situation into a beautiful "happening": if I wasn't the "doctor man", who could I be? One very little girl, who had sat through it all, wide-eyed and still, would be the first to have her picture taken, the Buddha declared. So let's all watch. The flash went off; the little blue bulbs, which are no bigger than a pinky-tip, became the prize; fortunately I had a pocketful. I took about twenty flash pictures. The bulbs were warm; again--what made them warm?--let's see how long it takes for them to cool down--how come? What can we do with them? One by one the children came to the table and began to talk--nothing self-conscious, nothing for my benefit--this is what you do with some startling and new occasion.

After that it was easy for me to talk with the children, The two boys who triggered the episode took me outdoors, showed me the cistern, and explained how it works, showed me the pigs and dogs and chickens, took me to the sand box. The other children followed, and wanted to know where I came from and where I was going. I remembered the nursery classes at Walden in New York City. These kids were just as bright and lovely.

We left Sunnymount after Mrs. Saffold and Mrs. Willie Mae Wright made arrangements to help a neighbor whose home had burned down the night before. "She just doesn't realize that you can't plug in a TV on the same line with the deep freeze--that's what caused the trouble--now all she's got is the work clothes on her back and her fourteen young ones are spread half over the county."

Since we were behind schedule, we stopped in Lexington at the FDP headquarters, a rickety little shack on the far side of a ditch off a dirt road. It was manned by a sullen white girl, Mrs. Sue Lorenzi, who obviously dislikes Polly intensely and resented my presence as well. She reluctantly permitted Mrs. Saffold to make a phone call to the Milestone center to learn that the group was still waiting for us. On the work-desk there were copies of the National Guardian, some mimeo sheets of a newsletter, while on the walls were a couple of Black Panther posters with the beast looking more like a tabby than a predator. Above the usual legend, "Move over or we'll go over you!" someone had written in pencil "Feed us animal crackers."

Polly had wanted some information for her book, and Sue was not very eager to let her have it, so we three left and headed by the back roads to Milestone.

The countryside looked like an ill-conceived and ill-wrought stage set for an off-Broadway production of one of Tennessee Williams' nastier efforts; the dead kudzu vines, like dirty gunnysacks draped on the loblolly pines along the roadside, the road itself, a gash of red clay, and the almost stripped cotton fields like the discarded sheet music of some insane composer, and most of all the relaxed and threatening quiet.

At Milestone the center's building was a much larger shed-like structure about 40' x 100'. About twenty cars were parked before it. There was some kind of policy and planning meeting going on; representatives from FDP, the Delta Ministry, SNCC, CDGM, and some people identified to me by Polly as "free-lancers". This latter group she assured me included Mary Varela, who was there and who at first did not recognize me. We were in fact clearly not welcome. Fully two thirds of the group were white and out-of-state people. Henri Lorenzi (Sue's husband) was there giving a chalk talk which was incomprehensible to me, but had to do with intra-county politics. Art Thomas of the Delta Ministry and Harry Guyot of FDP were also present.

The back of the building contained a well-furnished institutional kitchen where the eight Negro women, all teachers at this center, were waiting for us. They had cooked us a dinner of fried chicken, mashed potatoes, beans, and stewed apricots. We were all herded into a tiny medical office in the front of the building where we wouldn't disturb the meeting. It had no window, and no apparent ventilating system, and was no more than eight feet square.

These women, in contrast with the others I had met, appeared to be apathetic, or at least very reluctant to talk. They all knew Polly--I think she is a kind of mascot to them. It was not until Mrs. Saffold pressed them that they began to open up. They were apparently disturbed by the "political" meeting that had co-opted the center for the day and prevented them from having their children there. There was also some disaffection with the "activists" who do not consider the work of CDGM or the centers themselves very "significant".

One woman said, "The FDP people seem to think that teaching children is too slow . . . but we know . . . we just know that these young ones are going to get more out of schooling than we ever got." They want professional help, but not from people who will just come on hit-and-run visits to lecture at them. They want to be shown how to work with children; they want to improve their own reading--I was told that, although some of the teachers in the centers are fully accredited teachers in Mississippi and some have advanced degrees, the average level of education among them is at about the tenth grade, and the <u>mean</u> reading level is somewhere below the third grade. In short, these "teachers" are themselves just barely literate by the most generous definition.

In spite of their limitations, these women are truly teachers without the invidious quotation marks. The way they confront their task is every bit as professional as the most effective and committed product of the universities. But, and this is what CDGM has not yet been able to make clear to itself, what they are doing in the "centers" is to create community interest and responsiveness to the <u>process</u> of education, and not formal schooling. It is easy to fall into the romantic trap and speak of folk wisdom. This is what CDGM has done, at least in its written reports. These women and the few men they are able to involve are teaching the children how to develop stronger attitudes toward learning than they themselves possess. In so doing they are discovering educational needs that the centers are not yet able to meet.

These discoveries provide a defensible rationale for the creation of the "teacher training institutes" that Polly has been attempting to describe. They want regular meetings

where they can get instruction in day-to-day programing, in the making of instructional toys and materials, in effective pre-reading activities. They need to know how to choose books when they are available, how to encourage the curiosity of the children, and they want science materials: One woman said, "I never knew how a torch worked until this man took out the batteries and the bulb and connected them all together with wires and it lit up . . . but I still don't know how those batteries work." These women see science as a more orderly way of dealing with experience and with thinking about experience. They see it too as essential in putting good arguments together when they deal with officialdom.

* * * * *

These things are clear: The people at the centers are less panicked than CDGM headquarters about the future. They will keep the centers open and working whether the money starts again or not. They are aware that the new CAPS can by-pass them, but not for long and not very far. They are more aware than CDGM headquarters that almost all of the MAP centers will have to be staffed by CDGM trained people. They are confident that the newer groups can be made to work for them. One woman said to me, "It all and always comes down to the money. Alot of it came into Mississippi with CDGM, and Mississippi, white and black, has gotten used to it. It's good for everybody." They do not separate the "movement" from the work at the Centers, even though the "movement" has never been overtly friendly to them. Again, I must repeat: I am not suggesting anything like folk wisdom, but these people have a tradition of survival that is subtler and more powerful than most "observers" (and I include myself) can comprehend. They are learning to use the whole of their society, and Mississippi will be the healthier for it.

* * * * *

After our tour of the centers we returned (Polly and I) to the CDGM headquarters in Jackson about 5:00 pm just as John Mudd returned from Washington. He had had a difficult time and was obviously very tired, but when I learned that he had no plansto meet with me, I confess that I became impatient. I pointed out that I had come to Mississippi to try to be of some help and that while it was interesting to tour the centers with chattering Polly in her rattletrap I wanted some hard information about CDGM's plans and his estimation of its prospects. He said that he had an evening meeting with some people at Millsaps College in Jackson to try to persuade them to provide

a vehicle for CDGM to receive a $25,000 grant from Charles Merrill. The money would be used for "teacher" training. Polly was supposed to have made the preliminary contacts and had not done so.

I insisted that we fit in a dinner meeting before his 8:30 p.m. session at the College, and that he bring some of his staff. He agreed. Polly came on time, soon followed by Dave and Mary Emmons. He handles publicity and she is in charge of teacher training. John Mudd came forty-five minutes late. The talk was quite general, a rehash of the OEO action and the consequent problems and some comments about Mudd's Washington meetings which were not any more enlightening than what I had read in the New York Times. Polly and John left at 8:30 after promising that he would pick me up at 8:30 the following morning for a work session at CDGM headquarters.

The Emmonses and I spent two more hours talking about their jobs. He says that they must develop some means to keep the centers informed because the local press is useless. They cannot even depend upon the "crusading" Lexington Advertiser published by Hazel B. Smith and her husband. Dave has written some articles but hasn't been able to place them anywhere. (I suspect he doesn't know how.) Except for the New Republic, which they cherish as the only light in their dark world, they feel that they can get little help from the national magazines. I asked him to show me some of the articles he had written. Dave said that none of them was really ready for publication, but that he would send me some manuscripts within a week or two.

Mary Emmons talks in a more orderly fashion about the teacher training programs for the centers, but she is just as vague as Polly. Both claim that they know the experts and specialists they want help from and that these people are ready to come when the money is available. But they offered no names, saying only that "people from Bank Street and Indiana and Yale" would be helpful.

I think that all of these people are suffering from a kind of battle fatigue and from a job that has gotten bigger than they can comprehend. (There are many centers that have sprung up initially without their direction or support. The ones recently funded by OEO in the southwest part of the state are typical.) Again, I must emphasize that I am not faulting these young men and women. They were the pioneers, but like all pioneers they will be driven out by the settlers. The ad hoc solutions are no longer effective; stop-gap programs are not enough. Long-term orderly support from the governments and

from foundations will have to be provided in ways that build upon what has been achieved and exploit the native social and economic resources of the region.

On Thursday morning (Nov. 17) John Mudd picked me up at the motel (forty-five minutes late), and we went to his offices to meet Marvin Hoffman, who had just returned from Washington, and Dave and Mary Emmons. Hoffman had nothing to contribute, but John Mudd did spell out some of their more specific needs and plans:

1. CDGM may have to be reorganized (or at least renamed) as Friends of the Children of Mississippi, or Mississippi Action for Community Education (MACE).

2. It will have to set up a long-term nation-wide fund-raising program to supplement or replace government support.

3. A new structure must be devised to develpp and maintain a "teacher" training program for the people who work in the centers and to provide at least one demonstration center. It must have a formal academic connection such as Millsaps College (which is unlikely) or Mary Holmes Junior College (which would have to be considerably improved before it could be useful.) John Mudd thinks that he could interest Ford, Norman, or NWF or perhaps a "consortium" of foundations. This is basically the proposal that Polly Greenberg prepared. (I told him it is much too vague, long on ungrounded theory, and very short on specifics. It is, however, the one basic service that needs to be provided if the centers are to develop beyond their present day-care roles.)

4. MACE would function mainly in leadership training and community organization, with a board of state-wide leaders. Mudd thinks that this program must be established whether or not CDGM continues. He feels that it is essential that "political action be separated out of the FDP." (I am not sure what this means, except perhaps that he believes that FDP is a lost cause.) He sees a need (as does Dave Emmons) for an information and communication network with an in-state mailing program to compensate for lack of adequate press coverage. He thinks that MAP + CDGM + CAP would be able to use such services in organizing community councils to generate leverage on state and federal programs.

5. He wants some foundation funds for "specific operations so that we can keep the churches and the trade unions on the hook." (Again, I do not know what this means, and neither he nor the others were able to specify beyond saying that the need for "moral commitment must be made apparent."

Finally, John Mudd said that they must have money within the next few weeks at least to be able to provide "symbolic" support for the centers. If this can be provided, he can "free some funds" which he still has in hand.

* * * * *

I have tried to be accurate in recording my observations and in reporting what was said to me. There are contradictions and confusions in what CDGM says it needs and must do. There is a lack of focus even upon the specific programs it would like to develop. The "teacher" training institutes are a prime example of this. It is the one program that can really be made defensible and useful.

It may be that John Mudd and his associates have done all that they can be expected to do in Mississippi, and yet I am loath to say so on the basis of so short a visit. However, the real strength resides in the people in the centers. They need continuing education; they need professional support and guidance; they need the freedom to develop their own social and political styles and skills. I think that they are trying to say this to CDGM.

cc: Anne Blaine Harrison
Katharine Taylor

PROPOSAL FOR A FULL YEAR

HEAD START PROGRAM

of the

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI

The proposal presented here was discussed in detail, and approved by the representatives of the people of Mississippi who are applying for funds to operate 170 Head Start Centers within the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

I prefer CDGM to any other organization because it sees a person not as what he is, but what he can be. It takes the person with a minimum amount of education and gives him a chance to elevate himself.

Mrs. Esther M. Holmes
St. John Center

...Headstart brought hope to an almost forgotten or forsaken people... It must not die. It must continue to uplift a race. Out of the Headstart and the War on Poverty will come a generation of self-supporting, self-confident people.

Mrs. N. A. Theodore
Gulfport, Mississippi

Slean Doris is learning. She can sing different songs. She like to go to school. She go when she is sick. I can't keep her here.

Mary Evans

FOREWARD

On July 7, 1966, the Mary Holmes Junior College and the Child Development Group of Mississippi submitted a Head Start proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity. After weeks of meetings in local communities, counties, and at an intensive two-day session in Jackson with selected representatives from each CDGM administrative Area, the fundamental outlines of the program and structure of the organization were developed for the final approval of the Board of Directors. Throughout the state individuals were aware that CDGM was preparing a new proposal, and, although no deliberate effort was made by CDGM to organize new centers, local communities chose community committees and registered 30,000 children which they requested the Child Development Group include in any new program.

Accepting their obligation to serve those impoverished families who had yet to derive the benefits of the Poverty Program, the Board of Directors approved the submission of a $41 million proposal calculated to fulfill these expressed needs. Although this request would have served less than 20% of the total number of eligible children in the state, OEO returned the proposal to CDGM in less than two weeks on the grounds that the Congress had yet to allocate sufficient funds to support a program of this magnitude.

Because of the profound significance of the CDGM program to the families of the 30,000 children in 44 counties throughout the state, the Board of Directors called a Public Hearing for August 13, 1966 in Jackson. This was done in accordance with OEO policy, specified in CAP Memo #32, that every organization's new proposals should be announced and discussed publically with the people in the affected areas. Over 2,000 people from across the state came to this Hearing at their own expense to express their feelings to the CDGM Board of Directors concerning the development of a new proposal. With almost complete unanimity these people from over 40 counties insisted that the original request for $41 million was necessary and justified if the needs of their communities were to be even partially fulfilled. However,

after considerable effort by various members of the CDGM Board to explain the limited funds available to OEO, the body passed the following compromise resolution:

> "We, the poor people of Mississippi, assembled at this CDGM public hearing, August 13, 1966, declare our full support of the CDGM Head Start program. We endorse the efforts of the CDGM Board of Directors in seeking approval of the new $41 million proposal. We further recommend to them that if such approval is unobtainable that a revised $29 million proposal for four and five-year olds in the 44 counties requesting funds under CDGM be submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity. And we instruct the Board of Directors to send this resolution to President Lyndon B. Johnson, OEO Director Sargeant Shriver along with the more than 1,286 petitions gathered at this hearing, in support of CDGM operations in the State of Mississippi.
>
> Drawn and approved by the more than 2,000 persons attending the CDGM Public Hearing at the Masonic Temple, Saturday, August 13, 1966, in Jackson, Mississippi.

The Board of Directors then began a process of extensive and careful deliberations lasting over a ten day period to weigh the needs of the poor population of the state as reflected in the original $41 million proposal against the resolution of the 2,000 persons attending the Public Hearing for a $29 million request, and the position of OEO as described by Head Start officials. After taking scrupulous account of all these conflicting pressures, the Board of Directors approved the submission of the present proposal for $21 million to serve 13,500 children. This represents the minimum sum necessary to continue an adequate program. The Board limited all current centers to their present level of operation and provided for expansion only in those cases where communities had

already established functioning pre-school centers in the name of CDGM, without receiving any financial support. It was felt that the dedication demonstrated by these communities reflected a sacrifice and a commitment to overcoming their impoverished conditions which could not be ignored. As a consequence, the Board of Directors limited the increase in the size of the project to just 10% above the present number of children attending the centers. Taking full and careful account of OEO's position,the Board of Directors slashed the previous budget by approximately one-half. At the same time, the fundamental goals of devoting increased resources to improving the quality of the pre-school program and developing the human resources necessary for local autonomy was strongly reaffirmed.

Thousands of children and hundreds of poor communities throughout the state are dependent on the rapid approval of the following proposal for their chance to overcome poverty. It is of deep concern to us that thousands more will not be served at all.

I. HISTORY OF CDGM

A. INTRODUCTION

From a handful of pre-schools in poverty-stricken rural Mississippi communities, the Child Development Group of Mississippi has grown into a program which in 1966-67 could involve more than 13,000 pre-school children in more than 170 communities across the state. CDGM is an anti-poverty program governed by the poor, for the poor. Because of the self-respect gained by doing for themselves rather than being done for, poor parents have responded with overwhelming enthusiasm. From the beginning they organized committees, planned for the centers' operations, served on staff, acted as members of the Community Committees governing the centers, and exercised responsibility in all levels of CDGM.

Most of these parents now actively involved in pre-school centers never before had any voice in how their children were educated. Many had never set foot in their children's schools, because they were encouraged not to or because they refused to submit to the humiliating treatment of school authorities. This is the first opportunity they have had to work to give their own children the Head Start of which they were deprived in a society which has offered them little more than degradation and fear. Because they feel that the centers are really "their own", they have faced the challenge of providing a better education for their children with extraordinary dedication, hard work, and willingness to learn.

Poor people have proven willing and able to operate stimulating and useful programs for their children which will help them to build a better life. Mistakes have been made, many of them, but as one community committee member said, "I'm 59 years old and I've been making mistakes for 53 of them. Some have hurt, but most of them made me grow." Parents living in poverty-stricken Mississippi communities want that chance to grow.

CDGM is now in its Fourth Phase of Development. Below is a brief description of these phases.

B. PHASE I: PRE-GRANT PERIOD (Spring, 1965)

CDGM was conceived by people who saw the great need of pre-school education for disadvantaged children in Mississippi. Several professionals in early childhood education and mental health planned one or two experimental community nursery schools for the summer of 1965. Negro parents in poor rural Mississippi communities were contacted and expressed great interest.

Subsequently, the Office of Economic Opportunity initiated its nation-wide Head Start program. Early CDGM leaders were encouraged by OEO to add more communities, and poor people who had demonstrated their desire for a change were approached with the idea of Head Start. Many were unclear as to what the program would be, but the desire to improve their children was overwhelming. Through their involvement, CDGM was born.

C. PHASE II: THE FIRST OEO GRANT (Summer, 1965)

On May 18, 1965, Mary Holmes Junior College, a predominantly Negro institution in West Point, Mississippi, as grantee, and CDGM as delegate agency, received a $1.4 million OEO grant to operate 84 Head Start centers in 20 Mississippi counties for 6,000 poor Negro children. This large program was implemented with community people assuming responsibility for recruiting children and teachers, securing and improving facilities. Each CDGM community organized a committee to oversee its center's operation. These committees, composed of people previously denied the opportunity to participate and make decisions about governmental or private programs in their areas, nevertheless operated their centers despite frequent hostility from the white community and from the established institutions, schools, health and welfare departments, and local governments, who used their powers and resources to obstruct the development of a program run by the Negro poor.

While centers were managed completely at the local level, major policy decisions and fiscal operations remained in the Central staff Administrative procedures were developed on an ad hoc basis, for CDGM lacked a stable structure and regular procedures. All access to information and power to run the project remained in a small central staff. This centralization, perhaps inevitable due to the haste with which the program was organized, led to inefficient administration. More significant, community people neither acquired the skills for, nor experienced the complexities of, operation within a large organization.

Despite these administrative weaknesses, in eight brief weeks, thousands of poor children received food and medical care otherwise beyond their resources, learned to face new people and experiences without fear, stretched their imaginations with a variety of new experiences, and saw their parents in a new productive role.

This was the beginning of a creative and stimulating preschool program in a state which lacks both public kindergartens and compulsory education laws.

D. PHASE III: UNFUNDED OPERATION (Sep. 1965 to Feb. 1966)

Federal Support for CDGM centers stopped August 27, 1965, although continued funding was requested and anticipated. However, a new grant for CDGM was not approved by OEO until February 23, 1966.

During this six month period, an astounding phenomenon occurred. The poorest communitites in the poorest state of the union decided to keep their child development centers open. For varying lengths of time, communities operated 50 centers for more than 3,000 of their children, making this volunteer effort one of the largest functioning Head Starts in the country. Minor expenses of paper, crayons, and utilities were difficult, but the cost of food and rent often placed insurmountable burdens on these poor communities. In order to support these centers, many individuals went deep into debt from which they have yet to free themselves. In fact, most centers could not serve all the children who wished to participate, and the lack of financial resources forced many to close their doors after a few weeks of operation.

The fact that so many people were willing to sacrifice to this extent demonstrated how much this program had come to mean to them. CDGM had provided them with the first chance to work productively in their own communities, the first opportunity to participate in their children's education. The experience of what this opportunity could mean--a productive job with dignity and responsibility, the chance to choose who would work with their children, having the financial resources to provide food and medical care for their children -- made people struggle to keep the program alive. The example of these communities attracted national attention, and encouraged new communities in Mississippi to become involved for the first time, even to the extent of starting volunteer centers themselves.

This period of unfunded operation went beyond the mere survival of the centers. With a small amount of private foundation support coupled with the tremendous dedication

and enthusiasm of the communities, special efforts were made to improve the quality of teaching and prepare for the anticipated future program. A small number of the most talented teachers from the previous project received six weeks of intensive training for more responsible roles under a new grant, after which they worked on an unpaid basis in volunteer centers in the state.

The children involved continued to learn from group play and stimulating activities provided by volunteer teachers. But most important, they experienced the psychological rewards of their community genuinely giving for them.

E. PHASE IV: THE SECOND OEO GRANT (February to August 1966)

1. Policy-Making and Staff Structures

On February 23, 1966, the Office of Economic Opportunity granted Mary Holmes Junior College and the Child Development Group $5.6 million to operate a Head Start project for 9,135 children in 121 centers throughout the state. Subsequently, over three thousand additional children have been absorbed into the existing centers and numerous other communities have begun volunteer centers in anticipation of participating in the CDGM program. CDGM operates under the following organizational plan:

a. Community Organization.

Community Committees: Each community chooses representatives from among the parents and the poor to serve on the committee which has full responsibility for management of the local centers and is the policy-making body of that center. The committee hires all center staff, obtains facilities, enrolls children, arranges for transportation, purchases food, arranges medical examinations, and is accountable for all funds and property which come into the center.

Center Staff: Every center is organized into units (classes) of 15-20 children. The staff consists of two Teacher Trainees per unit and one Resource Teacher for every two units. Resource Teachers and the Trainees are often local non-professional men or women who have been selected on the basis of their talent for working with children and their openness to learning new techniques that will improve the quality of the program (See Appendix II on Hiring of Teachers).

A Center Coordinator keeps records, arranges for medical exams, and performs other clerical functions. A kitchen staff of part time cooks and a part time janitor complete the center staff.

b. Area Organization: The 121 centers have been grouped into 15 geographical areas.

Area Council: At present there are virtually no functioning policy-making bodies composed of elected representatives of the people at the area level.

Area Staff: Each area office includes personnel in three divisions: an Area Administrator, Area Teacher Guide, and the Social Service and Community Coordinator. The individuals in these positions are drawn from the local community and are selected by the Central Office Staff.

The Area Administrators are responsible for facilitating the operation at the local level of administrative systems and procedures designed at the central level. This involves, for example, reviewing personnel applications, time and attendance forms, food reimbursement requests, etc. No money for operation of centers is disbursed directly by the Area Administrator.

The Area Teacher Guides follow a rotating schedule, working in the centers with teachers and trainees, focusing attention on teaching problems, demonstrating new teaching techniques, and communicating program ideas and information. They spend one day per week in intensive pre-school and early childhood training with professional staff and invited consultants. ATG's are drawn primarily from the best of the center teaching staffs from the previous summer's project.

The Community Coordinators are responsible for working with parents in the area to involve them in the centers' activities, inform them of existing social services, and disseminate information about potential federal programs available to the communities.

c. Statewide Organization

Board of Directors: The ultimate policy-making body of CDGM is the Board of Directors. It is composed of 17 individuals who participated in the formation

of the project from the earliest days, representatives elected by local communities, and professionals elected by the other members of the Board. The Board hires the professional central office staff, interprets OEO requirements to the communities, and is responsible to Mary Holmes Junior College for the adequacy of program quality and financial controls.

Central Staff: Approximately 60 central staff is located in Jackson, Mississippi. It is organized into five divisions: Office of the Director, Business Administration, Teacher Development and Programs for Children, Field Operations, and Community Services.

All administrative and fiscal systems and procedures were designed centrally. Expenditures of all project funds, payroll and other disbursements are authorized by the central business office and pre-audited by an independent Comptroller. Central staff hires area staff and supervises their operation in the field. Central office divisions of Teacher Development, Field Operations, and Community Services provide training programs in their respective fields for the area staff, as well as some staff at the center level.

2. Innovations in Phase IV, the Second Grant.

The second grant introduced two basic innovations which contain within them the seeds of CDGM's future course of development.

a. Area Organization: The creation of area offices marked a departure from the structure under the first grant in which each center throughout the state dealt directly with the central office. Local people were employed in these area offices to involve them in broader responsibilities for the program and to help them develop a greater awareness of the complexities of a large organization. Experience in the small rural community provides little preparation for working effectively in an organization which requires impersonal rules and formal adminis-

trative procedures. The kind of broadening experience which working at an area level provides is a vital first step if people caught in the cycle of poverty are ever to assume real responsibility for the planning and implementation of this or any other program.

b. Training: If people are going to "do for themselves" rather than "be done for", they must acquire the necessary skills. The structure of the second program presupposed placing people in positions for which they had had little previous experience or training. To make this feasible, training was initiated in pre-school programs, administration, and community service. In most cases, the individuals have responded to the available training with a marked increase in skills to handle their new responsibilities and a strong demand for additional training.

However, these programs were often not sufficiently concentrated, due in part, to limited resources, and in part, to CDGM's inability to anticipate the full extent of the existing need. Even if adequate training had been provided, the fact that major decisions continued to be made at the central level inevitably limited the development of new skills by limiting the opportunities for assuming new responsibilities.

3. Accomplishments -- Phase IV

a. Central Administration

On February 22, 1966, the small group of central employees who had managed to stay with CDGM through the unfunded interim period were still uncertain whether the project would continue or dissolve. By the next day, this core was faced with the overwhelming job of controlling $5.6 million. Communities across the state had been waiting for almost half a year for the new grant, and the pressure of their need made it urgent that the program be launched as rapidly as possible. On the other hand, CDGM was also well aware that because of its history of administrative difficulties, every action would be closely monitored.

Working under these opposing pressures, within one month CDGM succeeded in: opening the doors of all but a few of the 121 centers to 10,000 children; employing over 1500 teachers and other staff; and beginning to purchase food and supplies for the operating centers. In this short time, CDGM accomplished without serious incidents what many had said would normally take at least four months. In fact, the manual of financial procedures developed with accountants and other consultants during this period was recognized as a model for the country.

Having weathered the initial frenzy successfully, CDGM central administration was able to begin to free itself from dependency on temporary outside assistance and recruit a stable, competent staff of local Negro and white Mississippians.

Working together, often 18 hours a day, the staff was able to produce consistently 2400 payroll checks every two weeks, one or more food reimbursement checks every week for each of the 121 centers, contract payments for center facilities and over 200 car pool drivers, and purchase, distribute, and inventory over $100,000 of educational supplies.

Once established on this relatively secure footing, CDGM could begin to focus on its real reason for existence: to insure a continually improving pre-school program and to foster dynamic community

development. Extensive and varied training programs were organized and coordinated: each central staff division held weekly workshops for the area staff; nationally renowned educational consultants came to work with the staff in the centers; an experimental program in developing creative problem-solving techniques was carried out so successfully that some of the area staff were sent to learn how to direct training in those methods themselves; and a program of orientation to administrative procedures has developed into a management game in which each area administrator is stimulating the development, planning, systems design, and operation of his own Head Start project.

Now that a fiscally and administratively workable system has been created, the central administration is more concerned with a number of crucial questions: how a central administration can be responsive to the human needs and problems of the participating centers; how CDGM can continue to be a part of the community, not a power over it; what is the most productive relation between a statewide single-purpose agency like CDGM and the local Community Action Programs throughout the state; how will the uneducated and the poor, after their extra-ordinary achievements in becoming pre-school teachers or middle-level administrators, gain legitimacy in the established institutions in the society?

Ironically, the "latest" accomplishment of the central administration lays the groundwork for eventually making their presence unnecessary. It is mobilizing resources to provide the Areas with the skills and support necessary to plan and completely manage programs under CDGM in their local areas, thereby eliminating the need for the central administration as it exists today. CDGM's central administration may be the first self-liquidating bureaucracy in history.

b. Area Administration

At the start of the new grant period, the area administration was confronted with the detailed work necessary to make the financial system effective: Personnel applications, W-4 forms, facility contracts,

transportation contracts, time and attendance sheets, imprest bank accounts, reimbursements requests, etc. In most cases, the area staff plunged into the morass of forms with remarkable energy. Within a few weeks, after the initial confusions and delays, the area administration had established itself firmly and most of the paperwork became, literally, a matter of form.

During the start-up period when the central office directed area office activity very closely, the area administration had to adapt to the procedures of a large complex institution. For most, this was their first experience inside a rigorous administrative system for which they were responsible. It was an extraordinary and surprising accomplishment that they succeeded in implementing the system so rapidly. This experience gave many in the area administration confidence in their ability to handle complex procedures. However, under the centrally dominated structure of CDGM, the opportunities for decision-making are almost non-existent at the area level. For some, continuing to operate as a cog in the system is at the same time too easy and too constricting.

They want more freedom to devise ways of overcoming some of the inadequacies of the existing procedures (late food checks, too few educational supplies) and a greater challenge for their new-found skills. Having worked within the system and having worked to understand it, their demand is not a blind request for the license of power, but for a greater latitude under specified rules to make decisions.

c. Teacher Development and Program for Children.

By the standards of community involvement, the steadily increasing demand for enrollment of children and the large number of centers operating effectively, the program for children is a success. CDGM's belief that local poor people must have an influential voice in the planning, program design, hiring and administration of child development centers has been translated into a reality in rural Mississippi.

Since parents in these communities have been deprived for so long of any exposure to quality education, it is no wonder that there is still a long distance to go before all the centers meet nationally-recognized criteria for excellent nursery programs.

Since February, many steps have been taken to further improve program quality by furnishing training and information to communities and teachers.

(1) Training

During this grant, CDGM began a more systematic program of teacher development work with the institution of the Area Teacher Guide system.

In order to acquire the techniques and information they need to help improve program quality in their areas, the ATG's have attended regular teaching workshops with the professional program staff, visited outstanding nursery schools in Jackson and out-of-state, enrolled in various specialized and experimental educational workshops such as those conducted by the Peabody College Training Institute, Banks Street College, and the University of Southern Mississippi.

Training sessions for the Resource Teachers have also been expanded during the present grant period. Two central workshops for all Resource Teachers have been held: one to define the duties and responsibilities of the Resource Teacher's position, and the other to present new concepts and techniques for implementation of a reading readiness program.

In addition, more than 190 Resource Teachers and Teacher Trainees have completed, or are attending, OEO-sponsored eight-week Head Start training courses at universities around the country. All teachers have had workshops led by returnees from these OEO courses.

To further aid the Teacher Trainees, Resource Teachers with specialized skills in art, music, speech therapy and dance have been added to the staff and have conducted numerous workshops on movement and dance, Negro history and folklore.

Finally, summer plans have been laid for workshops for teachers conducted by nationally known consultants, for additional trained staff to work directly in centers, and for an increased program of area level workshops.

(2) Development of Teaching Materials

Bridge Readers: The educational department began production of a series of "Bridge Readers" during the first grant which utilize both the language and thoughts of rural Mississippi children. Three books were produced during the summer grant, five have been written and will soon be printed, and ten more are planned.

Reading Readiness: CDGM has initiated materials for a reading readiness program especially adapted to the needs of rural poor children. In addition to the "Bridge Readers", this material includes word card games, sound table lesson plans, and background building lessons designed for use by non-professional teachers.

Teacher Manual: The teacher development staff has created a unique teachers' manual which attempts to adapt the best in the field of nursery school education to serve specific needs of non-professional teachers. Its contents include suggested recreational and educational activities and new teaching methods and techniques.

Toys: A book of patterns for homemade toys created in the centers has been gathered from the area and center teaching staffs.

Newsletters: Two newsletters have been distributed which contain articles by the area and center staff to communicate news and ideas between centers.

Training Film: A final editing and narration of CDGM's teacher training film, "A Chance for a Change" was completed. The film has been used extensively with all the teaching personnel and many parents as an aid in developing the concept of CDGM as a unique experiment in community education.

(3) Facilities

Local centers frequently have not had access to the best facilities. Often churches and small houses are the only buildings available. In spite of this, the physical quality of individual centers has greatly improved since last summer. Parents and staff in a number of centers raised funds and donated labor to construct community centers to house the program. Many installed indoor baths to replace outhouses. In most centers, local people built imaginative playgrounds, small tables and chairs for the children, and resourceful toys.

Despite these local donations of labor and materials to improve facilities, much major work remains undone. Extensive rehabilitation is beyond the resources of these impoverished communities and can only be accomplished with the aid of federal funds.

F. CURRENT MISSISSIPPI
CDGM and the Community Action Program: Theory and Reality

1. During the current grant Community Action Agencies have proliferated. Twenty-eight counties now have CAP Boards, with 53 others in various formative stages. This trend has serious implications for CDGM and for the entire poverty program in the state of Mississippi

2. The Theory of the Community Action Program

The total mobilization of resources in a community through a non-profit agency with the maximum feasible participation of the residents in the area to overcome the causes of poverty is a sound concept. However, this approach can only achieve its goals if the preconditions for "community action" have already been realized:

a. There is a "community" in the sense that individuals of vastly different backgrounds have sufficient consensus regarding goals and modes of action permitting some degree of coordination in planning and implementing programs;

b. The poor and outcast have the power and the opportunity to develop skills in order to "participate" significantly; and

c. Innovative plans for eliminating the "causes" of the cycle of poverty by providing productive roles for the poor are generated and supported.

3. CAP's in Mississippi

Not one Mississippi community has fully met these preconditions to an effective community action program, though the degree of failure varies. There are some Community Action Agencies which have shown evidence of a concern for the needs of the poor and a desire to involve them more fully in all aspects of the program. However, most CAA's throughout the state have been almost entirely unresponsive to the groups for whom the provety program was originally intended. This failure results from the fact that:

a. There is not one "community," but many conflicting

groups split along racial, economic, geographic and religious lines;

b. The poor lack skills, training, or experience, to participate at all levels of community action, and most existing CAP Boards fail to provide them with the opportunity to develop these skills and shoulder responsibilities;

c. In many instances, CAP Boards in Mississippi stand as further confirmation that there is no intention of providing opportunity for fundamental change in the position of the poor. Nothing but further frustration and anger can come from the continuation of the status quo.

On the whole, CAP Boards in Mississippi are undemocratic, unrepresentative bodies frequently controlled by the County Board of Supervisors. Negro members elected for these Boards are commonly hand-picked for their willingness to be parrots for the white community. Even when elections are allowed, they are often controlled by the dominant white group. Negroes and poor people, no matter how democratically elected, remain in the minority position, handcuffed by their powerlessness.

Moreover, CAP Boards mirror the existing power relations between rich and poor, between white and Negro. Under these circumstances the fundamental objectives of the poverty program cannot be achieved, so long as there continues to be no community because of the lack of common goals and the uneven distribution of power and skills.

Community Action planning has so far involved little more than negotiation to absorb the added resources of the poverty program into the existing welfare and social services structures of the state. By nature they dispense rather than develop and are in fundamental conflict with the theory of community action which helps people become productive while receiving.

4. CDGM and funded CAP's

Where there is a funded Community Action Agency, OEO insists that all poverty programs be financed through it. CDGM supports discussion, negotiation, and mutual planning and coordination of resources, but does not believe groups in an area should be forced to operate under an umbrella agency until (1) they desire to and are able to function in this way, and (2) sufficiently democratic CAP structures are achieved. If the program is designed not only for, but by the people, it should respect their wishes and their judgements.

The report of the House Committee on Education and Labor (No. 428, Pp 7-9) states that:

> "The Congress has contemplated the existence of independent single-purpose agencies in the same community that a Community-wide structure has been created. Such competitiveness and experimentation is appropriate in an area in which conclusive remedies have not yet been established."

CDGM feels it is imperative that the approach expressed by the House Committee be followed and that, through this means, truly effective Community Action Agencies and Programs can and will be created in Mississippi. Without this competition, new approaches and ideas will be squashed.

The Child Development Group feels that it is possible to create the preconditions for effective community action, and has developed its plans and operating principles to attain this goal. Specifically:

a. The poor must be encouraged and offered the opportunity to obtain training and experience in exercising the responsibilities required for significant participation in the institutions of our modern, highly structured society. By drawing people from the poor communities into administrative and supervisory positions while simultaneously providing training in the necessary skills, CDGM is taking a major step in this direction.

b. A "community of consensus" will develop only through an increased respect of all groups in an area for the goals, power, skills, and achievements of other groups. In Mississippi, this inevitably necessitates the operation of parallel programs in specific geographic areas until all groups develop the skills and power which elicit that respect.

Therefore, there are only two ways in which anti-poverty money can avoid merely strengthening an existing system of inequity and injustice:

a. Control of resources must be placed in the hands of those for whom it was intended; the poor, the Negro, or,

THE NEW CDGM

"True change is a matter of worthwhile conflict, for it leads through the painful consciousness of one's position to a new conscience in that position."

PAGE (s) MISSING

II. THE NEW CODE

Phase V (September 1, 1966 to August 31, 1967)

A. GOALS

1. The Philosophy of the New CDGM

CDGM's entire history in Mississippi has been a testimony to its belief that the chief resource in a community, particularly a poverty-stricken community, is people. The objective of any poverty program should be to involve and develop communities and individuals with the competence to plan, organize, and implement the best possible child development program which fosters in children creativity, free expression, freedom from fear, and desire to explore. Through this experience, the outcast poor will be able to create more self-sufficient communities capable of developing their own potential and using the resources of the larger society to break the cycle of poverty and degradation.

If the cycle is to be arrested with this generation, children must see their parents and other members of their community leading productive, self-respecting lives. CDGM's goal is to help create a community which will reinforce the freedom, the growth, and the openness the child experiences in the center.

A major limiting factor on achievement of individual and community competence is the existence of a centralized structure which maintains a monopoly on the policy and decision-making functions of the program. Such a structure can impede the development of the skills needed for mobilization of the energies within the poor communities to gain self-sufficiency. In fact, even when the necessary skills are not yet fully developed, greater responsibility is desirable because it is only with the assumption of this further responsibility that the skills will continue to develop. If the skills do not yet exist, extensive support services are needed to help individuals and communities move into the final stages of productive self-sufficiency.

In CDGM communities there is a strong sentiment for increased autonomy from the central structure and for assumption of program and administrative responsibility. This desire for CDGM to continue moving in the direction of more local control by the poor has been expressed in community and state-wide meetings and was intensively discussed in a two-day proposal-drafting session with representatives elected from each of the CDGM areas.

Community representatives and area staffs want a greater range of choices open to them and more authority to make policy. Under the present structure, major decisions regarding program services and administrative procedures are made by powers outside the local communities, thereby leaving relatively narrow spheres of choice to the area or the community itself. The thinking of these local groups coincides with OEO goals of promoting effective mobilization of the poor themselves to combat poverty within the local community.

2. New Structures (To be completed by September, 1967)

a. A constitution defining the process of electing representatives to the policy-making bodies at the community, area and state levels will have been ratified and its provisions fully implemented. (A draft document has been prepared by representatives of all CDGM areas and will be submitted to the communities for ratification--See Appendix VII).

b. The Board of Directors will be composed of one representative from each of the constituent areas plus a maximum of 10 professionals chosen by the Board itself.

Ultimate fiscal and program responsibility will be delegated to the Board by the people. In fulfilling its responsibilities, the Board will be served by an Office of Evaluation. This Office will assess and report on the effectiveness of all aspects of CDGM's operation (see below).

c. The Area Council will be composed of two elected representatives from each center in the area. The people, through their representatives, delegate power to this area council to make decisions affecting all the centers in the area.

This council will make decisions regarding the area's degree of autonomy within CDGM. At one extreme, the council could request the right to assume full responsibility for program and fiscal affairs and to receive monthly release of funds from the Board. If, after evaluation by the State Board, the request is granted, the Area Council would be a delegate agency of CDGM and would stand in somewhat the same relation to the Board as the Board stands to Mary Holmes Junior College. At the other extreme, an Area Council could decide to accept the Board's full authority for the operation of the program. This delegation would result in no basic change from the present system of central office responsibility for expenditure, hiring area staff, etc. A third possibility is the choice of semi-autonomy, a condition lying between the two extremes. Under this arrangement, an area could acquire responsibility for some specified aspects of operation. For example, an area could become autonomous administratively -- handle funds, hire the Area Administrator, etc -- while the responsibility for community programs and program for children is left in the hands of the Board and the central staff.

It is anticipated that by September, 1967, one-half of the 20 participating areas will have assumed full responsibility for program and fiscal affairs, and that others will be in varying stages of development toward this goal. Estimates of degree of autonomy by the end of the grant are based on an analysis of the differing levels of current development in each area.

d. Area and Central Staff. The Central Staff will be hired by the Board of Directors as under the present grant. Responsibility for hiring area staff, defining their duties, and the relationship between the area and central staff will depend on the degree of autonomy with which the area is operating.

Under full autonomy, the Area Council would hire and fire all area staff and would assume

direct supervisory responsibility for the performance of its duties, including the expenditure of and accounting for project funds. In this case, the central staff would perform a consultative or advisory function at the request of the area.

At the opposite extreme, the Area Council could accept the Board's power to hire and fire the area staff, although it would be requested to recommend suitable candidates. Under this relationship, the central staff would have supervisory and administrative authority over all aspects of operation in the area. In effect, the relationship between the area and central staff would remain the same as it is in the present structure.

Again, in the intermediate case of semi-autonomy, an area council which only becomes autonomous administratively could hire and fire the Area business staff while the Board retains hiring and firing of Area Staff in other divisions.

e. The Community Committee will be composed of representatives elected by the people. It will have the authority for hiring and the responsibility for the performance of the center staff. In addition, it has day-to-day responsibility for the operation of the center.

f. On the Center Staff there will be a new position of center administrator hired by the community committee and responsible to it for the overall operations of the program and administrative affairs of the center. In all other respects, the center staff will be the same as in the present structure, with the exception of the employment of a full time, head cook.

B. NEW CDGM AND ITS THREE OPERATING DIVISIONS.

1. Administration

To develop communities competent to implement programs in their areas, it will be necessary to help them acquire skills in administrative coordination and business management.

a. Criteria for responsible Decentralization: For an area to achieve autonomy under CDGM, the Board of Directors will insure the quality of fiscal and administrative management by the same standards which OEO applies to any grantee. An independent auditor will certify the accounting system and independent management analysts will evaluate the area staff.

b. Need for Area Business Administration: Increased responsibility for administering funds for area operations will demand competence in the following areas:

i. Personnel administration: recruiting, records, evaluations, training, salary and wage rates.

ii. Logistics: procurement, storage, distribution, inventory, facilities.

iii. Payroll: processing, records.

iv. Disbursement: processing, records.

c. Training in Business Administrative Skills: Because few members of the participating communities have administrative skills, an intensive training program will be developed. This will be combined with on-the-job supervision until the individuals are competent in their job. The training will involve an initial period of central classroom instruction, followed by two weeks of applied field work under the supervision of training personnel. A final

four weeks of classes will complete the formal training cycle.*

d. Parallel Operation: On returning to their offices, the area staffs will simulate all aspects of autonomous operation for a period of one month while central office continues to perform operational activities. At the end of this time, the accounting and management evaluation teams will review the operation of the area office and recommend certification for semi-autonomous operation to the CDGM Board if the area office qualifies.

e. Phasing: The sequence of recruitment, training, and parallel operation will require a minimum of four months before final certification. It is anticipated that three areas will be authorized for semi-autonomous operation at month 5 of the grant and one additional area per month for the remainder of the project. Assuming 20 areas, approximately ½ of these would "spin off" by the end of the grant period (see attached diagram). Since the volume of administrative business to be processed by the central staff will decline throughout the period, after month 6 there will be a 5% attrition of central

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* Training resources in business administration are available from industrial companies, accounting firms, and private management consultants.

It is essential that the areas and communities have alternatives to chose from for their support services. At the time of their certification for autonomous operation, each area will receive a pro-rated share of the training and consultant funds remaining to the project. These sums, and the power gained by control over their disbursement would be meaningless unless there are a number of effective alternative support services to choose from. One major function of the progressively reduced central staff will be to develop contacts and information about existing alternatives and to communicate this to the area projects.

staff personnel for every additional month. Even with this planned attrition, a certain element of functional redundancy will remain between the central and area staff.

f. Audit: There will be a continous, random audit of the autonomous areas. The final test of administrative competence will come with the year-end audit.

g. Cost of Decentralization: The decentralization process described above is avilable only at considerable cost. This cost includes training community personnel, overlapping staff during transfer of responsibilities from central office personnel to area employees, and on-the-job consultative support services to insure the development of effective, autonomous area projects. These costs must be weighed against the long-range benefits which will accrue to the society as a whole through development of people and organizations competent to plan, administer, and implement effective programs in their areas. This lack of skills is often a major obstacle to the funding and operation of community programs.

Moreover, management and program skills learned in this project should carry over into private industry, educational institutions, government service, etc. Therefore, the cost of CDGM is not simply the sum of the cost per child to operate pre-school centers, but is the cost of educating entire communities -- children, teachers, parents, administrators, committee members. Given the massive need for this kind of education, the expenditure of CDGM and particularly for its decentralization, is far outweighed by the ultimate benefits to the society.

2. Teacher Development and Program For Children

In the new structure for CDGM, all areas will have new opportunities for training, the opportunity to hire the area program staff, and to assume full responsibility for operating the pre-school program in their area. In such cases, central staff will serve as a resource rather than a decision-making body. They will provide information concerning innovations in early childhood education, training program, consultants, and educational supplies.

a. Context and Goals

i. Context of the program

To be a poor child in Mississippi means living in a drab shack crowded with people, working another man's cotton fields before you turn six, feeding cotton into your mother's sack. It means often having only wild fruits and vegetables for dinner, associating only with those in your family and learning quickly not to question or object. The lack of freedom for adults becomes a rule of life indelibly stamped on your life.

To survive as a poor child in Mississippi, especially a Negro child, you learn soon to please others, to anticipate another man's will or be beaten down. This quality is highly developed, but, what you want, what you feel, what you think, remains unimportant and undeveloped.

To be a poor child in Mississippi means that you go to another man's school. Both the schools and the fields have the same masters, a situation which reinforces the lack of control the poor have over their lives. The teachers are products of the same conditions. Poor children come "unprepared" and "backward" to schools, which are unprepared and unwilling to meet them and acknowledge their background. The children are given tasks completely irrelevant to their lives and their failures strengthen the school's belief that the children are inferior. This in turn reinforces each child's own feeling of worthlessness.

For both children and adults, living in this condition makes it safest to remain within the bounds of the familiar. But learning inherently involves an extending of oneself and an exploration of new people, new feelings and ideas.

To be a poor child in Mississippi often means that your school is preparing you to join the urban ghetto in the North when you grow up.

ii. Goals of CDGM Teacher Development And Program For Children:

To confront some of these educational challenges, CDGM more than a year ago initiated community-run pre-schools founded on the conviction that any successful Head Start program must develop the human potential within the poor community -- the children, the teachers, and the parents.

To achieve this goal, CDGM judges the program for the children according to the following criteria:

--the program focuses on what children are thinking, feeling, and doing, not on what the teachers think they should be thinking, feeling or doing.

--activities in the center are relevant to the child's life outside the center.

--the program widens the children's experience with materials, people, places and concepts.

--the program fosters curiosity, searching for answers, self-fulfillment.

--the program provokes the child to act on his world, make decisions and not just respond to orders.

--the program ensures the children the opportunity to develop the social rapport and technical skills (awareness, of numbers, sounds, colors, written words) which best prepare them for a productive experience in later learning at school.

Crucial to a creative program for children, is the growth of people as effective teachers. To CDGM this means:

--the teacher learns to understand the process of creative learning and the potential for active living both in themselves and in the children.

--the teacher is sensitive to the child's environment, both through past experience and current involvement.

--the teacher becomes involved in the activites of the children but does not dominate them.

--the teacher facilitates the development of independence in the children.

--the teacher creates an atmosphere filled with new experience and materials to enable exploration and learning.

--the teacher does not resort to use of fear to reach her ends.

--the teacher responds to the needs of each child rather than demanding that the child be concerned about the teacher's desires to her plans.

What happens in the child development center cannot be separated from the community and home. A major goal of this project is to involve parents actively in every aspect of the program, to increase their understanding of their own needs and abilities as well as those of their children.

iii. Critique of the Current Program: Structure and Training

Many accomplishments of the current program have already been described (see section IE). However, to reach the goals outlined above for the children, teachers, and parents, we must learn from the past what more we must do for the future.

CDGM's teacher development program for children has come only part of the distance toward the stated goals because of inadequancies both in structure and training in the present program. The structure hampered the program's development because:

--the ATG's who were responsible for program development in at lease eight widely scattered centers had an impossibly immense task to accomplish.

--the ATG's rotating field schedule and heavy administrative duties left them little time to concentrate on improvement of teaching quality in the centers.

--the small number of professional staff with pre-school experience was not sufficient to plan and adequately

or provide sufficient opportunities for teaching leadership from non-professional staff.

--the functions of supervising and training were combined in the same persons, creating a psychologically difficult situation for both the training staff and the trainees.

The training provided was inadequate in location, quantity, and technique:

--ATG's weekly training sessions were removed in both distance and enviroment from their jobs.

--teachers desiring more intensive training than occasional workshops were obliged to travel out-of-state to institutions whose programs and orientation were often divorced from the particular concerns and needs of the local communities.

--many teachers remained untouched because of the insufficient opportunities for eight week training and the lack of professional staff to carry out central or field workshops.

--Because of the scarcity of resources, program development was largely through the use of simple written material and discussion, even though we have learned that the potential of the poor for understanding and creativity in teaching does not develop most effectively through talk.

b. Training

i. Successful Training Situations

The most successful training situations were those where the teachers had the opportunity to learn through action. The highest level of communication and growth occurred during the fall of 1965 when, with a small grant from the Field Foundation, the ATG's and RT's participated in an orientation focused on a demonstration class with direct involvement in creating materials and acting-out situations.

Over and over again, in isolated workshops and visits, it was confirmed that concepts of pre-school activities and child development were communicated to teachers best through action, not through passive listening or reading.

ii. Experience of Demonstration Centers

With a taste of what was possible and a feeling of where the greatest response had come, CDGM invited an experienced pre-school professional to develop a "demonstration center" in one area of the state. Teachers participating showed extraordinary growth in two fundamental areas:

--the teachers observed and worked along with someone who introduced new materials and a broader range of techniques for working with children. Following this experience, they began to relate better to written materials previously distributed and to the more abstract level of discussion.

--the teachers began to discover themselves and started thinking about the process of learning. They were put into a situation where they were learning through action themselves. It seemed especially important to the teacher, who came from a background of poverty and inadequate education to feel themselves learning, to feel their strengths and their ability to affect the world. By becoming more sensitive to their own process of learning, they began to value it more in the children.

After a few weeks of work with one center, it was discovered that this "demonstration center" stimulated a remarkable diffusion of creative pre-school teaching throughout the entire area. Teachers from other centers came to observe and were invited for a special meeting. Then the professional worker, along with the RT's visited and worked with other centers in the area. Teachers who came to the demonstration center in this area has had a more dramatic effect on teacher development than months of discussions, written material, and suggested ideas.

iii. Teacher Development: New Approaches

To develop the training necessary to meet the needs of a quality program for children, CDGM is proposing a number of innovations: decreasing the number of centers for which each ATG is responsible, adding one central staff field consultant per area, developing one demonstration teaching center and teacher workroom for each area, and supporting the development of a Teacher Training Institute appropriate for non-professionals in Mississippi.

Additional Area Teacher Guides:

In each area there will be one ATG for every four centers to make possible more direct teacher development work. Each ATG will work closely in the field with her centers. In addition, the new structure will allow the ATG to utilize her greatest strength -- creative teaching -- by teaching in the demonstration center. The ATG will continue to receive in-service training in the area through the central staff field consultant. Periodic central workshops for communication and sharing will continue.

Central Staff Field Consultants:

One CSFC with demonstrated excellence in pre-school teaching and an ability to work effectively in a community program, will work in an advisory capacity to centers and ATG's in each area. This will decentralize the professional training service and relieve the overload and congestion currently existing at the central level. It will strengthen the teacher program in the centers in preparation for autonomous operation. The CSFC's professional experience will probably make her program standards more exacting than the ATG's. This will provide further stimulus for improved operations in the field. The CSFC will assist in the demonstration center and actively plan and carry out workshops and special projects. Along with the ATG, the Field Consultants will assume a critical responsibility in working to orient the Community Committees to the requirements and potential of the pre-school program.

Area Demonstration Centers:

The Area Demonstration Centers, as the major tool of teacher training, focus those attributes which have proven most successful in communicating both pre-school teaching techniques and philosophy:

1. accessibility: it is available to more teachers most of the time.

2. Concentration: it provides more resources to a smaller area.

3. relevance: developed from a background identical to the other centers, it can address itself to the needs unique to CDGM centers in Mississippi.

4. communicating through observation and participation: teachers in the area can witness and participate

directly in new teaching techniques as practiced in a class with children over a long period of time.

5. professionalism: it increases resources in the area for training of center teachers who are being paid not only to work, but also to be trained. This investment in their careers as teachers must prepare them for productive lives beyond this program.

6. The demonstration center serves as a common reference point for teachers to look to for models, discussion, and inspiration.

Attached to the demonstration center will be a workroom for the exclusive use of the teachers in the area in discovering and experimenting with new materials and techniques. Exciting precedents for this exist in the ESI workshop in Watertown, Miss. and Boulder, Colorado and the Froebel Institutes in Britain. A teacher cannot be expected to encourage and nourish an atmosphere for growth if she has not known that climate herself.

Operation of the Demonstration Centers:

1. Facilities: Each center should be a separate facility centrally located in the area. The center would resemble closely the other building available in the area, but special emphasis would be placed on the necessity of adequate space for a pre-school program. The demonstration center should include a classroom with a minimum of 500 sq. ft., teachers' workrooms, kitchen, office area, and a large playground space.

2. Personnel: The 2 ATG's in the area would be regular teachers in the center, rotating between the demonstration class and their 4 centers. The CSFC would be available to assist. In addition, demonstration center staff would include:

--Full-time Resource Teacher: a highly recommended teacher from the area who would work with the ATG's in supervising classroom activities.

--Center secretary: would keep health and financial records for center, perform secretarial work for CSFC and ATG's, arrange visits to demonstration center and travel reimbursements.

--Part-time cook: prepares dinner and snacks.

--Part-time Operations and maintenance: cleans and repairs center and builds equipment.

Program for Children: The demonstration center will enroll 15 children from the nearby area and provide them with all services of any other CDGM center. Parent activities will be closely integrated into the area through close consultation with the Area Council and other area staff.

Visiting By Teachers in the Area: The ATG's, assisted by a RT, will conduct a class for 15 children every morning where the teachers from the centers in the area can come to observe and participate. Rotating schedules will vary from area to area depending on the number of teachers and the traveling distances. Fifty selected teachers will each spend a week working directly as an assistant in the class with the children and planning daily activities with the ATG's. Larger groups of teachers from the centers will regularly come for scheduled observation and workshops with the ATG's. Workshops will be small and closely integrated with the morning activities of the demonstration center.

Teacher Training Institute: It is hoped that an independent teacher training institute will be developed in Mississippi to meet the enormous need of the poor in preparing for new careers. Through a series of eight-week programs, this institute would provide more intensive long-range training for non-professional teachers than will be possible in the area demonstration centers. It could also provide research and consultant services to CDGM centers. (See Appendix)

c. Decentralization

i. Definition of Roles and Authority: Initially, both the Central Staff Field Consultants and the ATG's will continue to be hired by the Central Program Staff on the basis of recommendations from the Area Council for the ATG. The ATG will be the responsible agent for program development in each area. The CSFC will serve in an advisory and training capacity to the ATG and the center teachers.

When an area enters the stage of autonomous operation of the educational program under the plan for decentralization, the Area Council will supervise the area program staff and the area demonstration center. At this point, field consultants considered necessary for program development will be hired by the Area Council with the pro-rated share of training and consultant funds that they receive.

Increasing decentralization of program planning and resources corresponds to the communities' desire for hightened responsibility and authority over all aspects of their program.

ii. Criteria for Responsible Decentralization

For an area within CDGM to assume full direction of its own program for the children, they must insure the Board of Directors not only that they will meet minimum standards for a child development program, but that they will strive for excellence in all areas of the educational program.

If an area desires to enter the stage of autonomous operation of the educational program, certain levels of competence in the centers operation will be demanded by the Office of Evaluation. For example, these might include:

1. Demonstration of competence in developing children capable of operating in a free society; trying to foster independent activity and the ability to think and make decisions; encouraging self-confidence, self-expression, and curiosity in every child in the center.

2. Teachers carefully plan an educational pre-school program, not a first grade or a day-care center, prepare an educational room that offers the children many things to explore and do; give the children a balanced day of appropriate and varied activities; work with individual children or small groups -- not a herd; give special attention and thought to problem children;

3. Evidence that every effort has been made to employ the best people in the community as teachers; no teacher will be required to have a public school certificate. Effort should also have been made to hire some male teachers who can serve as role models

for the children while helping develop themselves and their communities.

4. Existence of an informal stimulation play program with adequate toys and equipment available.

5. An understanding of the different types of reading and number readiness activities for pre-school children.

6. Absoultely no use of cruel or unusual punishment with the children.

7. A healthy program for the children; clean and safe facility and playground; good nutritional program.

8. Adequate space for the budgeted number of children in line with nationally recognized needs of pre-school children to have space to run and play.

9. Actively work to increase the understanding of the parents in the pre-school program and involve them in its operation.

iii. Transition from Central Direction to Area Autonomy

The Board of Directors will certify an areas' capability of operating independently after receiving recommendations from the Office of Evaluation. The Board may wish to designate a transitional relationship in which an area's centers would receive strong continuous on-the-job support from Central Office program consultants or outside training sources until fuller autonomy is achieved.

3. Community Programs

Fully autonomous Area Councils will hire the Area Health Coordinator and a Community Programs worker for their area. Central office will serve as a personnel consultant to these areas if they request a list of qualified candidates for the jobs. Hiring in areas which do not assume this responsibility will remain in the hands of Central Staff, although areas will be requested to recommend candidates for these positions.

a. Community Programs Worker: The Community Programs worker will play an even more crucial role in the new phase of CDGM than he has in the past.

Autonomy and decentralization require large-scale community support as well as more effective operation of community committees.

He will be required to mobilize community participation, work with community committees to build legitimate representative forms of government at the community, area and statewide levels, as well as help open social services and inform people of Federal programs. All the area staff, but particularly the Community Programs Worker and the Health Coordinator, must also carry to the community the basic philosophy of CDGM--that child development consists of more than what goes on in the center during the school day and that the child must grow up in a climate of democracy, self-respect, and full access to all the services which the society has to offer. (See Appendix 6 for more detailed description of job responsibilities of the Community Programs Worker).

b. Support Services: Under the two previous CDGM grants, a pool of Community Programs Workers has developed from which Central Staff and Area Councils can employ under the new grant.

However, the complexity and difficulty of the problems which the Community Programs Worker faces are such that support services are necessary. These services will be offered in two forms: a resident

training institute supplemented by workshops (See Appendix V), and a pool of consultant services.

For areas assuming responsibility for hiring area staff, and for all other aspects of operating their own community programs, these services will be available only if requested. For non-autonomous areas (particularly new areas which do not have the benefit of prior experience in CDGM) these services will be given as a matter of course. In either case, the quality of the community program will be subject to the standards established by the Board of Directors and applied by the Office of Evaluation.

c. Area Health Coordinator: The position of Area Health Coordinator (AHC) has not existed in previous projects. The support services in this area will therefore be more extensive. Contacts will be made with schools of public health, particularly with Tufts University, which is establishing a rural health program in Bolivar County. These schools will be requested to provide personnel consultants and training programs.

The centralization of health services with a small central staff has meant that health activity has been limited to insuring that CDGM children receive routine medical examinations. In a state with the highest Negro infant mortality rate in the United States, and where the average Negro's life expectancy is the lowest in the nation, this is clearly insufficient.

A concentrated program of health education is required which can reach parents' groups and other interested community members. The AHC would work with the CPW to assure that community people are aware of available health services such as Medicare, as well as with centers and communities on nutrition and diet. The AHC would also serve as an area coordinator for medical examinations and follow-ups, and provide a referral service to available psychiatric sources, state agencies, etc.

The AHC job would best be filled by a public health nurse or a registered nurse, and every effort will be made to find such people. However, as the number of professionals in these categories is very small in Mississippi, it will be necessary to resort to training non-professionals for new careers in this field. The presence of these trained non-professionals would become a useful resource to the state as a whole.

In brief, these other community service programs at the central level fit into the future conception of central staff as a coordinating, consultation and resource service bureau rather than a decision-making body.

C. OFFICE OF EVALUATION

An Office of evaluation directly responsible to the Board of Directors will be established. Its staff will consist of a Director of Educational Evaluation and two Assistants; a Director of Community Program Evaluation and two Assistants. In addition, there will be a substantial budget for financial auditing on a contract basis by independent accountants as well as for management consultant review.

This Office will play a crucial role in determing CDGM's success or failure in achieving the goals implicit in the new conception of the Child Development Program.

1. Separation of Functions:

Much of the new program depends on training and learning. Obstacles to acquiring new skills have to be avoided as much as possible. Where the functions of "trainer" and "judge" are combined in a single person, the students' openness to learning is markedly impaired.

People who came as trainers were actually perceived as bosses. As a result, Central Staff personnel have been unable to share their knowledge and understanding with community people who, under circumstances where they did not feel threatened, would have been extremely receptive. It is imperative, therefore, that these functions be separated. The Office of Evaluation will relieve the training staff of their role as judge.

2. Maintenance of Program Quality and Standards

a. Certification:

Before an area can become autonomous under CDGM it must meet specified standards in program for children, community services, and business administration. These standards are established by the Board of Directors, and it assigns to the Office of Evaluation the responsibility of determining whether these standards have been reached in any particular area. If the Office of Evaluation reports favorably,

the Board will then certify the area for autonomous operation in one, or all, of the divisions of CDGM.

b. On-going Evaluation:

The Board of Directors decides on certain standards which it judges to be essential in providing the children with the quality of program which they deserve, and the community with the quality of services necessary for its development. The Office of Evaluation has the responsibility for assessing and evaluating communities, areas, and the central office by the yardstick of these standards. It then reports its findings to the Board of Directors and other CDGM governing bodies if appropriate. If a center or area falls below minimum standards, and fails to improve, despite warnings and offers of assistance, the Board of Directors could recommend withdrawal of funds, withdraw certification, or impose any other sanctions which they consider necessary.

The process of being evaluated is educational. At the very least, it can make people aware of expectations which they are not fulfilling. At best, it can sensitize people to the rationality of the standards and the possibilities for living up to them. It can help them understand that the standards are not capricious, personal whims, but essential to the organization through which <u>their</u> goals can be realized.

D. WHAT'S NEW IN CDGM: A SUMMARY

1. New Structures

   a. Area Councils: elected representative councils which will serve as the decision-making body for the communities in that area. They will have the final voice in determining the program and administrative responsibilities their area wants to assume.

   b. Elected Board of Directors: a reconstituted Board made up of the presidents of the Area Councils. These representatives will in turn elect 5 to 10 other members to the Board from among relevant professional and service fields. This Board is the ultimate policy-making body of CDGM.

   c. Office of Evaluation: directly responsible to the Board of Directors. The staff and consultants of this office will provide reports and recommendations about the quality and standards of all aspects of the CDGM program, and will certify those areas that want to be autonomous.

   d. Training Institutes: semi-autonomous training programs will be developed for Teacher Trainees, Resource Teachers, Area Teacher Guides, Community Program Workers, Area Health Coordinators and center committee members. These Institutes will fill the desperate need for trained non-professionals and will provide those individuals who have missed out on the conventional routes to social advancement with the opportunity to live more productive, satisfying lives. (See Appendices II and V.)

2. New Jobs

   a. Center Head Cooks: the addition of one person to have supervisory responsibility over the kitchen in each center.

b. Center Administrator: a salaried person who would assume many of the responsibilities which formerly fell to the unsalaried Community Chairman. The Administrator would be directly responsible to the Community Committee for the effective administration and operation of all phases of the center's activities.

c. Area Health Coordinator: this involves expanding the health program by adding staff, moving some of the health programs from the central office to the area level. The Area Health Coordinator will be responsible for making the task of health education and nutritional-dietetic work for the communities in her area.

d. Area Business Administration Staff:

Disbursements Officer: responsible for maintaining controls on all expenditures, maintaining records, making expenditure reports; responsible for personnel recruitment, records, evaluation, training, wage rates.

Financial Officer: responsible for processing payroll, including time sheets, checks, etc.; maintaining records; responsible for procurement, storage, distribution, inventory, transportation, and facilities.

3. New Processes

a. Evaluation Process: the separation of evaluation, administration, and support functions, and the introduction of a continuous process of evaluation with a cycle of reports, recommendations, and warnings for below-standard centers or areas; sanctions and appeals.

b. "Spin-Off" Process: the specification of a set of procedures by which an area can request greater responsibility, be trained and certified to assume that responsibility in a step-by-step fashion, and begin operation of an autonomous program under CDGM.

c. Election Process: a constitution was drafted which spells out the process by which representatives of the people will be elected from the community level to the Board of Directors level. This process defines who can make "legitimate" decisions for the communities and areas participating in CDGM.

APPENDIX I

CDGM AND THE HIRING OF TEACHERS

A. Why "Untrained" Teachers?

Any planning for this division of CDGM must be done in the context of what this unique sociological and educational experimental project was designed to do, what it has succeeded and failed to do in its first twelve baby months of rapidly growing life, and what it must do if it is to reach its goals.

We begin with our basic belief, based on research, that the single most important thing we can do to help the children of the poor develop characteristics and aspirations capable of carrying them from the prison of poverty toward whole and healthy free citizenship, is to provide them with role models with whom they can identify who represent characteristics and aspirations of fruitful personalities: curiosity, confidence, hope, hard work, and creativity. Children below the age of five or six pattern themselves primarily after those who care for them, live with them, and to whom they "belong." Therefore, it seems reasonable that it is these very parents, guardians, and neighbors who must be given the opportunity to be the kinds of role models they want to be for their own children.

The children have heretofore known their parents, relatives, neighbors and grown brothers and sisters as the "left-overs" of a successful society. Their grown-ups are the unemployed, the underpaid, the unwanted. In the case of the Southern Negro children, their grown-ups are the openly outcast, the forbidden, the insulted, the ragingly or submissively helpless. It thus becomes essential that CDGM's structure promote people into positions as pillars, leaders, builders, managers, decision-makers. Specifically they must be the organizers, teachers, hirers, businessmen, and social service agents of CDGM.

B. Why "Non-Professional" Planning and Hiring Groups?

When our local, semi-autonomous committees of poor people initiate, establish, and run a child development center, they do not always hire "the best" teachers for their children. But the answer is not to take away their power to hire. It is, instead, to build into CDGM better techniques, personnel, and procedures for helping committee members use their common sense and develop enough knowledge of pre-school education to judge their teachers better.

When our parents and poor neighbors create and carry out a program for small children, they do not always offer "the best" learning situation for their children. But the answer is not to take away their responsibility

for teaching. It is, instead, to build into CDGM better techniques, personnel and procedures for helping teachers use their native human skills and potential to learn and eagerness to move forward and ability to make their teaching performance more consistent with their ultimate personal values and social goals so that they can teach as creatively as excellent Head-Start teachers anywhere.

The above reasons are already strong enough reasons for CDGM's contention that we must continue with the kinds of committee members and the kinds of teachers we now have. But there are other reasons too.

C. Other Reasons for the CDGM Philosophy of Who Should Teach

We can affect the children far more if our concepts of child raising, mind stimulating, health and nutrition, emotional development, etc., are carried home from the Center than we can if all these ideas are limited to the time and people inside the Center Buildings. We can carry the concepts home more quickly, more broadly, and more effectively if they go home by way of the child's "revised" parents and friends, who have true influence in poor communities, than if they go home by way of "foreigners" (professional teachers and other staff workers) whose middle-classness (and sometimes other-coloredness) make them deeply suspect, mistrusted and ignored. Regardless of any politeness and gratitude they may exhibit, poor people do not pay much attention to people from different walks of life, races, ways of thinking, educational levels. School officials everywhere spend lots of time sadly shaking their heads about the difficulty they have had in "involving parents." It is not difficult to involve parents if parents make and manage every phase of the center's activity. So, if we feel that all the work of the Child Development Center should be continued at home, we must make sure that the home and the center are as close as possible to each other, because they share the same human beings.

We can affect the children quite basically if we make sure that their families have more money with which to buy the better diet we talk about, and the books, and the trips, and the appliances that give them more time to talk with their children. It is more important to get people jobs in which they earn paychecks while they learn than it is to hire professional social workers to distribute welfare checks.

We have, in this state of Mississippi, unfortunately, one of the worst school systems in the country. The Negro schools are at the lowest end of the spectrum. The average reading level of Mississippi's certified teachers (Negro) is shocking. The typical college from which these teachers graduate is shocking. Everybody knows these miserable truths. So why would any thinking person wish to search out and hire these teachers for a new type of school system, the Head-Start program? In addition, these teachers have been trained for another level of teaching -- elementary or secondary -- in a different kind of school. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that

they know any more about nursery/kindergarten education, and especially research-based nursery/kindergarten education for the "disadvantaged" child, then the untrained person. Head-Starts everywhere are reporting the difficulties they are having in "retreading" public school teachers to understand the community school; the pre-school. CDGM avoids the problem of un-teaching and re-teaching teachers by starting with people who can be taught fresh from the beginning. We avoid those who "know it all" and are fairly rigid in their set, and look for those who are committed, concerned, responsibe to new methods, intelligent (but have never before had any chance to use their intelligence in a channeled way.) Schools of education are often said to contain and turn out the lowest ability level of students. Poor communities are often said to contain many wise and bright people who have had no opportunities to use themselves productively for society. With these two choices, CDGM avoids the latter.

We know that there are some excellent teachers in the public schools... too few, but some. CDGM has never turned one down. We are thrilled to have them. But is the purpose of Head-Start to pirate the limited number of gifted teachers the school system has and convert them into pre-school teachers, or is it to attract new people to a new field? CDGM thinks the latter is a more socially useful approach.

APPENDIX II

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Teachers are clamoring for more training. Any new grant must include inventive and ample training plans FOR EACH TEACHER, tailored to overcome obstacles of distance, reading problems, families at home, and personality factors, as well as of the need for income.

Many of the ideas outlined in our present grant for teacher training have been implemented: workshops, newsletters, toy and equipment making projects, orientations, consultants, help in individual centers by visiting staff, a curriculum book, letters of recommendations, OEO eight-week Head-Start training courses, and the new system of Area Teacher Guides who receive intensive developmental work and work with eight centers each in Teacher Development and Program Development.

We have a foundation now, and can effectively build from it in our future project.

In our current program, we have been responding to our teachers' thirst for learning as best we could with the minimal professional staff we (a) could get, and (b) were budgeted for. We have been developing the human talent we found through the Area Teacher Guide system and our other development techniques. We have relied heavily on the wish local Centers and Areas to "do it themselves" and to strengthen their own programs with little but guidelines and stimulation to help them. We have been getting many good professionals inside and outside the state interested in our experiment. As a result of all these activities, we now have many budding "sub-professionals" available to us whom we did not have before, and we now have many professional job applicants.

The development of new programs, such as Teacher Development Institutes in Mississippi, institutions will be necessary. The purpose of the Teacher Development Institute will be to blend the best that is known about training "sub-professionals" with the needs of this particular experimental project in an innovative model program for under-developed areas everywhere.

The Institute will have a small campus including a demonstration Head-Start Center, classrooms for seminars and practical workshops, an auditorium, offices for staff members, and dining and dormitory facilities.

The basic and biggest program will be to offer six-week Teacher Development courses to CDGM Resource Teachers (first) and Trainees. All candidates for such an Institute will be referred by CDGM Central Staff's Training Program Co-Ordinator or by the Semi-Antonomous Area Projects. If there is adequate funding and competent personnel, courses can be offered to non-CDGM teachers from OEO funded Head-Starts in Mississippi also.

The course will include three days a week of practice teaching in a sample classroom from 8 - 1, two afternoon hours three days a week of seminar on teaching which will include discussions of what was seen and done in the morning, analysis of the tape recordings made in the morning, case studies, child development

theory, and methods and materials with regular staff or specialist consultants, appropriate films, etc. The same three days will include a two-hour reading improvement course, and a daily group therapy session. On the other two days of the week, the student teachers will work in their own centers, practicing what they are working on at the Institute. Institute staff will work with them in their centers. This part of the course will take four weeks. Teachers will work in their centers for seven weeks, and will return for a final two weeks of solid five-day-a-week work. The basic course is planned this way because we find that our teachers learn most effectively through real practice and through help in applying the "ideal" to the "real" situation in which they work. We find that most of our teachers can barely read, so reading must be a critical part of the course. Personality problems are our other biggest problem, so we need to build in good therapy. The purpose of the return after seven weeks in the field is to reinforce, see how much back-sliding occurs and correct it, and to give a certificate THAT DOES NOT JUST SAY THE CLASSROOM WORK WAS ACCOMPLISHED, BUT SAYS SOMETHING MORE MEANINGFUL -- THAT THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS ARE SHOWING UP IN THE CENTER. No certificate will be given unless the new learnings get into the center's daily life, regardless of how well the student teacher does in the demonstration center, the seminars, or in other phases of the Institute's program. The goal is not a good student; it is a better practicing teacher.

The demonstration class head-teacher will also be the seminar teacher for the student. Other staff will handle other courses. The classroom teacher will have no more than fifteen student teachers for the basic course. She will work with these fifteen in their centers as well as at the Institute. We find that the relationship developed between our teachers and teacher development staff is the chief factor governing successful or unsuccessful training.

The institute will also offer a small program to teachers able to attend for a full year. Hopefully, they will receive college credit for this and will engage in the basic program above, plus many extra classes in related college level subjects. We feel that this program is essential if we are developing new careers for the poor, because no matter how good they are, our teachers will not be hired by others in the future unless they have some kind of "official" credentials.

The Institute will have a materials development staff as well as a teacher teaching staff. This staff will develop films, materials for teachers, materials for children, and materials for other groups (such as hiring committees, parents, Area Staff) as needed and requested.

There will be another section which will be responsive to needs as stated by CDGM's Central Staff Children's Program Division for short courses, orientations, field assistance, etc., for below average centers, for committees who need broader concepts and more knowledge about Head-Start, for Area Councils trying to go independent, for parents, for centers wanting to develop special projects, and for the Area Teacher Guide in each area to continue her growth. These programs, of varying length and depth, will be tailored individually.

There will be a Research section in the Institute which will study and develop new careers.

Careful evaluations will constantly be made to see if the training is helping to build quality in the centers. The reports will be sent to the student teacher, the committees that hired the teacher (only hired center teachers in OEO funded centers will be taken at the Institute unless arrangements are made for the Institute also to take hired teachers at non-CDGM Head-Starts, the Area Council, the CDGM Central Staff Training Co-ordinator, and the CDGM Program Inspection Office.

APPENDIX III

THE STRUCTURE OF THE CHILDREN'S PROGRAM DIVISION OF CDGM

Each Center and each regional area has been forming its own program plans for children. This is a new step in taking responsibility.

A. Evaluation

There will be a new section of CDGM called the Children's Program Inspection and Evaluation Office, which will have a small staff of Program Evaluators directly responsible to the Board of Directors. These positions will be filled by local Negroes of exceptional understanding and skill, whom we have been fortunate enough to find and get to know. The Evaluators will visit each center at regular intervals, and will send reports and recommendations to the CDGM Board of Directors, the Project Director, the Children's Program Division of Central Staff, the Teacher Development Institute (new), and the center itself. Standards will be clearly stated by this office and disseminated throughout the state.

What will happen with these recommendations? It is the responsibility of the Children's Program Division of Central Staff to act. The staff of this division will notify the Area Council or the center (depending on the degree of autonomy of that area) that the center is below standards, if that were, indeed, the report of the Evaluation Office, and that the center will be inspected again in two weeks to see if it has started improvement plans. If the Area Council or the center has failed to take steps at the end of two weeks, the Area (in the former case) or the center (in the latter case) will be put on two-week probation by the Children's Program Division of Central Staff with the approval of the Program Committee of the Board of Directors. The Area or center may be dropped from CDGM at the discretion of the Board if no action occurs.

Meanwhile, the new Teacher Development Institute will also have been notified of the urgent need of the particular center in question. The Area Council, as a part of its improvement planning for the center, can request that the Institute's staff plan a program for the staff of the center. If the area is not one of the independent semi-autonomous areas, the Children's Program Division of Central Staff can make plans directly with the center staff, and can expect the staff to participate in training programs at the Institute which result in up-graded standards in the center.

The Evaluation Office does not provide training. This is handled by the Teacher Development Institute of through OEO's eight-week training courses, etc. The Evaluation Office does not make any policy decisions. These are made ultimately by the Board of Directors.

If the Evaluation Office's report indicates that all centers in an area are very good, and if the area wishes to "spin off" and become more responsible for its children's programs, the Board of Directors can grant them this new status. If a short course is necessary before "spin off" can legitimately occur, the Teacher Development Institute can be asked to provide one.

B. Central Coordination

There will be a Central Staff Children's Program Division. This division will no longer include inspection and evaluation as it has in the past year (see above). When it has become feasible for the Teacher Development Institute to become operational, the division will no longer include teacher development, materials development, research, etc., as it has in the past year (see Appendix II). It will become an administrative division pertaining to the children's programs. The positions here will also be filled by local staff.

The Director of this division will work out policies and plans with the Project Director and with other divisions of CDGM Central Staff.

There will be an efficient, highly trained Administrator whose job will be to see that all duties of this division are performed smoothly.

There will be a Supply Officer, who will select and explain the use of educational materials, supplies, equipment, etc. The Supply Officer will also plan toy and equipment making projects in centers to supplement the bought items which are almost never adequate to the existing needs.

There will be a Training Program Coordinator, who will not offer training courses, but who will announce courses at the Institute and outside of CDGM, who will recruit and screen for the courses, and who will arrange transportation, collect evaluations from the groups offering the courses, etc. Evaluation reports of the teacher's progress in courses will be sent by the Training Program Coordinator to the CDGM Board of Directors, the Project Director, the Area Council, and the Center.

There will be a Communications Officer who will handle the extraordinary number of local staff problems, requests for information, letters, phone calls, etc., and will process routine communications from this Division.

There will be ample supporting staff of trainee administrative assistants, secretaries, and clerks, as this has always been a heavily loaded division of CDGM.

Advice and consulting services can be had by any staff member of this division from the Teacher Development Institute if desired and requested, but the Institute, once it becomes differentiated from the Central Staff, will bear no responsibility for the functioning of CDGM centers.

The revisions in this division outlined here, reflect the strong wish of the people not to have outsiders "control" their operation, and make possible the promotion of talented local people.

APPENDIX IV

THE DAILY PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN

A. Children's Workshops

The daily program for children will take place in small centers all over the state. Some buildings are churches, some are homes, and some are unused school buildings. Some of our churches are run-down and overcrowded, some of the homes of rural Negro farmers in Mississippi are not the largest and best heated, and some of our unused school buildings, generally buildings abandoned after the 1954 School Desegregation Cases, are somewhat dilapidated. This is not a matter of choice. We are not intentionally using poor facilities, and in many cases have very nice buildings indeed. We are making every effort to secure the best buildings available, and to repair others to meet the facilities standards of the Child Welfare Division of the Mississippi Department of Public Welfare. Their standards are very reasonable. We, too, want the children to be maximally safe, comfortable, and able to get the most out of the program. Ideally, we would like government or private money to build community centers. Possible northern churches would adopt some of our churches and improve the buildings for all purposes, including pre-schools. Money collected by students and civic groups in the north could be used to repair and enlarge buildings and to put in acceptable bathroom and kitchen facilities. The basic structures may not be large enough and solid enough, but our concern is what can we do with them, however, we find them, to make them into children's workshops?

Communities are encouraged to come in and build low shelves all around the room out of planks, cement blocks, crates, or in other ways. We try to arrange the toys and supplies in a low, easy to reach, orderly tempting way. Thus the children really do have free choice, and the room is half decorated. Staff is encouraged to put the children's brush paintings, finger paintings, magic marker work, cuttings and pastings, collages, string paintings, block prints, and other art work on the walls for all to admire. Many centers have made bright curtains. Many have painted shelves and toys cheerful colors. However unsatisfactory the underneaths of our buildings may unfortunately be, the surfaces smile at children.

The program we have established for children can best come true when we have wide open indoor spaces for them to move around in freely, plus ways of dividing the children into small groups for quiet and personal activities requiring greater individual attention and more concentration. Our schools are supposed to look informal with many activity work areas and no stiff arrangements of chairs and desks. The rooms look like they are for children to play in, not like they are for children to sit and study in.

B. Basic Program

This is conceived of as an activities program. It is not vacant day care, and it is not a "lesson school". A great many play materials are always available for the child to choose. There is a block area, a puzzle area, a table games area, a library corner, and arts and crafts area, a science area, and so forth, and of course, large amounts of imaginatively equipped outdoor play space for big muscle play and exercise and fresh air. The teacher sees her job as actively watching what each child is doing, or perhaps, and maybe more important, what is is not doing, and then building him into more productive use of the materials with which he is involved, or guiding him into new areas which have previously not interested him. Her job is not to sit back and reat while he plays (day care), nor to direct and "teach" all the time (older children). It is to notice each child's relationships and help him work out stronger, happier ones if necessary. It is to notice each child's hang-ups, if he has any that prevent him from being as he would like to be, and help him find ways to unravel and go around these personality problems or immaturities. It is to lead each child into the fullest exploration of every corner of his abilities, interests, and character so that nothing God gave him is wasted or stunted or twisted or unrecognized. It is to protect the rights of each child to have a happy time, and, thus, to curtain him only when he is interfering with the happy time of another child.

In a friendly, laughing, chatting, colorful, busy environment, the teacher attempts:

1. To take time for every incident between a child and other children.

2. To take time to make deep friends with each child herself, helping him expand his personal and group play by working with him on his ideas, but carrying them on step further than he has carried them, therefore showing that she appreciates his ideas enough to go on with them herself.

3. To take time to offer to the child and work with the child many small muscle games and activities, many literature, reading readiness, art, music, food, outdoor, large muscle, and other things suitable to providing success and accomplishment experiences of as varied a nature as possible. The teacher's attitude is usually responsive, appreciative, and positive, not "too busy", critical, or negative.

4. To provide for the physical needs of each small child as concernedly and as thoroughly as his mother would if she were present, or if she had time and facilities at home. This includes eating, sleeping, bathrooming, injuries, cuddling, moving freely, etc.

5. To give the child evidence that the world, and particularly the world of school, is possible to cope with and to grow in and to enjoy.

C. Schedules

Schedules will vary from center to center, as ours is a locally run program, and the only program requirements are that the program be within the bounds of a good early childhood education, as defined by professionals in the field. Each daily schedule therefore, will offer alternating periods of active and quiet activities, indoor and outdoor activities, free choice and relatively more planned activities, toileting, resting, and eating.

Each week's schedule at each center, and generally each day's schedule at each center, will include some arrangement and degree of the following:

1. A variety of indoor toys to choose from such as trains, trucks, tractors, blocks, dolls and doll corners, dress up clothes and other equipment condusive to dramatic play, pretending; making believe, and inventing.

2. A variety of table games such as Tinker Toys, peg boards, zipper and button boards, form boards, size and shape stacking and fitting games, and pocket chart reading readiness games that can be used independently. These are tasks to succeed in, and are less creative than the above, though equally valuable because they lead to a goal of triumphant success and completion. Puzzles and many other kinds of homemade or commercial sets and games are referred to here.

3. A well-equipped playground, with such facilities as slides, see-saws, sand boxes, swings, rolling barrels and spools, wheel toys, climbing bars, boxes to get in, boards and blocks to build large structures with, steps and posts to jump off of, vast expanses to run over, shade trees, and sunshine.

4. Water play will be provided indoors or out, and will include large washtubs filled with water in which children can wash doll clothes, dishes, themselves, sail boats, pour detergent, wrinse, wring, and enjoy themselves.

5. Five kinds of musical experiences will be offered: listening (to classical, folk, church, freedom, nursery, and musical stories for children, among others), to live music made by staff, community people, or guests, and listening to records; singing (all of the above kinds of songs and all other kinds selected by the staff); making and playing instruments (such as tambourines out of paper plates and tied on bottle caps, paper towel holder and rice rattles, barrel drums, etc.); rhythmic games and dancing

(dancing out the feelings each child has while hearing a certain record, learning simple folk dances, playing singing-circle games such as "Who Stole the Cookies From the Cookie Jar?", etc; and composing or creating new songs and tunes by turning children's world into chants and slogans and little things with a repetitious tune, or putting a familiar activity to music (like swinging). Particularly good in singing and in composing are old or new songs which put in each child's name or idea to fill the missing word spot in the song.

6. An ample and attractive amount of creative arts and crafts will be frequently available. Brush painting, finger painting, pasting scraps and odds and ends such as bottons, leaves, sewing left overs, crayoning, magic markering, chalk, clay, dough, and so forth will be offered almost daily. The aim is for children to experiment, select, and do these things exclusively their own way, within the rules of the game (for example, on the paper, not on each other). Sometimes planned artwork activities will be offered in addition to the free expression activities (never instead of them). These include making free-style designs on a pre-cut pattern Santa Claus, pasting up the teacher-woven Easter basket, putting the spots on the clown cut by older children. The goal here is not free expression, it's producing something fun to have and show. Even this type of art activity must always be within the ability of the child, and he must never be held up to standards - that make it necessary to scold, criticize, disapprove, correct, or re-do.

7. Science activities such as taking walks to find science treasures, keeping an experiment table, taking care of class pets, discussing science ideas as a small group, will play an important part in the program.

8. Toilet procedures are part of the program. Teaching children health habits is important, and bathroom time, especially washing up, is always a sociable time for very young children.

9. Resting is part of a pre-school program if the program is longer than two and a half or three hours. Our programs are typically six hours. An opportunity for sleep should be provided for each child initially. This means a clean mat or quilt to lie on, a quiet corner, and quiet grownups. Sometimes teachers play a record or sing lullabies for a little while. Rest time may be discontinued for those who, day after day, do not fall asleep after twenty or twenty-five minutes. Those who have usually fallen asleep during the trial first two weeks may be grouped together, regardless of age, and the non-sleepers given a ten or fifteen minute lying down rest with a record and then an hour or so of quiet activities, such as records, table games, and stories while

the others sleep. No child will be punished or scolded for not happening to be tired, but peace will be provided for those who are.

10. One or two snack times and dinner time will be included in the daily program. Breakfast is served at some Centers. The discussion and shopping and preparation of the snack are often part of the program as well as the eating of it. Typical snacks are: apple slices, hunks of cheese, crackers or cookies and juice or milk, raisins, or other bits of fruit, vegetable or protein. Typical breakfasts are fried or scrambled eggs, bacon or sausage, toast or cornbread, milk or juice. Typical dinners include chicken or other meat, cornbread and/or white bread, greens, another vegetable, mashed potatoes, canned peaches, milk, and often a jello, pudding, or fruit dessert. Regardless of what else is served, most Centers serve milk two or three times a day, and most children eagerly drink it. They also eat a great deal. Eating problems are not common.

11. Trips are part of the program whenever we can afford them. Centers have gone to factories, parks, swimming, zoos, museums, for picnics, boating, and to many other places, including fire departments, post offices, and police stations. Under the circumstances here in Mississippi, however, it is a little hard to know just how to present some of these community services to members of our communities, as the services are not available to them.

12. Number Readiness is a big part of the daily program. There are counting and grouping games in all Centers, a specially attractive number table with interesting examples of number ideas kept on display, and the teachers use every opportunity throughout the day to point out or call attention to number facts as they come up in block play, sorting paint brushes, how many are waiting to swing, how many are waiting to swing now that one left, etc. For five, ten or fifteen minutes once or twice a day, a teacher sits with a small group around her and plays group number games. All number activities are gay, happy games. Children are not being trained, they are being introduced and led warmly into something fun. We have form boards containing numbers and sandpaper numbers and five year olds may learn to write numbers with an appropriate number of objects next to the number, but the emphasis is on concepts. Four year olds do not write numbers unless they have an exceptional interest in this.

13. Reading readiness is a most important part of the program. All above activities pertain to reading readiness.

a.) A child that feels happy and trusting and secure in his relationships and activities in the total Center program will feel happy and trusting and secure in the new area of reading later.

b.) A child who is used to the orderliness of the classroom and schedule (not the rigidness and inflexibility, but the common sense of it and the routine of it) will respond easily to the orderliness and sequence and common sense of much in reading when he gets to it.

c.) A child who has plenty of time and room to stretch his muscles and who is used to quiet, planned, participation-listening times, will be ready to settle down to more formal reading readiness activities than one who is feeling cramped and restless, or one who has never participated in pleasantly, relaxedly organized activities of an enjoyable sort to this age group.

d.) Having lots of chances to carry out his own make believe games makes a child more sensitive to and appreciative of other people's make believe in books.

e.) A child whose mind has been stimulated through rich play, trips, discussions, and friendships with children and grown-ups is ripe for information found in books.

f.) A child who is experienced in conversation and thinking has much more to relate reading readiness and reading ideas to, and thus can hook teachings to his own knowledge more readily than can the child with a hookless, empty, mind.

g.) A child who has been encouraged in his curiosity because new games and conversations and ways of engaging in dramatic play have been offered to him daily is used to newness and is intrigued by it, because it brings a promise of happy times and teacher's praise and enthusiastic companionship. He will not be intimidated and fearful about this new thing called reading. New things, in his experience, are good things. New things, to children who have only known one way, are frightening and seem "too hard".

h.) A child who has had lots of experience in discriminating shapes by doing form boards, puzzles, and chart-type reading readiness games of a self-taught kind, can discriminate letters and words and numbers much more easily than can the child whose eyes and mind are not accustomed to noticing differences and similarities of small marks on paper.

i.) A child whose belly is full and body is rested can turn his attention to the fine art of learning to read better than can a child whose hunger pains demand his attention and whom sleep is overcoming.

j.) A child who has had so many enjoyable experiences with his teacher, will be very fond of her, and will be much more eager to please her in the new area of reading and formal reading readiness than will the child who doesn't give a hoot for his teacher because she has never paid him any special attention or cared particularly for him as an individual, and likewise, he has never paid her any special attention or cared for her as an individual. At worst she has been loud in shouting at him and critical in correcting his grammar and manners every time he opened his mouth, or, less bad but not good enough to help him learn to read easily, she has been "just there"---just another grownup, whose name he doesn't even really know, and that he really can't distinguish from the other grown-ups.

All these things have prepared the child indirectly for more direct experiences to get him ready to read when he gets to public school-first grade. What is this more direct reading readiness program our Centers will offer?

---Teachers will read to small groups of five to ten children at least twice a day. Library books, books we make at Headquarters, books made in local Centers, and books purchased for each Center will all be selected or made according to these standards: Is it very simple language which these children can understand without a lot of interpretation and explanation (their language, or standard simple language)? Is it clearly illustrated in tasteful style so that either objects or mood are easily recognizable? Is it information or a story that is not complex and elaborate that they lose the trend of the story? (Simple words is not enough, we need simple style, sentence structure and plot as well). Are at least a number of the books illustrated with Negro children? Is the subject matter in many of the books familiar to rural children? Are most of the books about something other than middle-class children? (This could be animal stories that do not refer to specific backgrounds, simple poetry, experiences and ideas of our own children, etc.)

---Teachers will have short discussions times each day with the children in groups of five to ten in which they talk about things, any things, such as what the children have or do at home, how they get to the Center, what stores they have been to and what is sold there, who is in their family and interesting facts about these people or pets, how to slaughter a hog, how to make preserves, the zoo they went to the day before,

activities they are planning or have just been engaged in at the Center, and other things that interest the children. The purpose of reading to the children is to show them the fun and wonders of what's in books, not to get a book read. Similarly, the purpose of the discussions is to show them the fun and wonders of what people have to say, expecially each individual himself, not to train him in manners and grammar. Our children, contrary to the beliefs of some people, are very verbal, but they clam up in school because schools frequently dwell on wrong answers, wrong pronunciation, wrong grammar, wrong speech habits and manners, and they thus make the child determined not to stick his neck out by talking to grown-ups. Our goal is to do the opposite. We want to make each child comfortable in talking to grown-ups in school by giving him time to talk with our attention fixed on him, and praise and appreciation of the content of what he is telling us: jokes, news, etc.

---Teachers will put the child's name on his art work and will call attention to his name, show him where it is, help him walk to his own, etc. at least once each day. The teachers will also make clear, large, accurately printed signs and labels for each area of the classroom and will point out, read, and talk about these each day.

---Teachers will play sound discrimination games with small groups of children at least five minutes each day. They will receive special training in this, and lesson plans for each lesson. The purpose of this is to teach each child, slowly, patiently, and with no wrong answers, to listen carefully for intitial sounds of words. We will use an adapted version of the phono-visual approach, which includes charts, collections of objects brought in by each child that start with a given sound, etc.

---Teachers will play visual discrimination games with small groups of children at least five minutes each day. These will be mostly manipulative games in which the child places a shape with its partner, takes away the one shape that is different from the other three shapes, etc. Teachers will receive special training in this, and lesson plans for each lesson. We will use standard reading readiness materials plus Deutsch and Montessori materials here.

---Teachers will teach sight reading of single words printed 3" high on individual strips of tagboard using the Sylvia Ashton-Warner and Doman Delacato approaches, which are based on words of exceptional interest to each individual child, individual boxes to keep each child's words in, discussion and praise of each success, and a system which guarantees that no child can give a wrong answer, so that his entire experience with the printed word is positive. At the end of the session in June, it is anticipated that most of the children with one more year to go until first grade will have a solid bridge built between himself and later reading, and that most of the children ready for school in September will have this plus a basic reading vocabulary of fifty to one hundred words of interest to him (not necessarily words he will later find in Dick and Jane.)
The purpose of getting the five year olds so over-ready to read is to ensure that their first experiences in public school are triumphant ones. Our children traditionally have "been a lot of work" for teachers, because so much effort is needed to give them the background in pre-reading that is required before they can possibly catch on to the fundamental concepts of reading. Because the children cause the teachers "so much trouble", the teachers often dislike them. The children feel the dislike and disapproval, become discouraged, and begin their academic careers in a mood of gloom. They learn within the first semester that they can't do the

work. Therefore, it is CDGM's goal to prepare its graduates so well that they can breeze through the first semester of first grade with a feeling of happiness and pride. The side-effect of this will be that the teachers have less work, and like the children better. And the total effect will be that the children find school and pleasing the teacher easy so that their further progress will be likely.

---Teachers will be sure to get at least one "story" from each child every few weeks. These stories may be only a sentence picked from his conversation or play. Or they may be longer discussions written down, But whatever the length, quality, grammar, or dullness of the story may be, it will be each child's own production, and it will be treated with respect. These stories will be displayed in a special story corner, read to the children frequently, and used as a base for making the children's individual word cards to learn to read with. The best of these books (the most universally interesting to rural, Southern, Negro children, the most imaginative, those with the most colorful language) may be printed by our printing project. Other books will be made by the printing project too. They will be made available to each Center: possible to each child. Reading readiness lessons will be made up from these books.

PHILOSOPHY AND PURPOSE OF THIS DAILY SCHEDULE

Engaging teachers in the above described activities is not the purpose of this program. Running children through these rituals whether or not we have their eager attention, interest, and participation, is not the purpose of this program. Imposing methods and materials on teachers, parents, and children is not the purpose of this program. Therefore, our aim is to offer many understandings and specifics to our teachers based on the fact that this year most of them expressed a tremendous hunger and thirst for knowledge and methods and materials that they could transmit to their children to actually (instead of hopefully) help them do better in first grade. Our children do not go far in school, often, because they are not ready to drink in reading skills when they get there, and thus get behind before this first,

critical year is up, and never catch up, so drop out or pass along with highly inferior reading ability. In any case where, after becoming familiar and comfortable with the above activities, teachers or parents feel that they are unsuitable, they will not be forced to use them. However, the year's experience leads us to believe that anything that "works" will be used, improved quite creatively, and revelled in by teachers and parents alike. Our emphasis will be on the minute details of how to do these things so that children love it, not on how to do these things so we can show observers we are doing them. At all times we stress that these are community schools, and that local ideas, opinions, homemade toys and equipment, items found in homes and fields, can be of central importance to the daily curriculum, the building, and the playground. We are concerned about making the point that child handling practices in every contact with every child and fully using every resource that is locally, typically available can make a difference. We do not want to make the point that only trained teachers with mysterious bags of magical tricks can help these children. We can help the children most by giving them opportunities to see their parents in a new light of dignity: teaching, building, planning, learning; not by telling children that teachers know better than parents. We can help the children most by showing them all day long what they can do, not what they do wrong and don't know, implications we get across quite effectively when we set absurd standards and then criticize, cut down, put down, and confect. Regardless of what research knows and experienced early childhood educators know, it is not "true" here in CDGM unless it helps these children and these community people.

APPENDIX V

THE TRAINING OF COMMUNITY PROGRAM STAFF

As part of an intensive training and support effort designed to prepare non-professional community people to assume as many of the roles in CDGM as possible, we are proposing a Community Workers' and Community Leaders' Training Institute. This Institute will be funded outside of regular Head-Start funds, although it might organize eight-week courses at the standard Head Start tuition cost. Approaches have been made to the Southern Regional Council, the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, and contacts are planned with other private foundations, as well as with other offices of OEO.

In essence the program is designed to provide its students with the skills and information necessary to assist communities in their efforts to overcome decades of fragmentation and lack of cohesion in order to create a structured community capable of defining and acting on problems in an autonomous, independent manner. The failure to achieve this goal is a repeat of the first post-Reconstruction experience. When outside supports are removed, as they are already beginning to be, there will be a sliding back into a state of powerlessness and renewed dependency unless internal operating situations are created. The Negro community now needs the ability and the knowledgeability to carry out programs of self-help and self-organization.

A. The Training Program: Structure

The Leadership Training Institute will be a centrally located residential training center which will provide training programs for whatever community or statewide groups -- CDGM, economic co-ops, voter leagues, etc.-- choose to request them. Special emphasis will be given to CDGM area staff (Community Program Workers) and CDGM community committees.

The training program for Community Program workers would bring together approximately fifteen trainees for a three-week period in the residential center. This initial three-week period would be followed up by three-day sessions every month, and week-long returns every three months -- a total of sixty-six training days.

The training program itself would be run by the permanent center staff and faculty with heavy support from consultants who would be hired on the basis of the specific skills which are needed by the trainee. The faculty of the Institute would consist of five people who would serve as both resident teachers in the Institute and as field supervisor-consultants. These two functions would be carried out on a rotating basis, such that at all times after the initial three-week training period there would be at least three faculty members in the field serving as supervisors.

B. The Training Program: Content

The content of the training program would consist of:

1. Relevant information and background -- e.g., federal programs, CAP structure, basic political science, economics and sociology.

2. Examination of problems of group organization and structure in general and groups in the Negro community in particular.

3. Training in the use of techniques for dealing with community problems centering around organizational decision-making and representation. These techniques would include the use of role-playing, the case study approach, group problem-solving techniques, sensitivity training, etc.

(All of these techniques have been used successfully with area level staff in CDGM.)

In every way possible, the content of the training program would be designed to prepare the community program worker to carry out the specific jobs which are described in Appendix VI.

C. Information and Research: A Support Service for Community Workers

In order to deal effectively with specific problems, there must be provision for the collection, analysis, translation, and dissemination of information by competent professionals and/or non-professionals who will be providing a support service for local community leaders and those engaged in training them.

This service would be performed by a research and rewrite specialist and his staff who will be connected with the Training Institute staff. This team would prepare information and materials requested by the Community Program Workers and their supervisors as the need arises in their projects. The information and research staff would also be responsible for preparing necessary materials for the training course itself.

APPENDIX VI

JOB DESCRIPTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY PROGRAM WORKER

A. Responsibilities

1. Effective Operation of the Community Committee

The Community Program Worker will run workshops and training sessions on effective group operation (e.g., how to lead a meeting), on the concept of representation, and on problems of decision-making. He will serve as a source of information on almost any conceivable community need and problem which may be of interest to the committee and which could have implications for the center and the community.

2. Development of Parents' Groups

The Community Program worker will be responsible for seeing to it that the parents of the Community are organized around the center so that they can:

a. take advantage of special programs and services to them through the center.

b. have a voice in the operation and policies of the center.

c. can be called upon to provide volunteer assistance to the center.

d. can operate as a cohesive group in other community activities.

3. The Establishment of Child-related programs for Parents such as:

a. keeping parents informed about what the children are doing in the center.

b. the pre-school child.

c. how to supplement the program at home.

d. special problems -- reading, learning, etc.

In this area, the CPW will help the communities organize meetings, programs, and classes on these subjects. He will make contacts with consultants, state agencies, and other resources as they are needed in this program. In general, he will channel available information to the communities.

4. The Establishment of Community-related Programs for Parents such as:

a. consumer education.

b. community problems and needs.

c. voter education.

d. health education (in conjunction with the AHC)

Again, the CPW would make the possibility of such programs known to the community, would help organize and arrange the classes, meetings or programs, would serve as a contact to consultants and other resources, and would be a general source of information.

5. Development of Volunteer Groups

The CPW would aid the parents, staff, and committee of a community in recruiting and organizing volunteers, and in helping to set up simple training programs to prepare them for their work.

6. Implementation of Projects Desired by the Community, such as:

a. cooperatives.

b. credit unions.

c. water associations

d. FHA loans.

(Needs and interests vary greatly from area to area and it is hoped that each area will specialize in a particular kind of project, so that it can later serve as a resource to other areas wanting the same kind of program.)

On these special community projects, it is the CPW's task to:

a. make the people aware of the variety of opportunities available to them.

b. provide information on projects in which the community is interested.

c. assist in setting up the necessary structure.

d. help in finding and following through on the possible sources of assistance.

7. Making Accessible Community Resources, Federal Programs, etc.

Again, the CPW scouts out available resources and programs, informs the community of their existence, and of how to make use of them, and aids in taking action if for some reason these resources are being denied to the members of the CPW's community.

B. Resources Available.

For various aspects of his job, the CPW can call upon a wide variety of resources and support services within CDGM, within the communities, and from a wide variety of other outside sources. The whole range of possibilities includes:

1. the staff of the center.
2. Area Teacher Guides
3. Area Health Coordinator
4. program departments of various branches of central staff.
5. informational and research resources of the central staff.
6. staffs of training institutes sponsored by CDGM.
7. outside consultants made available through central staff.
8. county and state departments; health, education, welfare, Home Extension Service.
9. federal agencies, U.S.D.A., FHA.
10. institutions of higher learning in and out of state, particularly medical schools.

APPENDIX VII

DRAFT CONSTITUTION

of the

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI

PREAMBLE

WE, the poor of Mississippi,

To better our condition,

To provide for a more abundant life for ourselves and our children,

To establish effective instruments through which we, and those who come after us, can exercise our inalienable rights of citizenship and of self-government, and

To meet our responsibilities for the general welfare of all the people of the State and the Country,

DO HEREBY PROPOSE this Constitution for the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

ARTICLE I

We, the people, as the ultimate source of power, hereby declare this Constitution to be the instrument enabling each person to consent to and participate in the kinds of programs and services provided by the Child Development Group of Mississippi through an ordinary system of self-government, providing for:

1. Elected representatives to whom we delegate certain enumerated and limited responsibilities;
2. Regular and periodic elections of these representatives;
3. Rules by which these representatives shall carry out their assigned responsibilities; and
4. Procedures whereby individual grievances may be processed in a fair and legal manner.

ARTICLE II

COMMUNITY COMMITTEE

Section 1.

Each community shall elect a Community Committee of no less than five (5) nor more than ten (10) persons for a two(2)-year term. A quorum shall consist of a majority of the community members. No member of the Community Committee may hold any other position with the Child Development Group of Mississippi within the community.

Section 2.

The Community Committee shall be responsible for:

(a) Implementing a pre-school program in their community in accordance with the proposal submitted and approved by the O.E.O. and in accordance with State and Federal laws;

(b) Hiring personnel recommended by the Community Executive;

(c) Supervising the Community Executive;

(d) Deciding on the kind of community services needed;

(e) Approving the budget as submitted by the Community Executive;

(f) Hiring the Community Executive.

Section 3.

The Community Executive shall be the chief administrative officer in the community with responsibility for:

(a) Recruiting and recommending personnel to the Community Committee;

(b) Preparing and submitting a budget for the pre-school program to the Community Committee;

(c) Recommending actions to the Community Committee necessary for implementing the pre-school program;

(d) Implementing a proper fiscal system whereby all monies provided for operating a pre-school program shall be accounted for.

Section 4.

The Community Committee shall elect a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer for a two-year term. The Community Committee Chairman shall not vote except in case of ties. The Community Committee Chairman shall be a nonvoting ex-officio representative to the Area Council.

Section 5.

The Community Committee shall elect a Personnel Committee, a Program Committee, and a Finance Committee. The President shall be the Chairman of the Program Committee; the Secretary shall be the Chairman of the Personnel Committee; and the Treasurer shall be the Chairman of the Finance Committee.

Section 6.

The Community Committee shall be chosen from nominations submitted at a general community meeting to be held once every two years. Nominations of at least two persons must be made for each office, and the person receiving the majority of votes from those present and voting shall be elected. The meeting shall be generally publicized for four consecutive weeks by newspaper, radio, other available news media, and before various groups and churches in order to ensure the fullest possible participation of the entire community. Any community person 18 years or older shall have the right to vote. Candidates for the Community Committee must be 18 years old or older at the time of the election.

Section 7.

Each community shall elect a Board of Grievances of three (3) persons for a two-year term of office. This Board shall be elected at-large from the community at the community meeting described in Section 6. No member of the Board of Grievances can hold any other office or paid position in the Child Development Group of Mississippi. If a complaint is filed before the Board of Grievances by a member of the family of one of the Board, said Board member shall disqualify himself. The Board of Grievances shall elect a Chairman.

The Board of Grievances shall have responsibility of investigating all complaints involving the organization's activities in the community. Complaints shall be submitted to the Board of Grievances in writing signed by the complainant. The Board of Grievances shall hold a hearing and thereafter notify the complainant within seven (7) days, in writing, setting forth the specific grounds for the Board's decision and recommending appropriate action to be taken. There shall be no appeal on the merits from a decision of the community Board of Grievances, though the Area Council, upon the written complaint of a complainant, may review whether the Board of Grievances acted in accordance with the Constitution.

ARTICLE III

RECALL

Section 1.

Any member of the Community Committee and the Board of Grievances shall be subject to recall under the following conditions:

(a) Upon the written petition of ten (10) community citizens charging the member with failure to properly perform his duties; and

(b) A majority of the persons in a community meeting called to present the petition shall vote to remove the member.

There shall be no appeal from a decision of a general community meeting.

ARTICLE IV

AREA COUNCIL

Section 1.

Each area shall be represented by an Area Council consisting of two representatives from each community, the Chairman of the Community Committee and a delegate elected from the local community. The Community Executive shall be an ex-officio member of the Area Council.

Section 2.

The Area Council shall elect a President from the Community Chairman serving in that area, a Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer for a term of two years.

The President of the Area Council shall be a member of the State Board of Directors of the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

Section 3.

The responsibilities of the Area Council shall be to:

(a) Approve all project proposals submitted by the Community Committee;

(b) Interpret and develop guidelines for area project operation;

(c) Provide technical assistance services as requested by the communities;

(d) Provide area, fiscal, administrative and program audits;

(e) Recruit and hire Area staff personnel.

Section 4.

The Area Council shall elect from its members the following subcommittees:

(1) Program Committee;

(2) Finance Committee; and

(3) Personnel Committee.

The Vice-President of the Area Council shall be Chairman of the Program Committee; the Treasurer shall be Chairman of the Finance Committee; the President shall be Chairman of the Personnel Committee.

ARTICLE V

STATE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1.

The Board of Directors of the Child Development Group of Mississippi shall consist of the Presidents of the Area Councils, who shall themselves elect not less than five (5) nor more than ten (10) additional persons to serve as members who have experience, if possible, in the following fields:

(a) Agriculture

(b) Education

(c) Elected Public Official

(d) Finance

(e) Industry

(f) Law

(g) Medicine

(h) Religious Organizations

(i) Social Services

(j) Unions

Board members shall be elected for a term of two (2) years.

Section 2.

The Board of Directors shall:

(a) Supervise the central staff;

(b) Establish areas;

(c) Approve Guidelines for operating the program;

(d) Approve contracts;

(e) Appoint the Director of the Central Staff and the Board Secretary;

(f) Approve appointments of professional members of the Central Staff; and

(g) Prepare an Annual Report to the Annual Convention.

Section 3.

The Board of Directors shall elect a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The Chairman shall not vote except in case of ties. A quorum shall consist of a majority of the Board members present.

Section 4.

The Board of Directors shall establish the following committees:

(a) Program Committee;

(b) Finance Committee;

(c) Personnel Committee.

The Vice-Chairman shall be the Chairman of the Program Committee; the Treasurer shall be Chairman of the Finance

Committee; and the Secretary shall be the non-voting Chairman of the Personnel Committee.

The Board of Directors shall also appoint an Evaluation Committee to maintain supervision of the area and community projects. The Committee shall have responsibility for

(1) Investigating fiscal, administrative and program operations in the various projects;

(2) Assuring that areas adhere to O.E.O. Guidelines and provisions established in the grant proposal and in this Constitution;

(3) Recommending appropriate action to the State Board of Directors where administrative, fiscal or program standards are not being maintained.

ARTICLE VI

CENTRAL STAFF

The responsibilities of the Central Staff are to:

(a) Prepare and interpret guidelines and advise on their applicability to local communities;

(b) Furnish support services on a contract basis to the Area Councils;

(c) Handle arrangements for the Annual Convention;

(d) Assist the Board of Directors in the preparation of the preliminary agenda for the Annual Convention.

ARTICLE VI

ANNUAL CONVENTION

Section 1.

The Annual Convention of the Child Development Group of Mississippi shall be held for two days at a location and time chosen by the Board of Directors.

Section 2.

Delegates to the Annual Convention shall consist of two Delegates-at-Large elected by each Center. Only the elected Delegate shall have the right to vote. Che Chairman of the Board of Directors shall preside at the Convention until a Presiding Officer is elected. The Presiding Officer shall appoint a Secretary to the Convention, a Sergeant-of-Arms, and a Rules Committee consisting of the Secretary to the Convention, the Chairman of the Board of Directors and three other Delegates.

Section 3.

The agenda of the Annual Convention shall include the Annual Report of the Board of Directors, resolutions on future policies, organizational changes and objectives, and such other business as may be brought properly before the Convention.

ARTICLE VIII

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION

Amendments to this Constitution shall be made only upon two-thirds vote of those present at the Annual Convention.

ARTICLE IX

RATIFICATION

This Constitution, in order to have force and effect, must be ratified by three-fourths of the communities participating in the Child Development Group of Mississippi program.

APPENDIX VIII

WHAT ARE THE PARENTS AND TEACHERS SAYING?

I. THE TEACHERS

Report on the 5½ and 6 year old children

The children are having so much fun and enjoying theirselves so much, until I will not try to explain. When we first began Head Start, the children were afraid to come, because most of them thought they were going to the doctor to get shots. They would get out of the car crying and saying that they didn't want to take shots. But as soon as they found out what was going on at the Head Start school, they began to love it more and more every day.

I was sitting down one day talking with one of the children in my unit. He asked me if Head Start would remain after he began to go to public school. He told me he wanted his little brother and sister to go to Head Start School, because it has help him a lot.

As a trainee Teacher, I would like to say that the Head Start has helped the children. It has given our children something to think about and talk about. We go out and do something that the children like to do. Head Start has really helped me to be a better mother to my children. It is a wonderful program.

Mrs. Edna Strickland
Teacher Trainee
VOSSBURG/ST. PETER CENTER

Report on Bobby Lee Buxton

At Bobby's home, I talked with his mother, Mrs. Frozene Buxton. She thinks the school is wonderful. It has helped Bobby a lot. He was so stubborn and mean before he started to Head Start School, and wouldn't play with anyone, but now when he gets home from school, all he can talk about is going back. He can't wait until Mrs. Evans pick him up the next day to go to school.

Mrs. Burnetta Jones
Teacher Trainee
VOSSBURG/ST. PETER CENTER

Report on Tom Edward Keeler, a three year old

The first day he came to headstart school he didn't want to play with the other children, he just wanted to play with his cousin. He also wanted to stay around his mother. He would cry so loud in class until his mother had to come out of the kitchen to quiet him. He fight, bite hisself until he bleed. This school have really help him. His mother said he doesn't take time to eat breakfast in morning. He really love to go to school. Let the child make up his own mind what he want to do. He will not be afraid when he start to public school.

Miss Dessie B. Moss
ST. PETER CENTER

Comments of CDGM Teachers

I have shared and introduced all ideas and materials with the teachers that I received from Resource Teacher workshops, but unfortunately we haven't seen very much of Mrs. Davis lately. Since I haven't any special training of any kind, I would appreciate it very much if Mrs. Davis would come and share her ideas with us more often.

Dora L. Jackson
Resource Teacher

I am fully convinced that words are only a small factor which could be used to express the nearly inexpressible joy which comes from working with these Head Start Children. I guess the real joy could be seen in my eyes. I am happy working here, because I believe that I have helped create some of these sweet and broad smiles that our children are now wearing. I believe this is one of the most rewarding things that has ever happened in my community. It isn't a thing that we gossip over, it's much too important for that. We speak of it carefully, because it has come to us and aided. I feel that the children could never have been granted a greater gift than the Headstart Program.

In Appreciation
Kattie Mae Hales

Beaver Meadow Center

On December 30, 1965, a group of children along with selected trainees arrived on time to go to work.

We chose our trainees very carefully. We wanted teachers who loved and understood children. People with college degrees were not at all challenging. We chose housewives or mothers, because we knew that they had worked constantly with children. I feel justified in saying that our trainees are very capable people. For three months without pay, they worked diligently, never complaining. I believe that they are rejoicing in the fact that a miracle has been brought in the minds of the children. Each day brings new improvements and the mothers of these children take time out to call us and let us know that they too, have noticed the improvements and changes.

Thanks to headstart, many children have been helped. Every evening, when school is out, they linger on the playgrounds.

Report on Sammuel

Most of all, I believe that Sammuel is learning the value of loving and being loved. Most of all in working with this child it has made me realize more deeply, the need children have for understanding and care in general.

I believe that by the aid of the Child Development Program, Sammuel as well as many other boys and girls will be better adjusted when they enter elementary school.

Mrs. Lorene Gilmore
BEAVER MEADOW CENTER

An Area Teacher Guide Report

Before CDGM program came into Mississippi there was no chance for poor Negroes. This program has helped many people think for themself and get up and do things for themself. I know how much this program has been to the poor people's little children that never had a chance to speak for themself, have a chance to do many things that will help them in school. We are trying to run a play school with many activities to make the children happy.

Many parents have not yet learned how much their children learn at these play schools. We are still trying to show parents that their children have the right to speak for themself. Never before have we had this chance. We want this program to stay in Mississippi to help our people's children and adults. I have learned many things that we as parents can make at home to help our children -- toys, games, books, read stories, learn them health habits, and many other activities that we can use that do not cost lot of money. This is something I have never known about before, and never heard about them. My family are proud of me since I been working.

It have helped me in many ways. We suffered for water. We had been hauling water for about 20 years. One of the workers that work for CDGM came to my home and talk with us about getting a water loan. We just couldn't understand at first, but he kept on talking to us, so one day we decided to try it. He went with my husband to the ASC office and stay with us until he got us on. I cannot thank him enough for the water -- both rooms.

I have learned about many things since CDGM been in Mississippi. I always want to help my people but didn't have a chance and did not know how to start. I will always know how to help other children and adults, thanks to CDGM and the staff that help me to learn what I know, for bringing things back to my remember, things that I know and never thought about using them.

I hope I can work on and help others learn as I have learned. It have helped many poor families. I want to learn more ideas. I hope CDGM will stay for many years.

Mrs. Hattie B. Saffold
HOLMES COUNTY

I prefer CDGM to any other organization because it sees a person not as what he is, but what he can be. It takes the person with a minimum amount of education and gives him a chance to elevate himself.

CDGM has made it possible for all children, regardless of race, to have a chance to be thought they are human beings with minds of their own. Not only do the children have a chance but the parents have a chance to wake up to the fact that they are individuals with rights to think, act, and choose for themselves.

How is that made possible? By regular community meetings being held, parents and teachers talking together. Not teachers talking to parents.

CDGM is the only organization that offers the teacher a chance to learn while teaching. Why does it offer that chance? Because it sees what a person can become, rather than what he is.

Mrs. Esther M. Holmes
ST. JOHN CENTER

Route 3, Box 136
Gulfport, Mississippi
June 21, 1966

Dear Sargent Shriver,

Many years ago I became aware of a great need in our community, our state and our nation. I saw in the faces and lives of poor people the disease of poverty. I saw the hopelessness, the longing for, the wanting, the feeling of uselessness. It left as a result, hate, crime, and a dejected feeling people.

...Most of all Headstart brought hope to an almost forgotten or forsaken people. I think it is an essential program. It must not die. It must continue to up lift a race. Out of the Headstart and the War on Poverty will come a generation of self-supporting, self-confident people.

Yours truly,
Mrs. N. A. Theodore

II. THE PARENTS

Dear Teacher:

Seems to me that Elizabeth and Charles have improved lots although they didn't want to go at all at first. Every evening they come in singing a song. Even their English have improved. All I have against them are they come in ready to eat and go to bed. You know there have been a time when children wasn't old enough to go to school and didn't have the privilege to go. I think God has really blessed us.

Thank you,
Lula Bell George

Dear Teacher:

I think you are all doing a very good job with my three year old child, they comes home singing new songs and playing new games and telling me the color of their dress or shoes, they realize are enjoying themselves. I must admit you all have accomplished more with my children in eight weeks than I have in three years. Thank you.

Dona and Jeffery Mother

Dear Mildred and Mary Lee,

I am very pleased about Graylon. He has learned many things about school songs, games, numbers, etc. The most important thing is how to play and make friends with other childrens. Graylon like to come to school. I know he is a spoil child so I know you have a great responsibility but you both are doing a great job.

Graylon Mother,
Carrie Crenshaw

Dear Teacher,

Slean Doris is learning. She can sing different songs. She like to go to school. She go when she is sick. I can't keep her here.

Mary Evans

To Dennis Earl Teachers:

I am really happy that you all have brought Dennis out. When school started he didn't want to come and he just set and cry. When I started to get him ready, but now he want to be the first one to get ready.

When he leaves home now he tells me to give him some paper and a pencil and I ask him what is he going to do with paper and a pencil and he said my teacher is going to learn me how to write my name.

He has really learned to sing and play.

Thank you.

Idella McDonald, Mother

Child Development Group
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Staff,

I think that the Head-Start program is wonderful because it helps to cultivate the minds of the younger generation.

It has helped my grandchildren to become individual thinkers, to share with others. I think that it should be continued about the community and every community that doesn't have a center should try to get one.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Lucille McCarty

Dear Board Members,

Last year in June, the Child Development Group of Mississippi program came to our community. It has helped to my children so very much. I am the mother of seven children. My son worked at the KC Center and he enjoyed working the children.

This program has made it possible for children who's parents couldn't afford milk for them to get it and a balanced meal every day. It help them learn how to play and learn too and are happy to have it in the community and hope it will continue. And the children just love the songs and play with the dough paint, the book with lots of pictures, also the blocks. They are up early in the morning and to go they just love it. CDGM program is the best program for our children.

Mr. & Mrs. Moffett

C.D.G.M.
290 Milner Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

I am the mother of seven children and I have two going to C.D.G.M. I just wanted to say how much appreciate my children getting a balanced meal each and milk. They have playground toys that I have not been able to buy.

Mrs. Mozella Wash.

APPENDIX IX

MAILING FROM STATEWIDE MEETING

C - D - G - M

STATEWIDE MEETING TO CONSIDER NEW

HEAD START PROGRAM

at the

MASONIC TEMPLE

Lynch Street Jackson

Saturday June 18 at 10:00 AM

The present CDGM program will end August 31, 1966. If we want a chance for the new grant to begin on Sept. 1, O.E.O. says we should send them a proposal by July 1.

EVERY COMMUNITY WHO IS INTERESTED IN THE NEW CDGM PROPOSAL SHOULD ELECT AT LEAST ONE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE STATEWIDE MEETING.

EVERY COMMUNITY SHOULD TRY TO HOLD
A COMMUNITY MEETING TO CONSIDER
THE KIND OR PROGRAM YOU WANT.

In recent staff and community meetings, many people have asked questions and made suggestions about how the program could be improved in the future.

Some people may feel:

--the program should not continue.

--their area should apply to OEO for its own Head-Start.

--the communities should continue to work with CDGM, but the area office should do many things that the central staff does now.

--CDGM should continue to operate in the same way.

EVERYONE IN THE COMMUNITIES SHOULD SAY
WHAT HE THINKS AND SEND REPRESENTATIVES
TO THE STATEWIDE MEETING WHO WILL
EXPRESS THEIR IDEAS FOR EVERYONE TO
HEAR.

Below is a list of some of the problems, the suggestions, and the reasons for and against them which may be discussed at the statewide meeting. There is a space where communities can write their suggestions about what they think would be the best policy for CDGM.

WRITE DOWN ANY NEW IDEAS OR DECISIONS
YOU MAKE IN YOUR COMMUNITY MEETINGS
AND BRING THEM TO JACKSON.

Communities should plan to meet Sunday June 19 after the statewide meeting to discuss the proposal + the ideas brought out at the state wide meeting in Jackson

PROBLEM #1

HOW CAN THE TEACHERS IN THE CENTER GET MORE TRAINING IN PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION SO THAT THE PROGRAM FOR THE CHILDREN IN THE CENTER WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE?

Suggestion for OEO Proposal:

Eight-week training courses should be set up in Mississippi so that all the resource teachers and trainees could participate sometime during the year. Also there should be more workshops in the areas.

FOR	AGAINST
Most of the teachers in the centers want to learn new ways to work with the children. But there have not been enough workshops or chances to go to training courses. It is also difficult to go out of state for so long.	The people in the community know what is best for their children and they do not need special training to work with their children.

COMMUNITY COMMENTS ON TEACHER TRAINING CENTER GJ

PROBLEM #1

(Do you have any better ideas?)

Agrees with the OEO proposal of 8 wk training in Miss.

Also

Have a brief training session ~~with~~ for each local committee to give them instructions like the attached sheet. Giving them the sheet isn't good enough. They should have a few days of workshop

PROBLEM #2

WHO SHOULD HIRE THE RESOURCE TEACHERS AND TRAINEES AND WHO SHOULD MAKE SURE THEY DO THEIR JOBS?

Suggestions for OEO Proposal:

The elected community committee should be responsible for hiring the staff for the center and should be responsible for the kind of program this staff has for the children. If the teacher does not turn out to be good, the committee will fire her.

FOR	AGAINST
The people in the community want a center for their children. They know the best people in the community to work with the children. They know what happens in the center. They, not someone outside the community, should hire and fire the staff.	The community committee does not always hire people who work hard to become good teachers. Sometimes the community committee lets teachers continue to stay on the payroll even though they are not helping the children. This may hurt the children, and, if it is reported to OEO, may make it harder for other centers to get a grant to continue their program.

COMMUNITY COMMENTS ON TEACHER HIRING CENTER G.J.

PROBLEM #2

1. Yes, however local committee must submit minutes of all meetings to the AA with names of members present and names of those absent.

2. The committee members should have their responsibilities, limitations and duties in written. Every member and employee should have a copy of these instructions

PROBLEM #3

WHO SHOULD HIRE THE AREA TEACHER GUIDE? THE AREA ADMINISTRATOR? THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZER?

Suggestion for OEO Proposal:

There should be an Area Council which is made up of representatives from the CDGM communities. This Area Council would hire the Area Staff and would be responsible for making sure that the Area Staff do their jobs.

FOR	AGAINST
Representatives of Communities in the area know which people can do the kind of work that is necessary. They know better than the Central Staff when the Area Staff are doing their jobs and when they are not.	The Area Council may want to hire the Area Staff but will not take the responsibility when the Area Staff does not work well.

COMMUNITY COMMENTS ON HIRING AREA STAFF CENTER AJ

PROBLEM #3

However Area Staff can be fired by Central office or else needs to be approved before being hired

Area Council must meet at least once per month and submit minutes to Central Office with names of member at meeting and names of absent members

PROBLEM #4

THE CENTRAL STAFF DOES NOT GET EDUCATIONAL SUPPLIES, FOOD, REIMBURSEMENT, OR RENT AND TRANSPORTATION PAYMENTS TO THE CENTERS FAST ENOUGH. AND PEOPLE IN OUR COMMUNITIES ARE NOT LEARNING HOW TO DO THESE THINGS.

Suggestion for OEO proposal:

In some areas, the Area Council and their Area Staff could be responsible for buying supplies, purchasing food checks, and paying for rent and transportation contracts instead of waiting for central staff to do it. Where there are not enough people in the area to be trained to do these things, the central staff could find consultants who would be available for the Area Council to hire in order to help train and work with the staff in the communities until they could do the work themselves.

FOR	AGAINST
As long as Central Staff continues to do these things, the communities will not be able to run their own projects. There are enough consultants available to help the Area Staff get started and train them to do the jobs themselves.	There are not enough people in the areas who could really do these jobs. It would be better to let Central Staff continue doing them.

COMMUNITY COMMENTS ON HANDLING MONEY CENTER GS

PROBLEM #4

✓ Agree

PROBLEM #5

SOME COMMUNITIES AND AREAS FEEL THEY COULD DO SOME THINGS BETTER IN THEIR AREAS THAN IT IS NOW BEING DONE BY CENTRAL STAFF, AND THEY WANT TO DO THESE THINGS FOR THEMSELVES. EACH CENTER AND EACH AREA MAY HAVE DIFFERENT IDEAS ABOUT WHAT IT WANTS TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR -- PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN, EDUCATIONAL SUPPLIES, PAYROLL, MEDICAL EXPENSES, ETC.

Suggestion for OEO Proposal:

During the next two months, each community will select representatives for an Area Council which will decide what that particular area wants to do for itself. The Board of Directors and Central Staff will arrange to find people who can help in the areas in this attempt if it is needed.

For example, if an Area Council wanted to make its own payroll but did not have an Area Staff employee who was experienced in this, a consultant could be found by the Area Council who would help the area staff learn how to make payrollchecks and would stay in the area until the staff could handle this as its own. The same thing could happen in the program for children.

FOR	AGAINST
This arrangement would allow each area to take the responsibility for itself of as many activities of CDGM as it wanted. More things would be done locally, and more people would be trained to do them.	People in the areas do not want to be responsible for these things yet.

COMMUNITY COMMENTS ON JOBS OF AREA STAFF CENTER GJ

PROBLEM #5

Each local committee will probably be elected shortly, I assume. Then the secretary and one or more members at-large on committee should be on Area Council. In other words, Chairman & Vice chairman of local committees should NOT be permitted to serve on Area Council

PROBLEM #6

HOW CAN THE PEOPLE'S WISHES BE REPRESENTED IN
1. WHAT POWERS THE STATEWIDE BOARD OF DIRECTORS SHOULD HAVE AND
2. WHO WILL SERVE ON THE BOARD?

Suggestions for OEO Proposal:

Each community will hold a publically announced election to choose a community committee which will have
1. the power to make decisions about the center and
2. the power to choose representatives to an Area Council. Each representative will have the power to speak for his community in the Area Council.

Each Area Council will send representatives to the statewide Board of Directors. Each representative will have the power to speak for his Area on the Board.

From the statewide meeting next Saturday, a Steering and By-laws committee will be selected.

COMMUNITY COMMENTS ON THE BOARD OF CDGM CENTER GJ

Re: pt. 2.
Area Council members should be people from local committee. however. Chairman and vice-chairman should ~~be~~ NOT be permitted to be members of Area Council.

~~OK~~

~~Area~~

PROBLEM #7

THERE NEEDS TO BE SOMEONE IN THE CENTER ON A FULL-TIME BASIS TO COORDINATE ACTIVITIES, MAKE SURE FOOD IS PURCHASED, TRANSPORTATION AND TRIPS ARE ARRANGED, MEDICAL EXAMS ARE IMPLEMENTED, ETC.

Suggestions for OEO proposal

The position of Administrative Assistant to the Community Chairman be established. As the Administrator for the center, this person would be responsible to the community committee to make sure everything would run smoothly in the center. The salary would be in the range of $75 - $100. per week

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COMMUNITY COMMENTS ON CENTER ADMINISTRATOR CENTER GJ

PROBLEM #7

(1.) Adm. Assist. should NOT be a member of local committee. In other words, local committee CAN NOT appoint someone from their (committee) group or immediate family to this position.

(2.) Adm. Assist. under control of local committee. His instructions should be in writing ~~and signed by majority~~ or in minutes.

PROBLEM #8

HOW CAN WE MAKE SURE THE CHILDREN RECEIVE GOOD, BALANCED MEALS IN THE CENTER?

Suggestion:

There should be a person on the Area Staff who knows about health and proper diet. In addition, there should be one full-time head cook in each center who would plan meals with the Area Staff dietician, and purchase the food, and be in charge of the preparation of the meals for the children. The salary for the head cook would be $50 - $60 per week.

COMMUNITY COMMENTS ON BETTER MEALS CENTER GJ

PROBLEM #3

Agree

PROBLEM #9

OEO HAS CERTAIN MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR HEAD-START CENTERS: THERE MUST BE SUFFICIENT SPACE IN THE CENTER, A CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, ETC. WHO SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE TO SEE THAT THE CENTERS MEET THESE MINIMUM STANDARDS?

Suggestion for OEO Proposal:

The community committee should be informed of these minimum standards and should be responsible for making sure their center meets them. However, if the center does not meet these standards, the Area Council or the Board of Directors will have to take action.

COMMUNITY COMMENTS ON PROGRAM CENTER GJ

PROBLEM #9

Please, please enforce these minimum requirements. Presently we have more children than any sensible person should permit

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REQUIRES THAT ALL PEOPLE BE CONSIDERED FOR EMPLOYMENT WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, RELIGION, CREED, OR PLACE OF NATIONAL ORIGIN. OEO ALSO ASKS IF THERE IS ANY REASON WHY ANY HEAD-START CENTER WILL NOT BE INTEGRATED.

HOW WOULD YOUR COMMUNITY ANSWER THIS QUESTION?

For	Against
We should make every effort to integrate our centers. We are working for an integrated society. Having white children and white staff in the centers helps the children overcome their fears of whites and makes them able to grow up facing up to a white society.	We are working for an integrated society. We are working to improve ourselves and our position Our first responsibility is to our own community and to our own children. Whites who want to participate in our program should be treated fairly without discrimination; however, no special effort to bring whites into the program should be made.

COMMUNITY COMMENTS ON INTEGRATION CENTER GJ

PROBLEM #11

Suggestion for OEO Proposal:

The salaries for the staff in the centers would remain in the same range, but the requirement of each position and the rate of pay would be written out more clearly.

Payments for rent and transportation would also remain about the same, but with clearer guidelines about the rates which could be paid in each case.

All of these things would be worked out in detail with each Area Council

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COMMUNITY COMMENTS CENTER GJ

PROBLEM #11

Agreed

APPENDIX X

PROPOSAL FOR CENTRAL STAFF EDITORIAL BOARD

This memorandum presents a proposal for expansion of the Instructional Materials Department, Child Development Group of Mississippi, to allow for the establishment of an Editorial Training Board which would provide basic research materials and in-service training for all CDGM departments. The overall purpose of this board would be to furnish guidelines and editorial assistance for writing materials at a reading level that would permit wider circulation among CDGM personnel as well as interested community people outside CDGM. The results of the research and basic field work conducted by this board would also be made available to all projects within the state. In addition, it would be hoped that by building an overall staff capability in writing for the rural community, newsletters and other publications could be developed specifically for the purpose of reaching people outside CDGM staff. An additional staff of four would be needed to fulfill these functions.

Problem

Of the publications currently produced and distributed by CDGM central staff (ie: newsletters, training materials, memos, OEO information) few have been written at a reading level comparable to the reading ability of most rural adult Mississippians. Within the structure of CDGM, this discrepancy between the readability of printed materials and the actual reading ability of local staff personnel has forced a dependence upon oral presentation as the primary means for transfer of information to the local level. Teacher training materials, for example, are currently designed to be read to local teachers and teacher trainees. Under this system, local personnel are frequently asked to remember large sets of oral directions and as a logical result, some of these directions are forgotten before they can be incorporated into procedures for operating the local centers.

Perhaps more important, this inability to create written materials capable of being read at the local level has contributed to a lack of knowledge within the communities about the aims and goals of CDGM and of other OEO projects within the state. At present, community people can learn of these goals only through direct personal contacts; and CDGM has not yet succeeded in reaching large numbers of people who may not have been contacted about the project or, if contacted, were not sufficiently interested to join in community meetings. Special publications, designed specifically for the local community and written at a level of readability that will reach most of the members of the community, are required.

Proposal

The proposed editorial training board would establish guidelines for writing materials wherever wider circulation among local CDGM personnel, as well as interested community people outside CDGM, is intended or desired. A full-time staff of three would be needed to provide these services. Two of this staff would conduct initial research in the field, on-going training in local areas, and follow-up studies of the materials generated by the department. The third person would serve as full-time writer and editor. Additional office space and some special equipment (ie: a tape recorder and a typewriter with outsized type face) would be required. The board would receive initial training and overall supervision through the Department of Instructional Materials. In addition, an executive secretary would be needed to serve the board as well as the overall needs of the Department.

The following objectives would comprise the basic activities of the Editorial Training Board:

(1) Revision of Materials Already Being Used by CDGM: The most important of these revisions would concern the teacher training notebook developed by the Program Department. At present this notebook, which contains suggestions for recreational and educational activities in the local centers, is distributed among the resource teachers to be introduced to the local centers. The attempt would be made to translate these materials to a lower readability level so they could be sent directly to the local teachers. In addition, specific exercises for upgrading reading skills among these teachers would be added to the revised copy. Thus, these revised materials would be designed to teach better reading at the same time as they would introduce new teaching techniques to the local teacher and teacher trainees. It is expected that a complete set of set-instructional teacher training materials could be developed within this grant period which would be suitable for use in other Head Start Projects as well.

In addition, memos and phamplets already distributed by various CDGM departments would be rewritten and re-distributed directly to local personnel. The selection of these existing materials would depend on their importance and frequency of use in local areas. Office memos concerning working hours and departmental procedures, community memos explaining participation in Head Start, and OEO publications explaining the aims and goals of the proverty program would certainly be included.

(2) On-going Revision of Materials as Requested by Central Office Departments: All departments within CDGM would be informed of the capability of the training board to re-write materials at a tested level of readability for local communities. Each department could request revision of materials for local use by submitting rough drafts of the materials to the board. The board would then re-write and return the copy to the department with explanations for changes and recommendations for future communications. In this way, the board would not merely edit, but would also provide some training to all departments for simplifing reading difficulties in all materials.

(3) Creation of New Materials by the Board: Two types of materials would be included. First, the board would make the results of its research available throughout CDGM and to all other projects within the state. The specific products of the research would include:

(1) a revised basic vocabulary list
(2) an analysis of standard sentence structures
(3) an analysis of basic format requirements

Second, the board would initiate cooperation with other departments to establish a newsletter designed specifically for community use. All departments would be asked to submit newsworthy items to the board for inclusion in this publication.

Procedures

Developmental: There are only three criteria for measuring readability: vocabulary, sentence structure, and format. Of these, existing guidelines are useful only in setting standards for the creation of format. The standard vocabulary lists, as well as the guides for limiting sentence structures, were originally designed for children and do not relate to the regional speech patterns of Mississippians. An initial period for field research (about two and a half weeks) would be needed to revise these formulas.

As a first step in this research, the field staff would conduct informal test sessions among the local teacher and community people to determine existing reading ability and to specify areas where the need for revised materials is greatest. Some standard tests might be used such as the Gates Reading Survey, the Gilmore Oral Reading Test, and the Langmuir Oral Directions Test, although greater reliance would be placed on informal test questions developed by the department.

Following this initial sample of existing reading skills in the community, the field workers would initiate research to determine basic vocabulary and sentence structure requirements. This research would be conducted with reference to the standard word lists (Lorge-Thorndike, Dolch) and readability formulas (Spache, Dale-Chall) through informal conferences. Each conference would be taped, and frequent departures from the standard lists would be individually noted.

Individual vocabulary items would be divided into two categories of structural and non-structural words. The structural vocabulary would be made up of words common to all sentences regardless of subject (i.e: articles, prepositions, conjunctions, state-of-being verbs, and auxiliary verbs). These words, about 200 in all, would be measured for frequency and position within sentences spoken by members of the community, and the standard list would be modified according to popular usage. The non-structural words (nouns, action verbs, and modifiers) refer to specific subjects and can be either included or excluded from a basic word list depending on the type of information that needs to be communicated. Initially, these words would be selected through analysis of the specific tasks required within CDGM, as well as through informal testing administered orally among appropriate community personnel. Thus, the local teacher would require one kind of list (words like chalk, blackboard, lesson etc.) whereas the area administrators would require a vocabulary dealing more directly with business and administration. As the board gains experience and feedback from the community, the most essential non-structural words from these various lists would be incorporated into a single list designed for reaching community people outside CDGM.

For limiting sentence structures, categories already established by Charters[1] and O'Rourke[2] for the classification of non-standard usage, syntax, and grammar would be employed. These categories are as follows.

items involving the use of verbs
items involving the use of pronouns
items involving omission or repetition
items involving the use of prepositions and conjunctions
items involving the use of modifiers
items involving the use of nouns

Wherever non-standard items are found to be widely used at the community level they would be incorporated into the revised readability formula.

1. W.W. Charters, "Minimum Essentials in Elementary Language and Grammar." 16th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, (Chicago: NSSE 1917).

2. L.J. O'Rourke, Rebuilding the English Curriculum (Washington: The Psychological Institute, 1934).

Operational: The actual translation of materials to a lower level or readability would begin immediately following the developmental phase. Since the two-and-a-half week period proposed is not intended to produce exhaustive research, continual updating of materials will be required during this operations phase. To meet this need, the field staff would be assigned to a split schedule: during part of the week they would be assigned to central office to write and produce materials, at other times they would return to the field to conduct followup studies of the materials translated by the department. In this way, the overall guidelines for readability would be continually revised and improved.

For the first few weeks of operation, translation of materials would be restricted to communications dealing with occupational goals within the structure of CDGM. This would include the teacher training materials, and all communications to local and area staff. Such a limitation would allow the board to field test its various vocabulary lists before attempting to produce a more generalized list for community people outside CDGM. It is expected that the board would function in all areas, including the production of a community newsletter, approximately four to six weeks after the initiation of the project.

A G R E E M E N T

1. Mary Holmes Junior College, owned and operated by the Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, shall be the grantee of OEO Headstart Grant No._____, with ultimate accountability to the Office of Economic Opportunity (hereinafter OEO) for administration of Headstart Grant No._____ in the amount of $_____. Mary Holmes Junior College hereby delegates to the Child Development Group of Mississippi (hereinafter CDGM) responsibility for operating a pre-school Headstart program in accordance with the OEO Guidelines and existing state and federal regulations pertaining to the operation of the program, the activities to be carried out by the CDGM in accordance with the application submitted by Mary Holmes Junior College to the OEO on _____, 196__ and approved _____, 196____.

2. The CDGM shall be responsible for the maintenance of records and accounts, including property, personnel and financial records, pursuant to and in accordance with an accounting system agreeable to Mary Holmes

Junior College, the CDGM and the OEO. This accounting system must be designed to assure proper accounting of all project funds, both federal and non-federal shares. Copies of all audits of the CDGM's records and accounts shall be submitted to Mary Holmes Junior College. The accounting system established by the Certified Public Accountants agreed upon by Mary Holmes Junior College, the CDGM and the OEO shall be attached hereto and made a part of this Agreement.

3. The CDGM shall obtain a bond to indemnify Mary Holmes Junior College for any misuse of funds resulting from dishonesty of persons employed under OEO Grant No. _____. Mary Holmes Junior College shall provide the CDGM with names of all persons employed by them who have fiscal responsibilities. A copy of the bond shall be given to Mary Holmes Junior College.

4. If a dispute arises under the uniform accounting system agreed upon by all parties, payment of the disputed item shall be disallowed and the dispute shall be referred to the Director of the CDGM or his agent, the President of Mary Holmes Junior College or his agent,

and Robert Barrie, Executive Secretary, General Department of Health, Education and Welfare of the Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, for resolution. If the Director of the CDGM or his agent and the President of Mary Holmes Junior College or his agent and Robert Barrie, Executive Secretary, General Department of Health, Education and Welfare of the Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, are unable to resolve the dispute, it shall be referred to the OEO with the recommendations of the Director of the CDGM, the President of Mary Holmes Junior College and Robert Barrie. Payment of the disputed item shall thereafter be made only on the written authorization of the OEO.

5. Mary Holmes Junior College shall provide the CDGM Board of Directors with copies of all audits and other financial reports submitted to Mary Holmes Junior College, their agents or representatives, including periodic audit reports of all expenditures made by Mary Holmes Junior College from grant funds, pursuant to OEO Headstart Grant No. _____.

6. All program records maintained by CDGM and

Mary Holmes Junior College shall be available to either party upon request.

7. The CDGM and Mary Holmes Junior College shall be bound by this Agreement throughout the operation of OEO Grant No. _____.

This _____day of _____, 196___.

BUDGET

MARY HOLMES JUNIOR COLLEGE

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI

HEAD START PROPOSAL

September 26, 1966 to September 29, 1967

The following budget represents the estimated costs of funding the programs outlined in the foregoing sections of this proposal. It is based on the following summary data:

1. 13,500 Children registered in Child Development Centers.
2. 900 Units of 15 children per Unit.
3. 170 Centers in 37 counties.
4. 20 Administrative Areas with staff.
5. 1 Central Office in Jackson, Mississippi.
6. Grantee: Mary Holmes Junior College, West Point, Mississippi.
7. Period of Grant: 1 year.
8. Child Development Centers in operation: 50 weeks.

SUMMARY: OEO COST CATEGORIES

		Federal Share	Non-Federal Share	
I.	Personnel			$15,187,642
	Mary Holmes Junior College	$ 23,341	$ --------	
	Board and Office of Evaluation	53,664	--------	
	Central Office	694,027	69,403	
	Area Office	1,223,092	110,794	
	Area Demonstration Center	192,300	--------	
	Centers	10,750,408	2,070,613	
		12,936,832	$2,250,810	
II.	Consultants and Contract Services			969,250
	Mary Holmes Junior College	$ 98,000	--------	
	Board and Office of Evaluation	20,000	--------	
	Central Office	368,250	--------	
	Area Office	------	--------	
	Area Demonstration Center	10,500	--------	
	Centers	472,500	--------	
III.	Travel			2,089,670
	Mary Holmes Junior College	$ 26,340	--------	
	Board and Office of Evaluation	43,380	--------	
	Central Office	168,650	--------	
	Area Office	345,600	--------	
	Area Demonstration Center	44,000	--------	
	Centers	1,461,700	--------	
IV.	Space Costs and Rental			505,852
	Mary Holmes Junior College	$ ------	--------	
	Board and Office of Evaluation	400	--------	
	Central Office	47,252	--------	
	Area Office	24,000	--------	
	Area Demonstration Center	13,000	--------	
	Centers	421,200	--------	

Summary: OEO Categories (cont'd)

		Federal Share	Non-Federal Share	
V.	Consumable Supplies			1,102,153
	Mary Holmes Junior College	$ 3,600	$ -------	
	Board and Office of Evaluation	1,300	-------	
	Central Office	93,956	-------	
	Area Office	12,425	-------	
	Area Demonstration Center	52,240	-------	
	Centers	938,632	-------	
VI.	Rental, Leases, and Purchase of Equipment			142,934
	Mary Holmes Junior College	$ 1,980	-------	
	Board and Office of Evaluation	-----	-------	
	Central Office	63,172	-------	
	Area Office	40,300	-------	
	Area Demonstration Center	10,000	-------	
	Centers	27,482	-------	
VII.	Other Costs			2,625,754
	Mary Holmes Junior College	$ 3,000	-------	
	Board and Office of Evaluation	-----	-------	
	Central Office	160,254	-------	
	Area Office	24,000	-------	
	Area Demonstration Center	53,500	-------	
	Centers	2,385,000	-------	
	GRAND TOTAL	20,372,445	2,250,810	22,623,255

BUDGET SUMMARY -- MARY HOLMES JUNIOR COLLEGE

* I.	Personnel	$ 23,341
II.	Consultants and Contract Services	98,000
III.	Travel	26,340
IV.	Space Costs	------
V.	Consumable Supplies	3,600
VI.	Rental, Lease, or Purchase of Equipment	1,980
VII.	Other	3,000
	TOTAL	$ 156,261

* OEO Cost Categories

Budget Detail: Mary Holmes Junior College

I.	Personnel		$ 23,341
		Per Annum	
1.		$ 12,000	
	Explanation: The Project Coordinator will have overall responsibility for administrative coordination of all project programs for the Grantee, for resource planning, for evaluation and reporting, and for the Office of Economic Opportunity.		
2.	Executive Secretary	5,200	
	Explanation: Salary @ $100 per week Secretary to Project Coordinator		
3.	Receptionist-Typist @ $75 per week	3,900	
4.	Janitor	1,300	
	Explanation: Salary @$25 per week		
5.	FICA @ 4.2%	941	
II.	Consultants and Contract Services		$ 98,000
	Program Consultants and Analysts	$ 50,000	
	Explanation: 500 Days @ $100 per day. Consultants and analysts will be employed to provide evaluation of all aspects of program and administration, and recommendations for remedial measures. Through the nationwide contacts of the Grantee, special efforts will be made to obtain consultants in the areas of program which require the greatest support: Public health, mental health, psychological services, and nutrition.		

2. Program Auditors ..... $ 23,000

Explanation: As the grantee with full responsibility to the Office of Economic Opportunity for the efficient expenditure of federal funds, the Mary Holmes Junior College requires internal program and management auditors to insure the most effective implementation of the project. It is anticipated that the Mary Holmes Junior College will employ at least two individuals on a full-time contract basis for this purpose.

3. Systems Analysis and Final Audit 25,000

Explanation: Cost may vary considerably depending on the number of Areas which actually begin semi-autonomous operation by the end of the project.

III. Travel ..... $ 26,340

1. Consultant per diem ..... $ 6,000
Explanation: 500 Days @ $12 per day

2. Staff per diem 1,200
Explanation: 100 Days @ $12 per day

3. 2 Rental automobiles 6,480
Explanation: Rate of $270 per month based on best quote in Jackson, Mississippi

4. Gasoline for 2 rental automobiles 2,160
Explanation: Calculated @ $90 per month for 12 months

5. Consultant travel 8,700
Explanation: 50 Round trips at $150 per trip $7,500
12,000 Miles in-state @ 10 cents per mile..... 1,200

6. Other staff travel ..... $ 1,800
   Explanation: 12 Round trips @ $150 per trip

IV. Space Costs and Rentals ..... $ ---------

V. Consumable Supplies 3,600

1. Office supplies ..... $ 2,400
   Explanation: Estimated @ $200 per month

2. Postage 1,200
   Explanation: Estimated at $100 per month

VI. Rental, Lease, or Purchase of Equipment 1,980

Explanation: 2 Electric typewriter @ $20 per month each
1 Calculator @ $35 per month
Duplicating equipment @ $75 per month
Air conditioning @ $30 per month for 6 months

VII. Other 3,000

1. Utilities ..... $ 600
   Explanation: Estimated @ $50 per month

2. Telephone 2,400
   Explanation: Estimated @ $200 per month

BUDGET SUMMARY: BOARD AND OFFICE OF EVALUATION

* I.	Personnel	$ 53,664
II.	Consultant and Contract Services	20,000
III.	Travel	43,380
IV.	Space Costs and Rentals	400
V.	Consumable Supplies	1,300
VI.	Equipment	-----
VII.	Other	-----
	TOTAL	$118,744

* OEO Cost categories

Budget Detail: Board and Office of Evaluation

I. Personnel ..... $ 53,664

Per Annum

1. Chairman of the Board .....$ 9,100

Explanation: Salary @ $175 per week. Current experience has made it evident that there is need for a full-time Chairman whose responsibility is to facilitate the work of the Board and its five permanent committees; coordinate the activities of the Board of Evaluation; and participate fully in all major operating policy decisions. With its expanded size and more complex responsibilities under this proposal, the necessity for such a position is even greater.

2. Director of Educational Evaluation 10,400

Explanation: Salary @ $200 per week.
The Director is responsible for evaluation of the program for children in each Center and reporting directly through the Chairman to the Board whether minimum standards are being maintained. Where appropriate, recommendations for ameliorative measures, or for sanctions, will be made. If an Area desires to become semi-autonomous, the Director will assess the Area's preparedness and be responsible for providing program certification and recommendation to the Board. The Director will, in addition, evaluate the effectiveness of Central staff in achieving and supporting the program and goals. This position will demand someone with superior knowledge and judgment concerning community pre-schools for the poor. (See Narrative, Section III, A-2)

3. Assistants to the Director (2)..... 15,600

Explanation: Salary of each @ $150 per week.
With a project including 900 units in 20 Areas throughout the State, the task of maintaining accurate and adequate data will require two assistants to the Director.

4. Secretary ..... $ 4,420

Explanation: Salary @ $85 per week
Secretary to Chairman of Board, and Director of Evaluation

5. Director of Community Program Evaluation 10,400

Explanation: Salary @ $200 per week
Function and responsibilities similar to the Director of Educational Evaluation but in the sphere of community programs.

6. FICA and fringe benefits @ 7.5% 3,744

II. Consultants and Contract Services ..... $ 20,000

1. Certification Audits (Financial and Area Management) $10,000
Explanation: $1,000 per Area, 10 Areas
It is projected that half of the 20 Areas will become semi-autonomous

2. Random, periodic, and year-end audits ..... $ 10,000
Explanation: For semi-autonomous Areas

III. Travel 43,380

1. Board out-of-state ..... $ 4,500
Explanation: 1 Trip @ $150 per Board member per year

2. Mileage reimbursement for Board members 5,760
Explanation: Estimate one Board meeting per month, one committee meeting per month, with reimbursement at 8 cents per mile for average of 100 miles per meeting

3. Board per diem 2,880
Explanation: 1 Day @ $8 per day per month for each of 30 members

4. Chairman of the Board cost allowance ..... $ 1,200

   Explanation: The Chairman of the Board has extreme demands placed on him to fulfill his obligations to the communities. This cost allowance is estimated at $100 per month.

5. Annual Convention - Mileage 2,720

   Explanation: The Constitution calls for two representatives from each Center to meet annually in convention. Cost is estimated at 8 cents per mile for average of 100 miles for 340 people.

6. Annual Convention per diem 5,440

   Explanation: 340 Delegates for 2 days @ $8 per day

7. Rental Cars: Office of Evaluation 12,960

   Explanation: Each of the 4 permanent professional staff will require a car for travel to Areas and Centers. Cost estimated at current rate of $270 per month.

8. Gasoline - Office of Evaluation 4,320

   Explanation: Estimated at $90 per month for 4 cars above.

9. Office of Evaluation - Per diem 3,600

   Explanation: Most of the work of the professional in the Office of Evaluation will be in the field. This budgetary allotment provides 100 days for 4 staff at $8 per day, and 50 days for Chairman of Board.

IV.	Space Costs and Rentals		$ 400
	1. Board Meetings	$ 300	
	Explanation: 12 Monthly meetings @ $25 per meeting		
	2. Annual Convention	100	
	Explanation: Meeting Hall for 510 people		
V.	Consumable Supplies		1,300
	1. Board and Committee Meetings	$ 1,200	
	Explanation: Includes miscellaneous supplies, coffee, food, etc., at estimated $12.50 per meeting		
	2. Annual Convention	100	
	Explanation: Miscellaneous supplies, coffee, as above		
VI.	Rental, Lease, or Purchase of Equipment		-----
VII.	Other Costs		-----

BUDGET SUMMARY - CENTRAL OFFICE

I.	Personnel	$ 694,027
II.	Consultants and Contract Services	368,250
III.	Travel	168,650
IV.	Space Costs and Rentals	47,252
V.	Consumable Supplies	93,956
VI.	Rental, Lease, and Purchase of Equipment	63,172
VII.	Other Costs	160,254
	TOTAL	$ 1,595,561
	NON-FEDERAL SHARE	69,403
	GRAND TOTAL	$ 1,664,964

BUDGET DETAIL: CENTRAL OFFICE

I. PERSONNEL

Explanation: listed below are the central office personnel required for efficient operation of the proposed program. There is a necessary increase in the size of the central administrative staff to handle the expanded program. This occurs particularly with the addition of clerks to process the enlarged volume of material and "field advisors or consultants" who will be able to work with areas having particular problems, solve difficulties anticipated through the more effective management reporting system, and perform on the job training in the field. The greatest restructuring occurs in the Division of Teacher Development and Program for Children. One professional Field Advisor per area is considered essential to continue and accelerate the qualitative improvement in the pre-school program.

Salaries are estimated within a grade range and some discretionary flexibility within the 20% limitations prescribed by CAP Memo 23 is to be expected. A full description of job classifications, grade levels, and salary ranges are included in the Personnel Plan submitted to OEO.

Due to the anticipated development of semi-autonomous areas, there is a projected decrease in central staff personnel costs of 5% per month, beginning in month 7 for the duration of the project. If staff becomes redundant more rapidly, the rate of attrition will be increased accordingly.

Specific positions follow:

A. Office of Director	Salary Per Week	Annual Rate
1. Director	301	15,652
2. Deputy Director for Adminestration	261	13,572
3. Deputy Director for Program	261	13,572
4. Reports and Records Officer	210	10,920

		Salary Per Week	Annual Rate
5.	Administrative Assistant of Program	125	6,500
6.	Administrative Assistant of Operation and Administration	125	6,500
7.	Secretary (1)	90	4,680
8.	Secretary (2)	90	4,680
9.	Secretary (3)	90	4,680
10.	Secretary (4)	85	4,420
11.	Secretary (5)	80	4,160

B. Administration

1.	Associate Director	250	13,000
2.	Assistant Associate Director	176	9,125
3.	Disbursements Officer	125	6,500
4.	Financial Assistant - preparation of contract payments	100	5,200
5.	Coding Officer	103	5,356
6.	Comptroller	Contract	
7.	Assistant Comptroller	Contract	
8.	Tab Supervisor	150	7,800
9.	Key Punch Verifier	90	4,680
10.	Purchasing Manager	175	9.100
11.	Inventory Officer	103	5,356
12.	Office Manager	125	6,500
13.	Duplicating Officer	85	4,420
14.	Clerk: Duplicating	75	3,900
15.	Clerk: Duplicating (Xerox)	75	3,900
16.	Clerk: Receptionist	75	3,900
17.	Clerk: Mail	75	3,900
18.	Clerk: General Office	65	3,380
19.	Secretary (1)	90	4,680
20.	Secretary (10)	90	4,680
21.	Secretary (12)	80	4,160
22.	Temporary help (Extra duplicating, reception, moving, etc.)		5,500

		Salary Per Week	Annual Rate
C.	Personnel		
1.	Associate Director	250	13,000
2.	Assistant Associate Director	176	9,152
3.	Payroll Officer	125	6,500
4.	Payroll Clerk	75	3,900
5.	Payroll Clerk	75	3,900
6.	Clerk-Typist	80	4,160
7.	Secretary (1 & 2)	90	4,680
D.	Field Operations		
1.	Associate Director	250	13,000
2.	Assistant Associate Director	176	9,152
3.	Administrative Assistant	125	6,500
4.	Administrative Assistant	125	6,500
5.	Field Advisor - specific problems	150	7,800
6.	Field Advisor - specific problems	150	7,800
7.	Secretary (1)	90	4,680
8.	Secretary (3 & 4)	85	4,420
9.	Clerk Typist	75	3,900
E.	Program for Children		
1.	Associate Director	250	13,000
2.	Deputy Associate Director	200	10,400
3.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
4.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
5.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
6.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
7.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
8.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
9.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
10.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
11.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
12.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
13.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
14.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
15.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
16.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800
17.	Field Consultant (Program for Children)	150	7,800

		Salary Per Week	Annual Rate
18.	Administrative Assistant for Associate Director	125	6,500
19.	Administrative Assistant for Deputy Associate Director	125	6,500
20.	Coordinating Officer (Field Consultant)	103	5,356
21.	Secretary (1)	90	4,680
22.	Secretary (2)	85	4,420
23.	Secretarial Pool (3)	75	3,900
24.	Secretarial Pool (3)	75	3,900
25.	Secretarial Pool (3)	75	3,900
26.	Clerk (Carrier)	75	3,900

F. Community Program

1.	Associate Director	250	13,000
2.	Secretary (1)	90	4,680
3.	Medical Director (M.D.)	Contract	
4.	Assistant Medical Coordinators (2)	125	13,000
5.	Public Health Coordinator	150	7,800
6.	Nutrition Coordinator	150	7,800
7.	Secretary (3)	85	4,420
8.	Clerk Typists	65	3,380
9.	Clerk-Typists	65	3,380
10.	Clerk-Typists	65	3,380
11.	Social Services Coordinator	150	7,800
12.	Assistant Coordinator Social Service	125	6,500
13.	Field Advisor (Community Program)	100	5,200
14.	Field Advisor (Community Program)	100	5,200
15.	Secretary (12)	80	4,160
16.	Clerk-Typists	65	3,380
17.	Clerk-Typists	65	3,380
18.	Director of Leadership Training	150	7,800
19.	Assistant Director of Leadership Training	125	6,500
20.	Secretary for Leadership Training	85	4,420
21.	Clerk-Typists	65	3,380

		Salary Per Week	Annual Rate
INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS			
22.	Coordinator	150	7,800
23.	Curriculum Development Specialist	150	7,800
24.	Editorial Writer	150	7,800
25.	Field Evaluator	100	5,200
26.	Field Evaluator	100	5,200
27.	Secretary	80	4,160
28.	Clerk-Typists	65	3,380
29.	Clerk-Typists	65	3,380
	Totals	$12,590+$5,500	$660,180
	FICA @ 7.5%		49,514
	Total		$709,694
	Less projected 5% decrease		15,667
	TOTAL		$694,027

Budget Detail: Central Office (Cont.)

II. Consultant and Contract Services 368,250

1. Program and Management Consultants.....153,200

Explanation: Although CDGM is becoming more self-sufficient in providing the necessary professional support to the areas and centers, it will still be necessary to obtain highly specialized resources in such fields as psychology, speech therapy, community development and administration through consultant services. In those areas which "spin-off", the Area will receive a pro-rated share of the consultant funds remaining to the project.

Teacher Development - Area Demonstration.....
Program Coordinator - Area Demonstration..... } 30,000

Explanation: 1 week every 3 weeks
5 days @ 75 per day x 16 weeks x 5 areas

Teacher Development and Program for Children..... 10,000

Explanation: Educational Program Specialists
100 days @ 100 per day

Medical Director..... 10,400

Explanation: 2 days per week @ 100 per day for 52 weeks

Dental Director..... 7,800

Explanation: 2 days per week @ 75 per day for 52 weeks

Area Medical Consultants..... 20,000

Explanation: In order to provide the most effective physical examination and medical follow-up program, a provision of 1,000 per Area for consultation has been made.

Budget Detail: Central Office (Cont.)

Community Program Development.....15,000

Explanation: The development of effective public health, nutrition, psychology, group work, social work, and other community improvement programs will demand specialists in a variety of fields. This provides 150 days @ 100 per day.

Professional - Other.....60,000

Explanation: In this complex and massive program, we must anticipate certain management problems which will require the ability to call on intensive, specialized management assistance for short periods in order to insure the effective implementation and administration of the proposed program. Such needs may include Personnel administration, management reporting and control, data processing, and transportation.

2. Legal.....2,400

Explanation: Estimate at 24 days, $100 per day. The need for legal services will be expected to increase during the period when areas begin semi-autonomous operation and enter into contractural relationships with independent support services. The legal relationship between the area itself and the Board of CDGM will also require review in each case.

3. Facilities Evaluation.....4,000

Explanation: With the great difficulty in obtaining adequate facilities for the child development centers, there is need for professional advice on designing contracts, reviewing negotiations and agreements, and developing new methods of self-help improvements. Expenditure is estimated to be 20 days @ 100 and 40 days @ 50.

4. Comptroller 42,800

Explanation: Estimated cost for one full-time comptroller with periodic assistance to handle increased volume and internal auditing requirements.

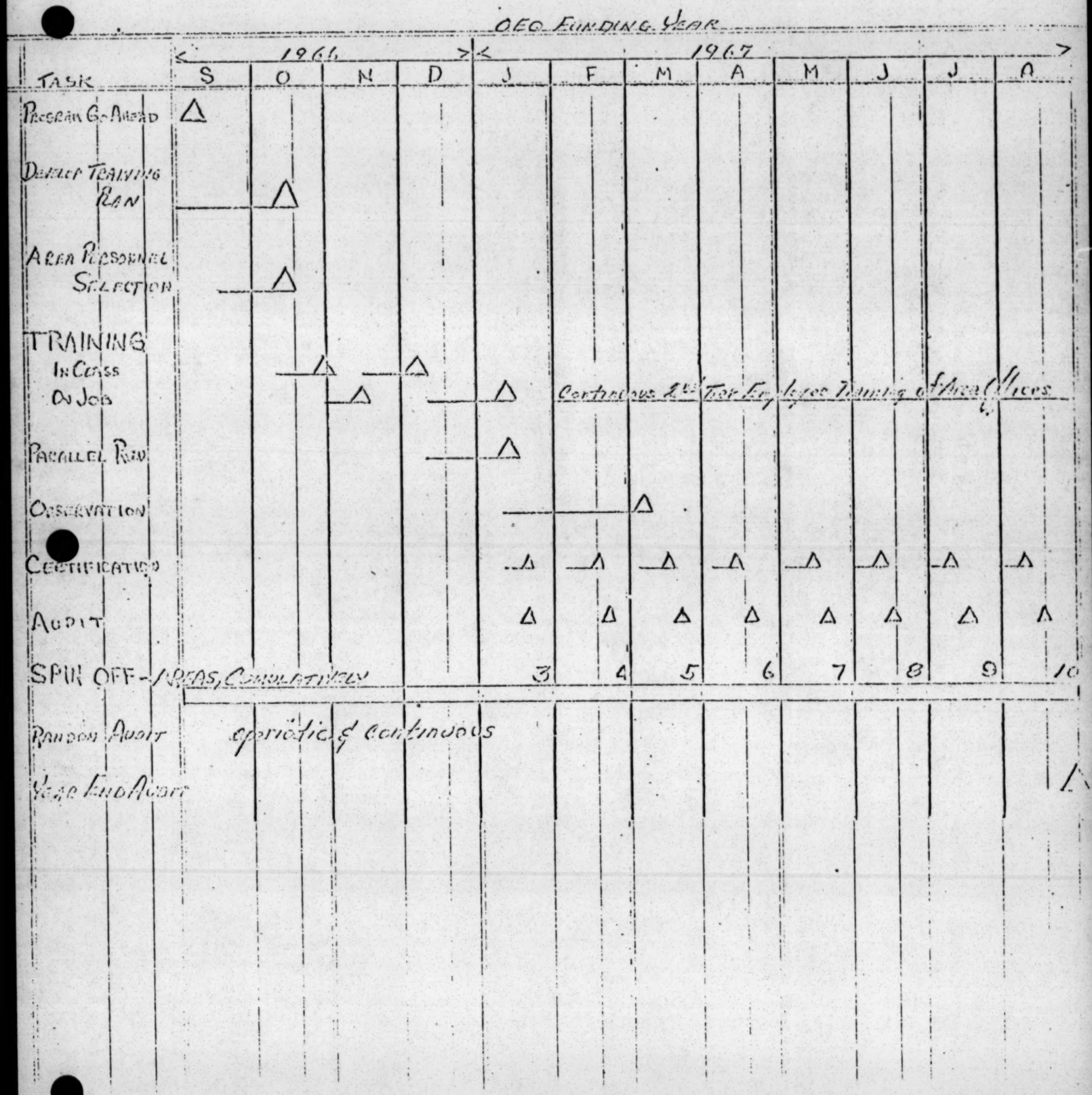
6. Area Program Staff Training 86,400

Explanation: Community Program and Educational program personnel in each of the 20 Area offices will need to have the opportunity for intensive training throughout the year. Weekly one-day workshops have not provided sufficient time to cover and absorb the relevant material. The budgeted figure provides funds to allow one of the appropriate persons (ATG, Senior ATG, CPW, AHC) per Area to be away in training at all times. This provides 20 people @ 90 per week for 48 weeks.

7. Area Business Management Program 79,450

Explanation: There is a detailed discussion of decentralization of administrative responsibilities to the area level in the narrative proposal. In order to prepare area stafff adequately, the rigorous training program proposed here will be necessary. It is planned that the operation of an autonomous area business office handling all expenditures with a monthly release of funds would require 3 additional personnel who, with the current Area Administrator would handle the functioning of Finance, Logistics Personnel, Leadership, plus Clerical.
The training program will combine organized classes in four fields specified above with on-the-job training program which would be organized on the following schedule: (See diagram)

AREA DECENTRALIZATION MILESTONES



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Organized Classes (Jackson)-5	3 weeks
Field - 4	2 weeks
Classes (Jackson) - 5	4 weeks
On-the-job - 4	4 weeks

A second training cycle would be presented for those whose entry level made it difficult for them to complete this intensive schedule successfully, and for areas which were new to the project.

The breakdown of costs of the Business Management Pfogram is developed below:

Subject Matter Consultants	
2 @ $75 per day for 90 days	13,500
Classwork Consultants	
3 @ $75 per day for 90 days	20,250
In-Service Training Consultants	
4 @ $75 per day for 120 days	36,000
Training material	5,000
Classrooms	500
Secretarial	4,200

Budget Detail: Central Office (cont.)

III. Travel $168,650

1. Rental.....32,400

Explanation: 10 cars @ $270 per month for 12 months.

a. Based on present experience with the equivalent of 9 cars for less staff. Transportation is critical to the effectiveness of central staff personnel, particularly in the divisions of Programs for Children and Community Programs where specialists attached to Central Staff need to spend a great deal of their time in the centers or communities.

b. Cost per car @ $270 per month. This represents the best bid by a Jackson car rental agency. At the present time, no company in Jackson has been willing to commit itself to a 12 month lease. However, it might well be possible to obtain a leasing arrangement from a Mississippi firm for $100 per month plus $200 a year for insurance. OEO will be notified of any new information on this potential saving.

2. Gasoline.....10,800

Explanation: Estimated @ $90 per month per car for 12 months.

Budget Detail: Central Office - (cont.)

3. Staff per diem ..... $ 51,140

a) Program Staff Training - Living 20 people for 48 weeks @ $25 per week ..... $ 24,000

b) 15 Field Advisors (Program) - 1 Day per week for 52 weeks 6,240

c) 5 Central staff (Admn, Field Operations, Community Prog., Teach.Dev., Director) 10,400
5 people, 5 days per week for 52 weeks @ $8 per day

d) Administrative staff training
60 People @ $25 per week for 7 weeks 10,500

4. Other Travel 5,000

Explanation: Out-of-state - $3,000;
personal mileage reimbursement @ 8 cents per mile 2,000

5. Community Program Worker 4,800

Explanation: $20 per month training travel allowance - 20 Workers

6. Consultant Travel 35,350

Explanation: a) Area M.D. at 10 cents per mile - 10,000 Miles $ 1,000

b) 65 Round trips @ $150 per trip (Admn, TD-PC, CP) 9,750

c) In-state travel 3,000

d) Education Consultant - Car rental -
5 Consultants - $270 per car per month for 12 months, and gas @ $90 per month 21,600

Budget Detail: Central Office - (cont)

7. Consultant per diem ..... $ 29,160

Explanation:	600 Days @ $12 per day - Admn.	$ 7,200
	930 Days @ $12 per day - Admn. Training	11,160
	150 Days @ $12 per day - CP	3,000
	100 Days @ $12 per day - TD	3,000
	400 Days @ $12 per day - TD-Area Demonstration	4,800

Budget Detail: Central Office (cont.)

IV. Space Costs and Rental..... $ 47,252

1. Office Space..... $42,252

Explanation: Existing space at 290 Milner Building Jackson - 6,300 Sq. Ft. @ $1,860 per month. Program requires additional 4,153 sq. ft. @ $1,661.20 per month.

2. Training Space..... 5,000
Explanation: Rental @ $417 per month.

The CDGM program offers extensive training for all staff. If we bring in 1 staff member from each area office once a week for a two day training session, the cost of the hotel bill (YM & YWCA's with sleeping facilities and like establishments are not available to Negroes in Mississippi) alone for one year @ $12 per room (sleeping two) will be $6,240.00.

The facility we are proposing for our training workshops has room to sleep 20 people. It has kitchen facilities, cutting down the cost of meal preparation. It has several acres surrounding the building, which makes it ideal for large, (500 to 700 people) community training sessions, for which we now have to rent hall space.

V. Consumable Supplies

Budget Detail: -Consumable Supplies.....$ 93,956

1. General Office.....$ 26,400
Explanation: See attachment for detail

Consumable Supplies - $1,667 per month
Equip under $50.00 - 2,000 total

2. Reproduction Room..... 22,199
Explanation: Paper - Newsletter (4,000 copies per month, 20 pages each - 205 cases)
Other runs (12 cases per week)

Xerox (4 cases per week)
Total - 1037 cases @ $14 per case

Supplies - Mimeo Styli - 31 Boxes @ $14.97 ea
Mimeo Ink - 1,037 tubes @ $2.80 ea
Stenciles - 150 packs @ $11.50 ea
Xerox Toner for 2400 - 33 cartons @ $52.50 ea
Xerox Developer - 7 packs @ $100 ea

3. Postage..... 34,800
Explanation: Based on present usage of $1,200 per month, plus 4,000 newsletter mailing each month, plus weekly mailings to 255 centers and 20 areas.

4. Printed Forms..... 7,557.
Explanation: Based on 13,500 children, 900 units in centers, 170 centers, at average price of $35 per thousand 4-part forms.

Child Attendance - 20 children per sheet per week
(104,000 forms = $3,640)

Budget Detail: -Consumable Supplies Cont'd.

Paid Time and Attendance - 2 sheets per center every two weeks (7,000 forms = $245)

Volunteer Time and Attendance - 1 sheet per center every two weeks (3,250 forms = $122.50)

Request for Payment - 3 sheets per center per week plus Area and Central offices (22,000 forms = $770)

Non-payroll checks -@ $85 per 1,000 (5,000 = $425)

Payroll Checks - 86,000 checks @ $25.05 per thousand = $2,174 (Employees paid every 2 weeks)

Memo Forms - 75,000 4-part, pull-out carbon, lined @ $25 per 1,000 = $2,174
In order to have better information coming from the OEO to the Communities through the Area Office, and from the Communities through the Area Office to Central Office and to OEO, Central staff is recommending that a weekly reporting system be set up for each Area staff member. Estimating 3 reports per week per member on various facets of the program (5000 Forms = $125)
For Central Office inter-office written communications.

5. Miscellaneous Supplies.....$ 3,000

VI. Rental, Lease and Purchase of Equipment..... $63,172

Budget Detail: - Equipment Rental..... $47,144

Based on present usage plus recommended additional equipment

1. Gestetner Mimeograph Machines (2) @ $60 per month each.....$ 1,440

2. Gestetner Gestofax Senior Stencil Cutter @ $100 per month.. 1,200

3. Cabinet for Gestofax Senior @ $7.50 per month..... 90

4. Collator - 6 shelf capacity @ $10.00 per month..... 120

5. Xerox 2400 copy machine @ $350 per month minimum..... 12,000
   Explanation: Cost above minimum depends on copy usage at 1.5¢ per copy. Estimate 65,000 copies per month, based on present usage plus program expansion

6. Typewriters..... 12,060
   Explanation: 46 Adler Electrics @ $20 per month
   3 Adler Manuals @ 15 per month
   2 IBM Electrics @ 20 per month

7. Typing Stands @ $3.00 a month (20)..... 720

8. Adding Machines (5) @ $10 per month 600

9. Calculators (12) @ $35.00 per month each 5,040

10. Calculator (SCM) $50 per month..... 600

11. Folding Machine - Heyer - @ $20 per month..... 240

12. Postage Meter @ $13 per month..... 156

13. F&E Check Protector @ $34.50 per month..... 414

14. Dictating Equipment..... 1,704
    Explanation: 5 Stenorette Dictator-Transcribers @ $20.00 per month each
    7 Stenorette EN 3 Portable Dictators @ $6.00 per month each

Calculators - 12 @$35 per month each

Explanation:	Area Administration	- 2
	Medical	- 1
	Purchasing	- 1
	Business	- 2
	Controller	- 2
	Payroll	- 1
	Office Manager	- 1
	Director	- 1
	Inventory	- 1

Calculator (SCM) @ $50.00 per month
Explanation: Controller

Typewriters - 36 @ $20 per month
3 @ 15 per month
2 @ 20 per month

Explanation: 30 Secretaries and Clerk-typists
1 Financial Assistant
10 Administrative staff members who prefer to do much of their own composing on the typewriter rather than dictate it.

VI Cont'd.

Budget Detail: - Equipment Rental Cont'd.

15. IBM Equipment.....$ 5,760

Explanation:

Reproduction puncher	@ $ 70	per month
Sorter	@ 55	per month
Card Punch	@ 40	per month
Accounting Machine	@ 265	per month
Verifier	@ 50	per month

16. Contingency..... 5,000

VI. Cont'd.

Budget Detail: -Equipment Purchase.....$ 8,970

1. Pitney-Bowes Addressing Machine with necessary equipment and..$6,087
supplies (See attachment, next page, for detail)
Explanation: 7,000 month mailing list.

2. Pitney-Bowes Model 5463 Mailing Machine..... 1,683
Explanation: We now possess a small mailing machine which cannot carry the heavy use it will receive in our expanded program. We purchased the machine for $641.00, and will receive a rebate of $600.00.

3. Paging System..... 500
Explanation: The CDGM Central Office is located on two floors in the Milner Building and we need a simpler system of paging staff members rather than calling each office on the local phone line.

8 speakers @ $21.00 each
1 10 watt amplifier @ $93.75
1 microphone @ $35.00
Wiring @ $100.00
Labor @ $100.00

4. Two Time Clocks..... 700
2 time clocks and accessories @ 350.00

1. Addressing Equipment.....$6,086.47

Based on bids from the only firms, Pitney-Bowes and Addressograph, that maintain offices with a sales and service staff in Jackson, Miss.

A.	Addressing Machine - Pitney-Bowes Model 736	$2,147.13
	Document Feeder	1,494.00
	Lister	264.00
	-Total Cost-	$3,905.13
B.	Embossed 5 line plates-per hundred $18.00 7,000 plates	1,260.00
	Replacement plates (address change, etc. cost .05 a line, and .02 for each additional line. Estimating 5 changes a week for a 5 line plate (13 a plate) for a 52 week grant, cost would be approximately	32.76
C.	Twelve Tray Cabinets (4) at $80.50 each	322.00

D. Part I (1), Section F of the CAP Guide #2 states "...If the costs of leasing a piece of equipment over a 3 year period exceeds the purchase price, the equipment should normally be purchased."

E. The rental price of this equipment is 5% of the total purchase price, or $3,651.84 per year ($304.32 per month), for a total of $10,955.52.

Purchasing the machine will result in a savings of $7,050.39 over the next three years.

Cont'd.

Explanation: Program Department intends to have a newsletter mailing list of 4,000 names per month. Other departments put out 3,000 envelopes a month. An average typist can type 100 evelopes an hour, or 7,000 envelopes in 70 hours. This machine is designed to put out 5,000 plates an hour. Naturally this is in continuous running, but the figures on the envelopes were based on continuous running also.

2. This machine is designed so that non-payroll checks, which are now hand typed, can be done on the machine at the same speed at which the envelopes can be run.

3. The machine is designed so that it can make lists (up to three columns). It takes two to three days to complete a Community Chairmen list. It can be done in less than an hour on the machine.

4. On the large manila envelopes we use so frequently, we now have to hand stamp the return address. With the machine we could run the 4,000 we will run each month in an hour.

5. Selective listing. The machine is designed to print all of a plate, or any portion of the plate desired just changing the platen.

6. Pitney-Bowes will provide a complete training program for the person who will operate the machine, the machine will not be installed until that person is thoroughly trained.

VI. Contd.

Budget Detail: Furniture Purchase 7,058

Based on Government guide line of 3 year rental price vs. purchase price.

We now have 34 desks, executive and secretarial, 41 secretarial chairs, 21 executive chairs. The balance of the staff site at tables with no drawers and at typing stands. For 75 people we need additional:

1. 22 exec desks @ $86.10 each ..... $ 1,893

2. 12 secretary desks @ $126.44 each 1,517

3. 14 exec chairs $ $38.76 each 629

4. 9 sec. chairs @ 29.99 each 269

5. 34 Conference Chair @ $25.00 each 850
   Explanation: 1 each for Director and Deputy Director and 6 for reception room.

6. 2 Exec desks @ $500.00 each 1,000
   Explanation: 1 each for Director and Deputy Director

7. 8 bookcases - 6' x 36" @ $25.00 each 200

8. 20 Folding Tables @ 35.00 each..... .. 700
   Explanation: Until Furniture is delivered (about 3 to 6 weeks from order date) staff will still have to use tables. Also, while we still have 75 people on Central Staff, those extra 15 people will need working space.

VII. OTHER COSTS.....$ 160,254

BUDGET DETAIL:

1. Telephone.....$ 84,200

Explanation: Based on actual usage costs per month:

Central offic's administrative contact with Area and Center Staff in the CDGM communities is by phone and mail. The business that we conduct over the phone would cost hundreds of thousands of dollars in travel expense; time lost in travel; and additional staff needed to cover that time lost, as well as additional cars to travel the distance.

The phone system for our 75 employees (35 Call Director instruments and 11 intercom instruments, with 8 outgoing straight lines, 3 Mississippi Wats lines, 2 intercom lines with 6 trunks) is the least expensive system the phone company has available to meet the needs of the CDGM program. Any kind of switchboard costs more per month plus requiring a deposit of $3,000 and a 5 year guarantee.

The 35 Administrative and Secretarial Staff members who have call director instruments use them extensively. In normal usage all 8 outgoing lines plus the Wats lines are busy most of the day, and part of the night. In the present grant period we decided against having additional instruments for the remaining staff members though, they, too, have more limited need of phone usage and versatility that our phone s stem gives us for that very necessary administrative contact with our state-wide staff.

Basic charge @ $2,455/month each plus $500 installation	$29,960
Five Wats lines @ $581/month each	34,860
Average toll costs per month of $1,615 Based on high month of $3,230 and low month of $1,101	19,381

2. Miscellaneous other costs..... $8,573

Explanation: Estimated @ $830 per month for first 6 months, thereafter decreasing to $764 in August

3. Data Processing..... 9,226

4. Insurance..... 56,625

Explanation: Automobile non-ownership liability: 225 drivers @ $25 per driver 5,625

Fidelity Bond Policy: Approximately 300 bonds, including 5 top executives being bonded for $100,000 @ $250 per bond, and approximately 295 bonds ranging from $5,000 coverage to $1,000 coverage. 3,000

$1 million Umbrella Liability Policy and General Liability - Estimated total 40,000

Workmen's Compensation for 3500 employees estimated at (based on $5652 for 1966) 8,000
Brewer Mutual estimate.

5. Deposits..... 1,630

BUDGET SUMMARY: AREA OFFICES

I.	PERSONNEL	1,223,092
II.	CONSULTANT, CONTRACT SERVICES	
III.	TRAVEL	345,600
IV.	SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	24,000
V.	CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	12,425
VI.	RENTAL, LEASE OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	40,300
VII.	OTHER COSTS	24,000
	TOTAL	1,669,417
	Non-Federal Share	110,794
	GRAND TOTAL	1,780,211

Budget Detail: Area Office

I. PERSONNEL 1,223,092

	Salary/week	Per annum	20 offices
Area Administrator	150	7,800	156,000

Explanation: The Area Administrator is the coordinator of activities in the Area, and the responsible agent for the implementation of the existing fiscal procedures in the area.

Under the present proposal, the position of Area Administrator, after sufficient training and certification, could become the equivalent of an Area Director for a complete Head Start Project, therefore, salary would increase $25/mo.

Community Program Worker	125	6,500	130,000

Explanation: The Community Program Worker has responsibility for involving parents in the center and making information about social services available to the parents and the community (current position).

Assistant Community Program Worker	103	5,356	107,120

Explanation: The Assistant CPW supports the work of the CPW and will be able to spend more time with individual parents, and investigate special programs.

Senior Area Teacher Guide	125	6,500	130,000

Explanation: The work of the ATG is impossibly demanding due to the large number of centers, long distances, numerous workshops and training programs which remove the ATG from the area. Additional ATGs are imperative for the continued strengthening of the program

for children in the centers. The number of ATGs has therefore been increased from one per 8 centers to one per four centers to allow the ATG time to work in greater depth with each of her centers. The ATG will be responsible for coordinating all program and teaching activities in the centers centers. Both ATGs in the Area will direct the operation of classes in the demonstration centers on a rotating basis and be responsible for coordinating the visits of area Resource Teachers and Trainees to the center for training workshops. The Personnel Plan provides for 2 grades of ATG. For budgetary purposes it is estimated at one ATG and one Senior ATG per Area.

Area Teacher Guide Explanation: see above	103	5,356	107,120
Area Health Coordinator Explanation: (new position) The health and dietetic services in the areas need greater exphasis and increased support. It is impossible to do more than coordinate examinations and treatment from a central office. The addition of an area health coordinator would not only increase the efficiency and coverage of health care, but would enable the project to confront the more deep-seated causes of public health problems. The AHC would also provide nutrition information. (This position replaces the Assistant to the Community Program Worker).	125	6,500	130,000
Area Secretary Secretary, typists to the area office; maintains records (current position).	75	3,900	78,000
Disbursements Controller Explanation: in-charge of non-payroll expenditures, maintaining records, preparing reports.	125	6,500	130,000

Budget Detail: Area Office

I. PERSONNEL (continued)

Financial and Payroll Officer	103	5,356	107,120
Explanation: responsible for finances, control and preparation of payroll, maintenance of records, preparation of reports.			
Clerk	60	3,120	62,400
FICA and fringe benefits @ 7.5%			85,332

II. CONSULTANT AND CONTRACT SERVICES

Not Applicable

Budget Detail: Area Office

III.	TRAVEL		$345,600
	Cars	259,200	
	Explanation: 80 cars rented @ 270 per month. Each of the 20 area offices is allocated 4 cars: one to administration (AA), one to Community Programs (CPW), one to Programs for Children (ATG), one to the medical program (Area Health Coordinator). $270 represents a budgetary average. There will be one station wagon, two compacts, one standard car in each area. It was pointed out in the explanation of car rental under Central Office, that the cost estimate reflects the best bid in Jackson at present, but that the possibility of leasing cars for 12 months at $100 per month plus $200 insurance was being investigated.		
	Gasoline	86,400	
	Explanation: Based on present operations. Estimated at $90 per month per car for gasoline and oil.		
IV.	SPACE AND RENTALS		24,000
	Explanation: $100 per month per office.		

V. CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES $12,425

Office Supplies 7,025

Explanation: Beginning in September, $16,25 is allocated per area office for office supplies. This amount is increased to $20 in October, $40 in November, and $75 in December. Thereafter, the amount is $25 per month per area office.

The increased amounts correspond to growth of the area staff to its full complement of 6 members, plus the phasing in of accounting and business personnel as the areas begin semi independent operations.

Utilities 5,400

Explanation: Estimated at $22.50 per month per area office.

VI. RENTAL, LEASE OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT 40,300

Office Equipment 21,000

Explanation: $50 per month per area office for the first four months. Thereafter $100 per month per area. The increase in the fourth month reflects the attainment of the full area staff, including business management.

Audio Visual Aides 19,300

Explanation:

20	movie projectors @755 ea.	15,100
5	tape recorders @ $100 ea.	500
500	tapes at $4.25 ea.	2,125
5	cameras @ $15 ea.	75
1,000	roles of film @ $1.25 ea.	1,250
200	boxes flash bulbs @$1.25 ea.	250

The movie projectors are used as a training device by ATG's to show films of various pre-schools (including CDGM) to the teaching staff of the area. Without the availability of these projectors, the correct use of the CDGM film is far below what is desired and needed. The projectors would also be available for the CPW to use in programs for parents in the community.

The tape recorders are used primarily as a training aid for teachers and trainees (taped stories, suggestions, etc.) and with the children (taped songs, etc.) The amount of tapes includes supplies for tape recorders already on hand.

Cameras are used as teaching aides for center staff and communities to demonstrate what others have accomplished in different parts of the state maintain a record of the progress of each center.

VII. OTHER COSTS

Telephone	24,000

Estimated @ $100 per month per office.

BUDGET SUMMARY: AREA DEMONSTRATION CENTER

I.	PERSONNEL	$192,300
II.	CONSULTANT, CONTRACT SERVICES	10,500
III.	TRAVEL	44,000
IV.	SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	13,000
V.	CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	52,240
VI.	RENTAL, LEASE OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	10,000
VII.	OTHER COSTS	53,500
	TOTAL	$375,540

BUDGET DETAIL: AREA DEMONSTRATION CENTERS

In each of the twenty administrative areas there will be a Demonstration Center with one unit of children and a special educationsl materials lab. For a discussion of how there centers will become a core of the future training for teachers, see the narrative proposal.

Budget Detail: Demonstration Center Costs

1. Personnel		$ 192,300
1. Resource Teacher	$3,744	
Explanation: Salary @$72 per week. Each demonstration center will have a resource teacher to work under the Area Teacher Guide and the Assistant ATG is supervising the classroom activities.		
2. Part-time Cook	1,300	
Explanation: $25 per week.		
3. Part-time Operations and Maintenance	1,300	
Explanation: $25 per week.		
4. Secretary/Clerk @ $50 per week	2,600	
5. F.I.C.A. (Includes fringe benefits) 7.5%	671	
2. Consultants and Contract		10,500
1. Medical	495	
Explanation: $33 per child.		
2. Student Accident Insurance	30	
Explanation: $2 per child.		
3. Travel		44,000
1. Transportation for children to school	1,500	
Explanation: $2 per child per week.		
2. Student Field Trips	75	
Explanation: $5 per child.		

3. Reimbursement for Visiting Teachers 625

Explanation: Estimated at $2.50 per day per center. It is planned that every day of operation of the demonstration center, the teachers from one of the normal CDGM centers in the area will visit and take part in the training programs. This budgeted figure represents an estimate of cost for reimbursing gas expenses to the teachers.

4. Space Costs and Rentals 13,000

1. Rental for facility 650

Explanation: Estimated at $12.50 per week. The rental for the demonstration center is increased over the normal due to the fact that it is
a) operating with fewer units
b) will require extra space in order to set up the educational materials lab.

5. Consumable Supplies 52,240

1. Educational Supplies 2,612

Explanation: This estimate is double the normal standard for a new unit because extra material will be necessary to use in the lab.

6. Rental, Lease or Purchase of Equipment 10,000

1. Non-consumable educational equipment 500

Explanation: Various items of equipment will be used for demonstration purposes in the educational materials lab.

7. Other 53,500

1. Food for Children 2,625

Explanation: Estimated at standard rate of $52.50 per week.

2. Miscellaneous $25
Explanation: Estimated at standard rate of $25 per center per year.

TOTAL COST 20 demonstration Centers $375,540

BUDGET SUMMARY : CENTERS

I.	PERSONNEL	10,750,408
II.	CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES	472,500
III.	TRAVEL	1,461,700
IV.	SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS.....	421,200
V.	CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	938.632
VI.	RENTAL, LEASE OR PURCHASE OR EQUIPMENT ...	27,482
VII.	OTHER COSTS.....	2,385,000
	TOTAL	16,456,922
	Non-Federal Share	2,067,406
	GRAND TOTAL	18,524,328

Budget Detail: Center Program Costs

1. Personnel 10,750,408

1. Resource Teacher 2,134,860
Explanation: Salary of each @ $85 per week average. There is one Resource Teacher for every two (2) Unit of children, for a total of 483 teachers teachers for this project. This person supervises the teacher trainees and is responsible for planning and executing the daily program for children. The Resource Teacher position will be evaluated on three levels or grades. Grades will be determined on the basis of education, experience and demonstrated previous ability. Detailed evaluative criteria for grade levels and commensurate salary ranges have been developed. Resource Teachers are hired by local Center Committees. $85. per week represents a budgetary average based on current operations.

2. Trainees 5,616,000
Explanation: Salary of each $60 per week average Two (2) trainees allocated for every unit of fifteen (15) children, for a total of 1800 trainees. The trainee works directly under the supervision of the Resource Teacher, She is immediately responsible for a class of 15 children; supervising and assisting all their activities. Training courses will be provided for all Teacher Trainees.

3. Head Cook 530,400
Explanation: Salary of each @$60 per week (new position) Current experience indicates the necessity for one full time head cook in each Center who is responsible for preparing weekly menus, supervising the kitchen and assisting with the purchasing of food.

4. Part-time 949,000
Explanation: Salary of each @ $25 per twenty (20) hour week. Maintenance services and cooks. One Part-time per unit, with Head-Cooks counted as one of the part-time positions. 255 Head-cooks, 1745 part-time total allocated as part-time positions.

5. Center Administrator $770,120
Explanation: The job of keeping Center records, purchasing food implementing the medical program, and coordinating Center activities requires a full time person with adequate training and in larger Centers, assistants. The salary range has been determined according to the size of the Center
1 - 3 Units (70 Centers) $72 per week .....$ 224,640
4 - 6 Units (40 Centers) $86 per week 313.040
7 plus Units (40 Centers) $103 per week 214;240
10 plus Units 0 one part-time assistant
@ 25 per week for each five (5) Units above 10.
Fourteen (14) part-time assistants 18,200

6. F.I.C.A. 7.5% (includes fringe benefits) 750,028
Personnel plan to be submitted with supplement

II. Consultants and Contract $472,500

1. Medical 445,500
Explanation: Thirty-three dollars ($33) per child. Includes medical and dental evaluation, lab tests, eye and hearing screening, follow-up remedial treatment, health education and psychological services.

2. Student Accident Insurance 27,000
Explanation: Two dollars ($2) per child
Covers accidents and bodily injury from one hour before the Center opens to one hour after closing.

III. Travel 1,461,700

1. Students 1,350,000
Explanation: Estimated at $2 per child per week. (50 weeks)
Based on current experience.

2. Student Field Trips .....$ 67,500
Explanation: Estimated at $5 per child

3. Center Administrator .....$ 44,200
Explanation: Estimated at $5 per Center per week. (52)
Travel expenses incurred by the Center Administrator in performance of duties -- purchasing food and supplies, arranging medical examinations, coordinating field trips.

IV. Space Costs and Rentals .....$ 421,200
Explanation: Estimated at $9.00 per unit per week based on current experience and recommendation of facilities consultant.

V. Consumable Supplies .....$ 938.632
Explanation: 291 new units @ $1,306.02/unit = 380,052
609 Old units @ $ 917.21/unit = 558,580
See attachment for detailed explanation.

VI. Rental, Lease, or Purchase of Equipment 27,482
Explanation: 291 new units @ $35.95/ unit = 10,461
609 old units @ $27.95/ unit= 17,021
See attachment for detailed explanation.

VII. Other Costs..... 2,385,000

1. Food 2,362,500
Explanation: $52.50 per unit per week. Provides one hot meal and two snacks every day. (50 weeks)

2. Miscellaneous Supplies 22,500
Explanation: $25. per unit.

V. Budget Detail: Estimate for Consumable Educational Supplies

A. New Units

Item		Amount/Year	Unit Cost	Year Cost/Class
ART				
Finger Paint Paper	2 carton/mo.	24 carton	$2.25	$60.00
Brown Wrapping Paper	Lg. roll/3 mos.	4 rolls	6.25	25.00
Tagboard	1 rm/yr	1 rm	20.00	20.00
Colored Chalk	1 box/3 mos.	4 boxes	1.92	7.68
Markers	24/3 mos.	96	.21	20.16
Paint Brushes				
#183-1	24/6 mos	48	.50	24.00
#312-6	24/6 mos	48	.30	14.40
Stapler	1/yr	1	3.56	3.56
Staples	2 box/3 mos	4	.72	2.88
Scissors				
Right	24/12 mos	24	1.41 doz.	2.82
Left	6/12 mos	6	2.50 doz.	1.50
Tempera Paint	10 qts/mo	120 qts/yr	1.00	120.00
Newsprint	2 rm/mo	24 rms	1.73	41.52
Manila	2 rm/mo	24 rms	1.68	40.32
Construction Paper	1 rm/mo	12 rms	4.12	49.44
Paste	3 qts/mo	36 qts	.40	14.40
Crayons #8	10 box lg/½yr.	20 boxes	.21	4.20
Clay	10 lbs/yr	10 lbs/yr	.21	2.10
Masking Tape	3 rolls	36 rolls	.36	12.96
Felt for Reading Readiness				12.50
Supply Money for Teachers				90.00

Item		Amount/Year	Unit Cost	Year Cost/Class
MUSIC				
Records	20/phonograph(5 units)	20/phonograph (5 units)	$ 2.50	$12.50
SCIENCE & WATER				
1 Set Magnets	1/unit	1		1.65
1 Lg. Plastic Pool	1/2 units	1		1.98
1 Prism		1		1.75
BOOKS	30/ units	30	3.00	90.00
There are very few public libraries in Mississippi and existing ones have a very meager supply of pre-school type books.				
Printing Cost for Books	14 titles/yr.	200	.28	56.00
AUDIO-VISUAL				
Filmstrip Projector	1/4 units	1/4		8.00
Set of Picture Book Parade	1/4 units	1/4		6.00
Other Filmstrip		1		6.00
FURNITURE				
15 Chairs (8" - 12")			4.67	70.00
2 Tables (Seat 8)			15.00	30.00
20 Mats			3.00	60.00
Shelves (Lumber)				20.00
Paper Cutter	1/4 units	1/4		11.00

Item		Amount/Year	Unit Cost	Year Cost
FLOOR PLAY & DRAMATIC PLAY				
Cars, Airplanes, Trucks & Tractors (Various styles & sizes)			$	$ 25.00
Unit Blocks (400)				100.00
Wooden Figures	2 Sets/Unit	2 Sets	4.00	8.00
Puzzles	5/Unit	5/Unit	1.50	7.50
Parquetry Book Set	1/unit		2.00	2.00
Peg Boards & Pegs	2/unit		1.70	3.80
Giant Dominoes	1/unit		4.00	4.00
Tinkertoys Set	1/unit		5.00	5.00
Skanteantelas Train Set	1/unit		5.00	5.00
Ride-em Tractor & Train	1/unit		19.95	19.95
Vinyl Drink-and-wet Dolls	2/unit		2.00	4.00
Tarpaulins		1 lg./4 units		15.00
OUTDOOR				
Lg. Hollow Blocks (40 piece set)	1/unit			98.00
Child-Sized Wood Doll Carriage	1/unit			20.00
Wagon	1/unit			9.95
Rocking Boat	1/unit			22.50
10" Utility Ball	1/unit			4.00
WOODWORKING TOOLS				
4-7oz Claw Hammers	1/2 units		3.00	1.50
2-12" Saws	1/2 units		3.00	1.50
1 Drill	1/2 units		2.00	1.00
2 Screw Drivers	1/2 units		2.00	1.00
2 Lg. Clamps	1/2 units		6.00	3.00
			TOTAL	1,306.02

B. Previously Operat ng Units

Item		Amount/Year	Unit Cost	Year Cost
ART				
Finger Paint Paper	2 carton/mo	24 cartons	$ 2.25	$ 60.00
Brown Wrapping Paper	Lg. roll/3 mos.	4 rolls	6.25	25.00
Tagboard	1 rm/yr	1 rm	20.00	20.00
Colored Chalk	1 box/3 mos.	4 boxes	1.92	7.68
Markers	24/3mos.	96	.21	20.16
Paint Brushes				
#183-1	24/6 mos.	48	.50	24.00
#312-6	24/6 mos.	48	.30	14.40
Staples	2 boxes/3mos.	4	.72	2.88
Scissors				
Right	24/12 mos.	24	1.41 doz.	2.82
Left	6/12 mos.	6	2.50 doz.	1.50
Tempera Paint	10 qts/mo	120 qts/yr	1.00	120.00
Newsprint	2 rms/mo	24 rms	1.73	41.52
Manila	2 rms/mo	24 rms	1.68	40.32
Construction Paper	1 rm/mo	12 rms	4.12	49.44
Paste	3 qts/mo	36 qts	.40	14.40
Crayons #8	10 boxes lg./½yr	20 boxes	.21	4.20
Clay	10 lbs/yr	10 lbs/yr	.21	2.10
Masking Tape	3 rolls	36 rolls	.36	12.96
Felt for Reading Readiness				12.50
Supply Money for Teachers				90.00

Previously Operating Units Cont. Page 2

Item		Amount/Year	Unit Cost	Year Cost
SCIENCE & WATER				
1 Set Magnets	1/unit	1	$	$ 1.65
1 Lg. Plastic Pool	1/2 units	1		1.98
1 Prism		1		1.75
OUTDOOR				
Lg. Hollow Blocks (40 Piece Set)	1/unit			98.00
Child-Sized Wood Doll Carriage	1/unit			20.00
Wagon	1/unit			9.95
Rocking Boat	1/unit			22.50
10" Utility Ball	1/unit			4.00
WOODWORKING TOOLS				
4-7 oz Claw Hammers	1/2 units		3.00	1.50
2-12" Saws	1/2 units		3.00	1.50
1 Drill	1/2 units		2.00	1.00
2 Screw Drivers	1/2 units		2.00	1.00
2 Lg. Clamps	1/2 units		6.00	3.00

Item		Amount/Year	Unit Cost	Year Cost
FURNITURE				
Additional Money for Chairs, tables & shelves to paint, repair or add to.			$	$ 30.00
BOOKS				
Additional Books	10/unit	10	3.00	30.00
Printing Cost for Books	14 titles/yr	200	.28	56.00
MUSIC				
Additional Records	5/unit		2.50	12.50
TABLES GAMES				
Puzzles, Parquetry Book set	5/unit			15.00
Peg Bd. & Pegs				
FLOOR PLAY				
Cars, Truck, Tractors Airplanes (various styles & sizes)				25.00
Tarpaulins (15' x 15')		1 lg.		15.00
			TOTAL	$917.21

VI. Budget Detail: Estimate for Non-consumable Educational Supplies

A. New Units

Item		Amount/Year	Unit Cost	Year Cost/Class
MUSIC				
Phonograph	1/4 units	1/4 units	$ 30.00	$ 8.00
SCIENCE & WATER				
1 lg. Magnifying Glass	1/unit	1		10.00
OUTDOOR				
Tricycle - 16"	1/unit			17.95
			TOTAL	$ 35.95

B. Operating Units

SCIENCE & WATER				
1 lg. Magnifying Glass	1/unit	1		10.00
OUTDOOR				
Tricycle - 16"	1/unit			17.95
				$ 27.95

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THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS through June 24, 1963

(This is a synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South since April 1963. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional date or corrections are invited.)

(Nobby, please arrange alphabetically)

ALABAMA

4 Birmingham, April 3-June 21--Weeks of mass Negro demonstrations in which thousands were arrested ended May 10 when a truce was reached between [redacted] prominent white businessmen and Negro leaders. Truce almost came apart May 11-12 when a riot [redacted] broke out following [redacted] 2 bombings of Negro property. Federal troops were alerted, remained near city till May 31. [redacted] Initial steps taken in June to implement [redacted] desegregation agreement included dropping of racial barriers in the fitting rooms of major downtown department stores and promotion of some Negro employees. Though unrelated to the agreement, three of city's four public golf courses slated to reopen June 29

1 Attalla, April 24--William Moore, a Baltimore postman hiking to Jackson on a one-man civil rights crusade, [redacted] found murdered near here. His bullet-pierced body, still carrying anti-segregation signs, was discovered along U. S. Highway 11.

2 Alabama-Georgia Border, May 3--10 Freedom Marchers arrested as they entered Alabama to continue ill-fated march of William Moore. Found guilty of breach-of-peace charges in Fort Payne June 3, fined $200 each and court costs. Their attorneys filed immediate notice of Appeal

Montgomery, May 27--Montgomery Advertiser-Journal announced that papers will cease to print Negro editions, incorporate Negro news with white news, effective immediately.

3 Anniston, May 12--Negro homes and a [redacted] church fired into by a carload of whites. Former Ku Klux Klan member convicted for shooting into church (May 30), sentenced to 180 days in [redacted] jail. City commission formed bi-racial committee of 4 Negroes, 5 whites May 18.

6 Mobile, June 1--Sheraton hotel announced it will desegregate.

5 Gadsden, June 18-21--More than 450 Negroes, many of them children, arrested June 18 for defying an injunction against sit-in demonstrations. 42 more arrested June 21. Several downtown churches accepted Negroes for services without incident June 16.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
etc.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, II

This synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South covers the period June 24-July 24, 1963. It also includes events since ~~Arp~~ April 1, 1963 not carried in the first synopsis, dated June 25, 1963. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.

July 30, 1963

Bessemer - has repealed city ordinances requiring segregation.

Alabama - Birmingham - has been quiet and without demonstrations or arrests pending terms of May agreement being put into operation. June 29 - 3 municipal golf courses desegregated without incident. July 13 - Mayor Boutwell announced formation of a 211-member biracial community affairs committee, created by city council resolution, to have 10 subcommittees, about 20% Negro membership. Some segregation signs down in stores, a Negro reportedly hired as a retail clerk, approximately 10 department & chain store lunch counters to desegregate this month, according to truce timetable. July 23 - city repealed its segregation ordinances.

July 11 - city tentatively agreed to use of City Auditorium on Aug. 5th Amer. Guild of Variety Artists "Salute to Freedom '63," integrated show before a nonsegregated audience (2 firsts for the hall.

filling rooms and water fountains

Gadsden - Since June 23 when approximately 600 attended a Martin Luther King rally demonstration marches were heavily attended and continuous through July 1. During this time, at least 52 demonstrators arrested (June 27) and one protestor (June 29) who sat on white side of Trailways Bus Depot waiting room. A Justice Department aide sparked mediations. July 1 - Negroes announced suspension of demonstrations indefinitely as transit company buses ended de facto seating segregation. July 6 - KKK rally. July 10 - County Solicitor announced his office had been hampered in work on death of freedom walker William Moore (there have been no developments) as "all of our investigation agencies have been tied up" with racial demonstrations. Persons arrested during previous mass demonstrations released on bond pending trial.

Huntsville - Week May 20 - first Negro policeman named to city force.

Montgomery - has repealed city segregation ordinances.

Talladega - Demonstrations - aimed largely at lunch counter desegregation - which began April 9, resulted in more than 50 arrests before a temporary injunction halted them briefly April 28. July 5 — permanent injunction barring racial demonstrations issued.

Selma - June 17 - a negro voter registration worker arrested during drive; June 26 - Justice Dept.'s motion for injunction to bar the trial denied. City has repealed segregation ordinances.

Arkansas - Gillett - Week June 24 - rural Negro church bombed with dynamite.

Hot Springs - Week July 15 - majority of theatres and restaurants desegregate.

Little Rock - June 25 - 20 Negroes picket Coca-Cola Bottling Company protesting discriminatory wages. June 27 - 5 Negroes sought and denied admission to municipal swimming pool.

Pine Bluff - Late June-mid-July - movie theatres, including drive-ins, desegregate, and all city park facilities except pools.

Florida - Bradenton - June 25 - attempted sit-in at cafeteria, [redacted] Negro youths arrested, cafeteria closed. June 26 - approximately 80 Negroes demonstrated before Manatee County Courthouse protesting the arrest.

Clearwater - has a municipal biracial committee.

Cocoa - During May - biracial Citizens Advisory Committee formed. July 9 - announced most motels, hotels and restaurants will desegregate by August 18.

Cocoa Beach - Hotels, motels, restaurants and nightclubs integrated for "sometime"

Fort Myers - June 25 - established biracial committee of 5 City Councilmen, 5 "Negro taxpayers." "Excellent progress" reported in desegregations of lunch counters, a bowling alley, drive-in movies.

Gainesville - June 12 - 11 restaurants began desegregating.

Miami - June 11 - Metro Commission passed ordinance creating biracial Community Relations Board of 15.

Ocala - July 18 - leader of lunch counter pickets arrested. July 20 - 29 youths arrested while demonstrating to protest jailing of leader. July 21 - 6 more arrested picketing jail.

Orlando - Week July 15 - 56 motels, hotels, restaurants desegregate, mayor crediting efforts of biracial advisory committee.

Pinellas County (St. Petersburg-Clearwater area) - June 27 - County Commission voted creation of 10-man, county biracial committee.

St. Augusting - June 25 - July 4 - continuous and peaceful picketing of variety stores, Chamber of Commerce Information Center. June 30 - Negroes swam at white beach, heckling but no arrests or incidents. July 2 - in early a.m. NAACP leader's house shot into, [redacted] white youth arrested, 3 Negro youths arrested for shooting at [redacted] auto from which they allege shots were fired into home. July 5 - City Commission refuses to name a biracial committee, contends city library is desegregated along with a miniature golf course on city property; Negroes claim they are not. July 18 - 13 arrested during sit-ins at 4 drugstores.

St. Petersburg - Week June 24 - saw peaceful theatre picketing continued as Negroes and whitestogether attempted orderly admission to movies. Mayor Herman Goldner announced efforts to get City Council to give biracial committee more authority and flexibility. June 27 - both Chamber of Commerce and City Council passed resolutions favoring desegregation of public facilities and hiring practices. July 5 - members being named to City Council-approved biracial committee. Several department stores reported to be hiring Negro retail clerks and negotiations with theatre operators in progress.

Stuart - biracial committee formed in early May under auspices of city commission.

Tallahassee - Mid-June - biracial committee began meeting with mayor. Week June 24 - municipal tennis court integrated. June 27 - 9 Negro students attempted to use white swimming pool, pool closed. June 28 - 3 white students arrested attempting to use Negro swimming pool.

Vero Beach - MX July 5 - Mayor Jack Sturgis appoointed 18-man biracial committee with subcommittees on housing, recreation, employment, education.

Winter Park - June 28 - 5 white childsen, ages 6 to 10, integrated a formerly all-Negro pool without incident.

KENTUCKY

4) **Louisville** — July 5-- Louisville Human Relations Commissions recommended that mayor issue an executive order banning racial and other discrimination in the [redacted] employment policies of those firms having city contracts. Mayor agreed to [redacted] study bias-ban proposal.

1) **Frankfort** — June 26--[redacted] Kentucky Governor Bert Combs issued an executive order banning racial discrimination in all [redacted] businesses licensed by the state. Governor subsequently (July 8) narrowed order to pertain to public places of food, shelter, recreation or amusement. [redacted]

2) **Hopkinsville** — July 2--City council gave preliminary approval to an ordinance establishing a biracial human relations council; final approval slated for next council meeting July 16. Mayor said he expected to appoint a 15-member commission following July 16 council meeting.

3) [redacted] **Lexington** — July 2--Three additional members, all white, assigned to Lexington's Human Relations Committee.

Since the order was issued, 5 Kentucky cities — ~~Hopkinsville, Lexington, Louisville, and Paducah~~ — have had additional desegregation.

Bowling Green
Hopkinsville
Danville
Frankfort
Paducah

July 23-

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge July 2--J[redacted]--City's biracial committee held its sixth weekly meeting. July 2. About 50 Negroes scuffled with 6 policemen [redacted] during an attempt to use a public swimming pool. 15 Negroes were arrested. It was the first outbreak of racial violence in Louisiana this summer.

Buras July 6--16 [redacted] window panes broken in rectory of Our Lady of Good Harbor Church. It was the second time rectory has been fired on since nearby Our Lady of Good Harbor school was integrated last September. 26 panes were shattered by birdshot November 13. Police [redacted] were unable to connect anyone with the earlier shootings, [redacted] are investigating the latest blast.

New Orleans June 26-[redacted]--A three-panel federal court took under advisement a suit seeking to desegregate New Orleans recreational facilities [redacted] June [redacted] 26. [redacted] July 1- A [redacted] three-judge federal panel struck down a 1956 state law requiring separate seating and segregation of other facilities for whites and Negroes. The ruling in effect desegregated the city's municipal auditorium. Court declared: "Cities may as well face up to the facts of life: New Orleans, here and now, must adjust to the reality of having to operate desegregated public facilities." [redacted] City plans to appeal the decision. A request for a biracial [redacted] committee on human relations was made by the local NAACP branch in a letter to Mayor Victor Schiro, who was not immediately available for comment.

July 3 -

Shreveport July 19--Negroes staged sit-ins at the lunch counters of [redacted] 2 downtown stores. Police quickly broke up demonstrations, arrested 10. A "pickup order" was also issued for Charles Evers, brother of slain NAACP leader Medgar Evers, [redacted] who spoke at a Negro rally in Shreveport [redacted] July 17. The 5th Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a lower court order to integrate the Shreveport airport and bus station May 22.

July 23 — July 6. July 7

Georgia - Albany - July 6 - KKK rally of approximately 300 ~~July 7~~ - Groups of Negroes andwhites attempted to swim at former city pool, now privately owned and operated for whites only, ~~XXXXX~~ resulting in 12 arrests. Again at pool, July 10 - 6 arrests - and ~~July 13 - 10 arrests.~~ July 8 - 13 arrested in protest gathering at city hall. July 12 - one white arrested for shooting at Negroes. July 13 - 10 arrested for picketing home of head of board of education. In early July a Justice Department negotiator attempted to bring city commission and Negro and white business leadership togetherXX in a biracial committee. No official results, but 40-odd businessmen have met unofficially with Negro leaders in recent weeks. July 23 - city commission refuses to appoint a biracial committee. Periodic, isolated outbursts of disorder and/or vandalism.

Americus - July 12, 13, 14 - 35 persons total arrested picketing segregated movie theatre. July 19 - at least 11 arrested after attempts to enter theatre.

Atlanta - (1) June 25 - approximately 45 restaurants began desegregating and since June 27 pickets protesting integration have appeared sporadically at about 6 locations. July 13 and 16 - pro- and anti-integration pickets appeared simultaneously without incident. July 19 - 12 pickets arrested at one restaurant, site of more or less continuous anti-segregation picketing and some hurly-burly. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ (2) June 27 - University of Florida band cancelled reservation for 140 persons at a hotel which had declined to integrate during the previous week (when approximately 14 did) - band currently has no Negro members. (3) Since June 27 - Negroes have picketed off and on a liquor store protesting driscriminatory employment, owner has agreed to hire an additional Negro employee. June 30 - attempts by Negroes to worship at morning and evening services of First Baptist Church failed; failed again July 7 and July 14, but that date Negroes arrived early, seated themselves for evening services, had their seating area roped off by ushers when they did not leave. July 1 - approximately 250 Negroes marched through downtown protesting discriminatory hiring of restaurant chain. July 7 - NAACP, SCLC, Operation Breadbasket, Committee for Cooperative Action, and Committee on Appeal for Human Rights met and reactivated (1961) Student-Adult Liaison Committee. Goal - 5,000 new jobs for Negroes. (4) July 16 - Mississippi Gov. Barnett spoke XX under auspices of White Citizens' Council with pro- and con- pickets, no incidents. (5) July 22 - picketing at telephone company ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ favororing hiring of more Negroes.

Augusta - July 14 - Chronicle-Herald editorially advocated desegregation of tax-supported facilities, equal civic, county employment. June 29 - May Park desegregated as Negro and white children played baseball together without incident.

Brunswick - has an advisory biracial committee set up by city government, dates from Winter, 1963, is currently active.

Carrollton - June 27 - an episcopal minister publically addressed members of his congregation to support his opposition to XX White Citizens' Council.

- more -

(Ga., contd)

Columbus - June 25 - Negro ministers announced plans whereby movie theatres have agreed to desegregate in Fall, 1963.

Since July 5 when 7 Negroes used the library reading room but were denied library cards, protests with substantial numbers of demonstrators have centered around the library, with at least 10 arrests, the library being closed at times, indefinitely on July 18.

Three separate groups of Negro leadership have expressed opposition to protest demonstration.

July 17 - while pickets marched before Muscogee County School Board, Board announced library and school desegregation on a "timetable," probably 1964.

July 17, 18, 19 - successive attempts of Negroes to use Lakebottom and Weracoba Parks, rocks hurled by Negro and white youths at one another, 5 arrests, parks closed. July 17 - 2 (one Negro and one white) of the city's 3 pools closed.

Cordele - July 16 - announced hiring of city's first Negro policeman.

Rome - has a biracial committee meeting under Chamber of Commerce auspices. Lester Maddox's pro-segregation PASS organization maintains a branch. Some mass meetings. No demonstrations.

Macon - July 1 - Ten establishments, including Mercer University and Wesleyan College, a grocery, book store, and shopping center, signed contracts with the federal goverment to operate the businesses where their post office stations are situated on a non-discriminatory basis.

June 19 - July 26 intermittent has been meeting

Savannah - Since June 19 (when demonstrations, which had been halted briefly, erupted into violence) negotiations between Negro leaders and white businessmen have been ~~continuous~~ and a biracial committee ~~meets~~ with the approval of the City Commission and the Chamber of Commerce. On July 16, after nearly a month of stalemate and disturbances, closed negotiations commenced, [redacted] mediators being named by a group of 100 business elite.

No agreement has been reached on desegregation of public accommodations asked by Negroes, [redacted] their cause confused somewhat by lack of centralized leadership to date. Activities included nightly demonstration marches numbering hundreds, daytime picketing and smaller demonstrations, mass meetings, weather permitting. Police surveillance has been thorough; toll in wounded at least 6, arrests estimated at 240, ~~through July 12,~~ through July 12 with some violence.

June 25 - arrest of youth leader triggered intensive and resumed talks, several days of calm, then July 4 renewed demonstrations demanding his release. A school desegregation plan to commence with the 12th grade in Fall 1963 announced July 1 [redacted] disatisfying to many. July 5 - first appearance of approximately 30 white, anti-integration pickets. July 9 - popular Negro leader arrested, currently [redacted] in jail on reduced bond of $15,500. July 10 - 30 arrested for lying down in streets protesting arrest. Concurrently - July 10 and 14, wade-ins at Savannah Beach, with at least 8 arrests.

July 10-11 - midnight demonstrations comprising approx. 1000 persons, exchanges of rocks and tear gas, vandalism. By dawn of July 11, approximately 100 state troopers arrived. July 12 - demonstrations, further violence. July 13 - pro-segregation white motorcade of approximately 65 persons.* July 14 - Negroes denied admittance to several white churches.

Subsequently, all factions of Negro leadership have called for end to violence and mass demonstrations, urged voter registration, peaceful picketing, economic pressure. July 16 - Negro fireman shot by white youths, 6 arrested. July 18 - Negro youths picket Chase-Manhattan Bank (buyer of Savannah Municiapl Bonds) in New York. July 20 - Ku Klux Klan [redacted] outdoor meeting. Rallies, picketing, Negotiation continue. Atmosphere [redacted] quiet, tense, expectant.

* 31 ministers, including Catholic, Episcopal, & Methodist bishops, call for "just resolution," offer their services.

MISSISSIPPI

Canton June 26--Ben P. Lewis, a 43-year-old white service station attendant, arrested, charged with firing a shotgun at 5 Negroes near a hall where a voter registration rally was being held. June 29--12 Negroes were registered to vote within a week here, where no colored person had ever registered before.

Columbus goes here (see below)

Clarksdale 36 protest marchers arrested during last week in June. July 20--A young white segregationist who confessed to firebombing the home of local civil rights leader Aaron Henry was acquitted of arson charges by an all-white jury which took 15 minutes to render a verdict. Prosecution immediately dropped an ~~ind~~ identical charge against his companion in the bombing. The 2 men admitted throwing 2 "Molotov cocktails" into Henry's home April 13. ~~Negro~~ Negro Congressman Charles C. Diggs (D., Mich.) was Henry's house guest at the time.

Greenville June 19--July 6--City council announced that a six-man biracial committee will be formed to advise it on racial problems. 3 members of city council will serve with "an equal number of representatives chosen from the Negro community. July 6--The city's first week of mass racial demonstrations ended today, was highlighted by 25 arrests, 3 sit-ins, one play-in, and 2 protest marches. City council adopted two new "parade" ordinances. Most of activity generated by Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; 3 of its field secretaries were arrested in the ~~demonstrations~~ demonstrations. Police Chief W. C. Burnley ~~[illegible]~~ commended by both Negroes and whites for his handling of demonstraters and maintainence of law and order at all times.

Greenwood July 2--14 civil rights demonstraters being held at the Leflore County farm staged a sitdown at the barracks, refusing to do work assigned them, authorities reported. The 14 were among the more than 50 arrested previous week on charges connected with voting demonstrations. July 7--Some 300 to 400 Negroes joined with 3 white folk singers to sing of their dissatisfaction with segregation.

EARLIER GREENWOOD ENTRY, SEE BEEOW

Columbus July 2--City council passed an ~~[illegible]~~ ordinance prohibiting parading without a permit, carrying of placards or banners and certain other ~~[illegible]~~ activities.

Gulfport June 28--Mayor R. B. Meadows, Jr. announced the appointment of a 13-member biracial community relations committee, with 8 white and 5 Negro members. Previous day an explosion scattered debris about the waiting room of Dr. Felix H. Dunn, president local NAACP chapter. Police and FBI investigating.

Greenwood June 24--July 7--First drugstore lunch counter sit-in ever attempted here failed when white persons filled every available seat before Negroes arrived; sit-in attempted by 6 Negro girls. City passed 2 ordinances against demonstrations same day. June 29--10 arrested for demonstrating in local park, 2 more arrested July 1 for sitting-in at a lunch counter. ~~July~~

[redacted]

Itta Bena June 19--June 28--57 Negroes arrested June 19 on charges of disturbing the peace; 12 were children under 15 and were subsequently freed. Justice Department sued June 28 for release of the remaining 45. Suit was third filed by Justice which involved LeFlore County. First, filed in August 1962, challenged constitutionality of state voting laws, is awaiting trial. Second filed March 30, charged county and other defendants with intimidating Negro voter registration efforts in Greenwood.

[redacted]

at the end of June.

Jackson

June 30-July 12--First 2 Negro policemen since Reconstruction days sworn in by Mayor Allen C. Thompson. Mayor has also promised to hire 8 Negro school crossing guards by Sept. 1. Four Negroes men escaped serious injury June 30 when an explosion collapsed a two-family frame house. Charles Evers, brother of Medgar Evers, said he thought a bomb caused damage, but a local detective attributed blast to a gas leak. Same day 3 white churches refused to admit 5 Negroes who tried to attend Sunday services. In early July a public golf course on which 2 Negroes had played without incident June 6 was resegregated. Hinds County grand jury, with one Negro among its 18 members, considered case of Byron Beckwith, accused of murdering Medgar Evers, on July 2. The prosecution requested a mental test for Beckwith July 12, but defense said it would oppose such a test. Negro clerical workers quietly placed in federal clerical and administrative positions in U. S. government offices here following an inspection in June. Internal Revenue Service hired a Negro agent, Social Security a stenographer, and Veterans Adminstration one new clerical worker. City officials pleased by a federal court ruling upholding Jackson statutes under which nearly 1000 persons arrested for participating in racial demonstrations. City attorney called decision significant victory on July 3. July 9--Negroes concentrating on a voter registration campaign found the registration books suddenly closed. Circuit clerk, who is also voter registrar, claimed his small office was overburdened preparing for Aug. 6 Democratic primary in which there will be 138 names on the ballot. July 12--Mississippi Supreme Court reversed itself and upheld the conviction of civil rights leader Aaron Henry on a morals charge. Court had overturned the conviction in June on grounds that police had illegaly searched Henry's car. In July 12 decision court said defense had failed to enter objections during trial.

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

Asheville--June 13--Total desegregation of all public and commercial facilities urged by City Council; also ordinance adopted repealing Article 23 of City Code, which makes it unlawful to sell property to Negroes in a predominantly white neighborhood.

~~Carrx~~

Cabarrus County--June 12--Three political leaders issued statement which said in part, "We recommend that all citizens of Cabarrus County recognize that, legally, every individual is the equal of every other individual, and we recommend to all our citizens that they practice no discrimination based on race."

NORTH CAROLINA:

Ahoskie-- June 28--Water safety chairman H. L. Beaman denied that a proposed Red Cross water safety course to be taught in July was cancelled because three Negroes signed up for course.

Albemarle and Stanley County-- June 24--A biracial committee was formed under sponsorship of Albermarle and Stanley County Chamber of Commerce, "to consider any future race problems."

Charlotte-- June 29--Four-point hospital desegregation plan submitted by Negro Medical Society got cool reception from city hall. Charlotte has had an active 29-member Mayor's biracial committee since early 1961, and as of July 8 reported that desegregation now includes practically all public facilities: library, parks, schools, police force, bus drivers, chamber of commerce, hotels, motels, restaurants, and theatres.

Chapel Hill--June 26-July 7--Demonstrations began with from 100 to 250 Negro and white demonstrators marching each day asking end of desegregation in business establishments. There was no disorder and no arrests for marches. June 26-a white picket was arrested for striking son of store owner. June 29-demonstration included singing of freedom songs in front of desegregated stores,. Boycotts of 13 establishments began July 4, with marchers increased to 400 (more than 100 whites included). July 7-a white man was arrested for driving his car through line of 200 white and Negro pickets.

Cleveland-- June 12-26--A playground attack by ~~six~~ 6 Negro youths on a white boy and girl on June 12 touched off racial disorders, mainly by gangs of white persons, who pelted Negroes with rocks, bottles and other objects. The clashes continued for ~~three~~ 3 nights and 50 white persons were arrested on charges of carrying concealed weapons or for intoxication. Disturbances subsided after the ~~six~~ 6 Negroes were arrested.

Covington-- June 14--A Negro minister urged city council to set up biracial commission to "take steps necessary for equal job opportunities" for Negroes and to study problems of integrated motels, restaurants, theatres, and other public facilities.

Durham-- In April some stores hired 15 Negroes in non-traditional jobs. The Rialto Theatre was desegregated. In June the Durham Junior Chamber of Commerce dropped its "white only" membership clause. All hotels and motels, most restaurants and many retail establishments have integrated.

Fayetteville--June 10-23--~~A~~ Six Negro students quietly integrated only municipally owned swimming pool. ~~Mayor Wilbur Clark issued statement, "If we don't make progress here [in desegregating entertainment and food services], we will greatly harm our prospects for attracting new industries and businesses and, secondly, we will have renewed demonstrations...which aggravate possibilities of ill will, economic loss, and public danger."~~ stet June 15--Some restaurants, hotels and lodging desegregated; demonstrations began ~~[illegible]~~ few days later. State troopers called in to help local police June 21; broke up disturbance with tear gas; 17 arrested. ~~On~~ June 22-24 Negroes arrested attempting to integrate Hotel Rose. Rain ~~on~~ June 23 slowed down demonstrations.

Gastonia-- June 10--A prayer pilgrimage to city hall on June 10 by five Negro ministers met with 18-member biracial committee which announced its accomplishments: "colored" signs removed on city property; anti-discrimination in city hiring; desegregation of golf courses, lunch counters, library. On June 12 Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association urged desegregation of all public facilities. Biracial committee announced theatre negotiations progressing, eight restaurants desegregated, at least one motel desegregated, Negro nurses at city hospital. On June 14 committees began meeting with hospital, hotel-motel, and restaurant officials. Purpose of committee was changed "to promote integration of public facilities harmoniously." Ministers reassured; said no demonstrations planned.

Goldsboro--June 8-July 7--Between June 8 and 11 more than 100 demonstrators were arrested on trespassing charges for attempting to desegregate theatres and restaurants; all released without bond. Some demonstrators torn shirts were said to be result of rough handling by police and one demonstrator knocked down and bruised. Demonstrations continued through June 28. During week of June 21, 33 were tried, given suspended sentences on 30-day good behavior; no fines levied. Cases appealed. On July 7 a 16-member biracial committee, appointed previous week, took steps to begin gradual integration of public places; details of plans were not made public.

Greensville--July 5--About 200 mayors from all sections of state voted unanimously to support Gov. Sanford in efforts "to remove the indignities long suffered by Negroes."

~~Granville County~~

Greensboro-- July 4 - Employment-practice questionnaires were distributed to merchants by biracial committee. Greensboro Housing Authority formally removed color bar from its 1,036 low-rent housing units, previously 400 units all-white and 636 units all -Negro.

Granville County--June 29--Biracial committee organized after recent rock and bottle throwing incident between Negroes and whites. Majority of drug counters and other downtown eating places desegregated, but 19-member committee (majority of members Negro) meeting daily with businessmen to discuss list of grievances.

Henderson--June 10-29--Mayor Horace Faulkner moved on June 10 to integrate parks, but city council overruled him at later night meeting and on June 11 closed cities three parks rather than integrate them. June 28--Orderly Negro marches and picketing for equal employment opportunities bagan; no arrests. No mass demonstrations are planned. Mayor's biracial committee being appointed but so far only two whites willing to serve.

Hickory-- June 27--Five area restaurants have adopted non-discrimination policy according to Hickory Community Relations Council at its second meeting since being appointed by Board of Aldermen on June 6.

June 12 - Most hotels, motels, & eating establishments integrated. Action endorsed by City Council and group of business leaders.

High Point-- June 18--Three Negroes filed a petition in U. S. Middle District Court asking for an injunction against City of High Point and Kay Theatres, Inc to permit them and all Negroes to attend local theatres.

Lexington--June 11-28--~~125 state troopers ordered into Lexington after racial rioting left one man dead and a news photographer wounded the night of June~~ 6. ~~Mayor C.V. Sink appealed for persons to stay off streets, but small groups of white youths gathered the night of June 7 and about 50 Negroes attended~~ prayer service near scene of ~~rioting. Police, aided by a thunderstorm, scattered groups and prevented further gatherings. On~~ June 11, Mayor C.V. Sink released letter from Davidson County NAACP urging desegregation of all public facilities, upgrading of Negroes on city jobs, equal job opportunities, and better communication. A total of 18 white persons arrested on charges of engaging in a riot. June 28--Three Negroes charged with death of white mechanic during June 6 riot bound over for trial without bail; 28 (18 white, 10 Negro) convicted last week of engaging in riot. Most cases appealed. Court meted out fines of $25 to $250 and jail terms of three to 16 months; jail terms suspended in most cases on payment on fines.

Monroe-- June 26--Union County Sheriff Griffin said he found no evidence that white integration leader's car was shot at June 25 near Monroe. Monroe Apter of New York reported shot fired at him and ~~two~~ 2 Monroe Negroes by ~~three~~ 3 white men following in car.

Mount Airy-- ~~May 16.~~ July 5--~~On May 16~~ Negro leaders presented town commissioners with requests to end discrimination. May 16. ~~June 24--Although~~ A 13-member biracial committee was formed of civic and business leaders to desegregate public public facilities and open job opportunities. Before committee formed, ~~six~~ 6 drug stores voluntarily dropped racial bars. July 5--Meetings of committee with restaurant, ~~and~~ hotel-motel ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ operators, and industrialists held this week.

New Bern-- July 19--Anti-segregation demonstration at drive-in restaurant, second in two days, resulted in arrest of 58 Negroes on trespass charges.

North Wilkesboro-- June 29--Mayor James M. Anderson announced formation of biracial committee to solve city's racial problems.

Oxford-- June 22--Special biracial committee attempting to settle strife which began June 19 and resulted June 22 in rock and bottle throwing battle squelched by 70 state troopers. Some 300 Negroes and whites involved. During disturbance rifle shots fired into police car and one patrolman cut with knife. Demonstrations directed against theatre.

Raleigh-- June 7-July 7--Around 180 Negroes sand in front of segregated business establishments several hours after 200 Negroes staged protest march downtown. June 13--Five hotels and motels, nine restaurants and all drive-in theatres desegregated. Demonstrations and "testing committees" continued. ~~June 18--Five hotels and motels, nine restaurants~~ Downtown movie theatres integrated June 20. On June 22 ~~six~~ 6 Negro students with suitcases sat-in at entrance to Sir Walter Hotel after being refused rooms; arrested, charged with trespassing, and released. The ~~six,~~ 6 joined by carloads of Negro youths with suitcases, returned. Four attempted to enter coffee shop and were arrested. Several white college students jointed the 175 Negroes in marching (singing) around hotel for several hours; group then marched away towards Shaw University. 76 businesses desegregated but names not available. June 26--Some 200 Negroes met at Old Capital at Gov. Sanford's invitation to state their views on civil rights. After meeting, 100 Negroes gathered outside to sing. Group defied Governor's plea for end to demonstrations.

Continued

Raleigh, continued:

June 29--City Council repealed last remaining segregation ordinance previous week requiring desegregated cemetaries. July 7--Militant state Negro anti-segregation leaders spurned personal plea of Gov. Sanford at Raleigh meeting and vowed continued demonstrations all over state. Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association have opened their membership to Negroes

Roxboro-- July 7--Chairman of biracial committee announced that about 90% of town's motels and restaurants have integrated.

Sanford-- June 25--~~Sick~~ First meeting of newly formed 11-member biracial committee. One member, a restaurant operator, said he had called meeting of about 25 restaurant operators about five weeks ago to consider dropping racial bars.

Salisbury-- June 13-July 2--After rumors of impending racial demonstrations, directors of Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association announced immediate appointment of biracial committee "to work for better community relations." Committee will supplement 1961 Community Service Committee. July 2--City Council voted to eliminate "race, color, or national origin" as factors in hiring city employees.

Shelby-- Juen 12--Mayor Harry S. Woodson and Mayor-elect Dr. Hubert Plaster named a Mayor's Advisory Commmttee on Human Relations, after June 4 vote for such a group by City Council.

Statesville--June 15--More restaurants and some hotels desegregated. (Merchants' Association voted to accept applications from Negroes for sales clerks)

Thomasville- June 3-July 17--Week of June 3 swimming pools integrated. July 17--Crowds of about 150 Negroes and 150 whites squared off in a parking lot beside City Hall and began hurling rocks at each other. Local and state police dispersed mobs. Negroes later demonstrated at city's only movie theatre, where 60-65 (mostly teenagers) Negroes were arrested. Charged with blocking entrance and violating fire ordinance.

~~Wadesboro~~
~~Wake County~~
Whiteville-- July 4--First Negro policeman hired; to patrol Negro section.

Wilmington--June 15--~~Ix~~ Some restaurants and hotels desegregated. During May all signs indicating segregation were removed from court house.

Williamston-- July 1-~~4~~--Orderly demonstrations began and continued daily, with up to 500 marching on July 4. July 2--seven Negroes served at drugstore lunch counter. July 3--150 Negroes denied admission to municipal swimming pool leased to private operator, and pool closed July 4; lawsuit planned. About 500 Negroes demonstrated for five successive days and sought service at downtown restaurant; 36 arrested, but juveniles ~~xxxx~~ released and 18 jailed. Large ~~of~~ crowds of whites assembled July 3 and violence narrowly averted. Mayor suggested biracial committee and urged end to demonstrations; request refused.

Wilson-- July 3--Recently appointed Mayor's biracial ~~xxxxx~~ Good Neighbor Council presented ~~three~~ requests to Wilson County Commissioners: 1) non-discrimination in hiring, 2) unified tax listing, and 3) removal of racial signs from county facilitis.

Winston-Salem--June 28-July 7--During June, Forsyth County Medical Society announced it would admit Negro doctors to "scientific" membership.
June 28--
Direct action protests resumed when three Negroes peickets cafeteria.

June 29--Five leading restaurants announced desegregation on July 1.
July 2--22 orderlies and domestic wowkers at hospital petitioned for improved employment benefits and end to policy of addressing them by first names.

July 4--Mayor's biracial committee polled area employers re elimination of discrimination in employment. Hotel-motel and restaurant committees agreed to work together to accomplish additional desegregation; theatre committee announced progress but declined to name desegregated theatres.

July 6--About 20 demonstrators (2 white) picketed for third day downtown cafeteria.

July 7--Forsyth County Bar ASsociation voted to admit Negro attorneys to membership.

A total of 46 restaurants have desegregated.

Civil Rts. Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments

Oklahoma -

Oklahoma City --- June 23 -- An amusement park where 51 persons were arrested yesterday in a racial demonstration was opened today to both Negroes & whites. The owner said he had received numerous telephoned threats. ~~It is doubtful that any threats came from members of the NAACP or persons involved in the demonstrations.~~

Oklahoma City --- June 1-7 --- In sweeping moves during the first days of June Oklahoma City acted to eliminate racial discrimination in downtown hotels & eating establishments & in suburban motels. The policy changes came about partly through the effort of Mayor Willes who worked behind the scenes with the restaurant & hotel managers.

In first Report

Tennessee

Bolivar -- July 7, --- A group of Hardeman County citizens met with Negroes from the County Improvement Ass. to discuss job opportunities & use of public facilities. Judge Max Frost told the group the jobs they were seeking are state & federal & that local citizens have no control over them.

~~Canton -- June 26, --- Police charged a white service station attendant with the shotgun wounding of five Negroes Monday night as~~

~~They walked along a Canton railroad track. Ben P. Lewis is specifically charged with "unlawfully pointing & unlawfully discharging a firearm" at the five Negroes who were walking near a voter registration meeting site.~~

Chattanooga -- July 7 -- The Board of Directors of the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce unanimously issued an appeal to "the owners of the firms doing business with the general public to provide . . . equal treatment of all people."

Chattanooga -- July 9 -- Officials announced that most of the city's leading restaurants - about 70 - had been or would be desegregated. This move was the result of negociations that have been underway for weeks.

Knoxville --- July 3 -- Approximately 50 Knoxville restaurants & cafeterias have agreed to desegregate their facilities voluntarily. The deseg. move was worked out by an executive group of the Committee for Peaceful & Orderly Desegregation.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson

June 12--City council repealed local ordinance prohibiting serving whites and Negroes at the same lunch counter, also agreed to hire Negro policemen and to the establishment of a biracial committee.

Charleston

July 3-July 23--An estimated 150 Negro demonstrators arrested on charges of obstructing traffic July 3 in the first mass arrest of anti-segregation demonstrators here in 1963. Similar demonstrations had been occurring for more than a week, but this was first time Negroes had been marching at a slow step. Fire trucks were used July 16 to break up a crowd of 500 Negro demonstrators. Trucks called out after 4 policemen were injured by flying bricks in first racial violence during a month of protests; crowd scattered at sight of trucks and no fire hoses were used. S. C. Governor Donald Russell ordered state troopers into Charleston July 17 and alerted certain national guard units. During a march by 175 Negroes through downtown area July 20, 3 Negro ministers and Wilhelmina Gantt, mother of Harvey Gantt, first Negro admitted to Clemson, were arrested. Meanwhile, white and Negro leaders reported that two biracial conferences held July 19 had proven helpful, though no settlement was reached. 62 downtown merchants agreed July 23 to integrate their stores, but the move did not placate demonstration leaders who said the series of demonstrations which began 6 weeks ago would continue. "We don't know who these 62 merchants are," commented one leader, "they will have to let us know specifically who will integrate and who will not integrate." In another development, it was announced June 27 that Catholic hospitals in Charleston and Columbia will accept Negro patients in the fall; all services will be available to them, hospital officials said. But Negro doctors will not be permitted to practice in these hospitals.

Columbia

June 24-July 10--The district office of the Internal Revenue Service here hired its fourth employee June 24. Governor Russell met with 5 white and 3 Negro members of the S. C. Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission June 28. It was a closed door meeting, but 2 members indicated that a wide range of topics involving integration in S. C. was discussed. A white man began 30 days of hard labor July 7 for slapping a Negro girl who refused to move to the back of a bus. Federal judge J. Robert Martin of Greenville, S. C. ordered desegregation of all state parks July 10. Desegregation to take place 60 days hence. There is a possibility, however, that the parks will be closed; present state law forbids the operation of any park that is not segregated.

Florence

June 30--A 20-man biracial committee has been formed here to establish lines of communication between white and Negro leaders. Its formation was endorsed by 82 community leaders.

MORE-------

Greenville — July 3--The Greater Grenville Chamber of Commerce's board of directors urged the formation of a biracial committee, saying such a move should be taken in the best interests of local race relations. ~~[illegible]~~

Orangeburg — June 28--The president of the S. C. Municipal Association called upon Negroes to refrain from demonstrating and urged them to try to solve racial problems in each community in ~~[illegible]~~ "good faith."

Richland County — July 2--Two Negroes were among 4 ~~[illegible]~~ deputies hired by the Richland County sheriff's office. The 2 deputies are the first ~~[illegible]~~ Negroes to be hired in Richland County.

Rock Hill — June 12--The Rock Hill Chamber of Commerce recommended immediate integration of all city businesses serving the general public; resolution passed unanimously by chamber's 15-member board of directors.

Sumter — July 3--The Carnegie Public Library here ~~is~~ now open to Negroes.

Rockhill
Sumter

Texas - caps

Amarillo - June 23 - Approximately 40 Negroes worshipped in five white churches. June 26 - After about 30 Negroes demonstrated before two downtown movie theatres, manager suggested they seek admission in smaller groups. They did, and were admitted.

Austin - During June - Chamber of Commerce issued resolution recommending businesses integrate public rooms. Sixty-two (85%) of city's restaurants desegregated. July 1 - Austin Ice Palace desegregated - site of much picketing.

Baytown - June 13 - Mayor Lee Liggett appointed 12-man (7 whites, 5 Negroes) biracial committee.

Beaumont - During June - white Human Relations Council met with Negro counterpart with aim of ending racial discrimination in jobs. Many trade and craft unions integrated, some with Negro officials. June 28 - city pool desegregated. Nearby Bastrop State Park integrated all facilities except pool during month, becoming first Texas State Park to desegregate.

July 16 - white pastor named to Negro Congregational Church.

Commerce - During June - attempts by Negroes to use city pool failed.

Corpus Christi - During June - restaurant association recommended integration, most members followed. Further integration of hotels, motels, bowling alleys urged by Negro leaders.

Corsicana - Week June 26 - municipal lake and lake park integrated. City has biracial committee.

Dallas - June 24 - one downtown movie desegregated, all others followed suit during the week. Community Relations Committee is biracial (7 Negro members), urged desegregation of city park facilities, including pools, which took place in late June. July 17 - one white congregation voted to admit Negro worshippers.

Denton - June 28- City Commission passed formal resolution declaring all public facilities integrated, including library and hospital (there are no pools).

Fort Worth - June 22- 3-man (1 Negro) race relations committee announced all downtown hotels, restaurants, movies, athletic contests desegregated. July 2 - unsuccessful attempts by Negroes to use 2 bowling alleys.

Houston - Early July - biracial committee established, restaurants, hotels, theatres largely desegregated.

Lubbock - June 12 - 72 cafe owners reported they had integrated their businesses.

Marshall - Reportedly has one of state's oldest biracial commissions, no integration.

San Angelo - Hotels and restaurants on a schedule to desegregate within the year.

Texas contd.

San Antonio - June 26 - Negro pickets at City Hall pressing desegregation ordinance. A July 4 deadline for voluntary desegregation of accommodations asked by 19-man biracial committee. By July 12 - 92% of motel rooms, 95% of hotel and restaurant space in compliance. All theatres, lunch counters, bowling alleys integrated. Fashionable stores began hiring Negro retail clerks.

Sherman - Biracial ministerial alliance has helped open communications on employment opportunities.

[redacted]

Texarkana - June 12 - More than 200 anti-integration demonstrators gathered near campus of Texarkana Junior College, burned crosses, and were dispersed by police, when first two Negro students were admitted.

Texas City - July 3 - City Commission appointed biracial committee.

Tyler - Week July 1 - biracial committee appointed to discuss integration of parks and pools.

Waco - Week June 17 - After Chamber of Commerce -appointed businessmen's committee met with Negro leaders, at least 4 leading restaurants desegregated. County (McLennan) has hired its first Negro deputy sheriff. At least two churches have publically announced they are open to all.

VIRGINIA:

Alexandria--Two swimming pools were desegregated in May by City Council edict, and four movie theatres quietly desegregated at end of May, before court ruling on public accommodations June 27.

Arlington--June 17--Four movie theatres desegregated.

Charlottesville--July 2--7 stores have dropped color bar in employment; 8 restaurants and at least one theatre have desegregated.

Clifton Forge--July 3--City's only movie theatre integrated quietly at midnight showing.

Covington - July 17 - formation of biracial Committee postponed by City Council.

Danville--July 3-20--On July 3, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth substituted for the Rev. M. L. King Jr. and denounced temporary injunction against unruly demonstrations. He urged Negroes to test it with peaceful demonstrations.

July 5--picketing began of stores, city hall, home of president of Dan River Mills and of Mayor and continued through 20th. 101 were arrested during height of demonstrations, July 10-13. Boycott of products of Dan River Mills announced.

July 11--Mass demonstrations began with renewed fervor after address by Rev. M. L. King, Jr. and 106 Negroes registered to vote during two-day period. Positions on both sides of controversy hardened. City Council endorsed Mayor Stinson's refusal to appoint biracial committee and passed new parade ordinance to curb demonstrations.

July 14--Negro paratrooper, in full uniform and carrying American flag, arrested for picketing Mayor Stinson's home; listed as AWOL at Ft. Bragg.

~~Previously, on June~~ On July 13-- moderate business leaders from Chamber of Commerce and Retail Merchants' Association outvoted Mayor Stinson and formed new biracial committee to replace collapsed white City Council Committee.

July 17--In related action, the New York offices of Dan River Mills was picketed.

Meanwhile, families of jailed demonstrators began receiving food and clothing from as far away as California and New York. More than 200 had been arrested in past six weeks; 100 were still in jail. 11 who took part in demonstrations were declared ineligible for unemployment compensation; some others lost their jobs.

July 20--6 more demonstrators were arrested following shooting incident involving patrol car night of July 19.

More

Danville ~~(continued)~~ Legal Developments--June 27-July19-- On June 27 Negro attorney Len W. Holt (of Norfolk) spent night in jail after arrest for inciting riot in recent demonstrations. His bond was set at $5,000. Mr. Holt was among 13 Negro leaders indicted by grand jury for participation in the riots; 11 are in jail. Bonds now total $146,450 for those arrested during demonstrations of past month. This figure does not include any bonds posted for cases in juvenile court.

On June 26 Harold J. Flannery, a Justice Department attorney, had conferred at length with Mayor Stinson seeking commitments on city employment of Negroes. Later, Stinson charged Flannery with "veiled threats and vague promises."

July 2--The Justice Department supported more than 100 Negro citizens in seeking to transfer their trials from a Danville city court to the U.S. District Court in Charlottesville. Both attempted removal of the cases from local court and the decision to file a "friend of the court" brief strongly supporting this move were described by a government attorney as "without recent precedent." Negro leaders have charged that during recent racial tension Danville Judge Archibald M. Aiken has usually appeared in public with a large revolver at his belt, and has taken a personal hand in attempting to disperse crowds of Negroes. Negroes also have complained that Judge Aiken has lined his courtroom with as many as 40 uniformed policemen during trials of demonstrators, and that he has ordered Negro attorneys (both male and female) searched for weapons upon entering his court. Judge Thomas J. Michie of the U.S. District Court for Western District of Virginia received the petition and was expected to announce his decision this week. Meanwhile, on same day, Judge Michie granted the city's request for a temporary restraining order against any acts of violence or violation of city laws over the July 4 weekend, when Rev. M. L. King is scheduled to address a rally. Michie said injunction did not bar rally to hear King speak; permit for a parade was withdrawn.

~~July 5--City Judge Aiken extended~~
July 5--City Judge Aiken extended his anti-demonstration injunction from July 6 to July 29.

July 10--U. S. Judge Michie advised he would return cases to city court and would lift temporary order restraining demonstrations.

July 19--City officials conferred with Gov. Harrison and state legal authorities.

July 23--U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals notified City no ruling to be made before September 23 on innunction barring racial demonstrations. Municipal/Court trials began for 12 persons.

Falls Church--June 17--a movie theatre desegregated.

Front Royal--Howard Johnson's desegregated, mid-April.

Harrisonburg-- Howard Johnson's desegregated, mid-April.

Leesburg--June 25-July 1--Orderly picketing of theatres began and continued several nights. ~~On~~ June 29--Pitts Tally-ho Theatre opened its doors to Negroes and Casey's Diner (under construction in shopping center) announced it would serve all persons. Picketing continued at swimming pool.
July 1--Bowling center desegregated recently.

Lynchburg--July 17--Negro group asked U. S. Justice Department of investigate 5 charges of brutality by Lunchburg police in the arrest of ~~five~~ Negro girls July 13, and charged police with brutality in arrest of Negro woman on June 6. ~~Charges~~ It was ~~charged that~~ declared that metal "claws" were used during arrests and caused swollen areas on girls' arms.

Martinsville--July 17--City Council tabled proposal by Martinsville-Henry County Civil League for a biracial committee.

Newport News-4 Biracial committee in operation since June.
-July 2

Norfolk-- June 26-~~27~~--Negro leaders indicated possibility of demonstrations in wake of Norfolk County Council's rejection of 4-point petition for broad racial integration. City Council designated 25-member biracial committee, originally charged with studying redevelopment and planing, as its biracial problems body.

July 2--Ocean View Amusement Park desegregated. Citizens Advisory Committee invited Negro leaders to present grievances. Subcommittees were appointed to deal with special problems.

Petersburg-- July 17--City Council sanctioned formation of biracial commission; it has no official connection with city government.

Radford--June 25--7-member biracial committee named.

Richmond--June 25-July 10--On June 25 a Negro was wounded by a shot from a passing car; he said it was occupied by two white boys.

July 6--Six of 28 fire companies to be integrated, and all-Negro unit dispersed.

July 7--The Rev. Robt. W. Hare (white) preached his first sermon as pastor of a Negro Presbyterian church.

July 10--City Council approved formation of biracial committee and received proposed ordinance which could lower racial barriers at city's six park houses. Mayor Eleanor Sheppard promised to appoint committee "as quickly as possible." A Citizens Advisory Committee will discuss desegregation with motel and hotel operators.

Virginia

Roanoke--June--A ~~biracial committee~~ race relations sub-committee of the Citizens Committee for Greater Roanoke in operation; there have been no demonstrations.

July 4--~~R~~ City is considering hiring Negro firemen. Mayor M. A. Stoller said it appeared unlikely repairs could be made to Washington Park (Negro neighborhood) swimming pool in time for it to be used this summer.

July 7--14 firms voluntarily dropped discrimination in hiring policies.

July 17--Mayor Stroller said he would move July 22 to have Toanoke's last ordinance requiring segregation stricken from books. The law required separate seating on buses.

Suffolk--June 28--The Rev. M. L. King spoke to cheering crowd of 5,000; no demonstrations occurred. Following day statewide pilgrimage to Danville announced for July 3 to protest arrests of demonstrators.

Virginia Beach-- June 29--Majority of hotels, restaurants, motels, and movie theatres have quietly dropped racial barriers.

Waynesboro--Howard Johnson's desegregated in mid-April.

Woodstock--June--has biracial ~~committee~~ commission of 8 members.

Winchester--June 25--Negro leaders conducting public relations campaign for Negro job opportunities.

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge, May 28-June 4--City created a bi-racial committee, the first such group to be appointed in Louisiana (May 28). Committee met for first time May 31, following a march by 21 Negroes around the state capitol (May 29) and a sit-in (May 30). Negroes agreed to a 30-day truce June 4.

Winnsboro, May 30--Beaten by whites, a Negro teacher resigned his post.

Add Louisiana-----

April 3-Louisiana State University

New Orleans, ~~May 4~~-Medical school cafeteria closed following a walkout by Negro employees after a Negro pre-med student was refused service.

New Orleans, April 26--State Attorney General Jack F. P. Gremmillion declared ~~reports~~ there is no law in Louisiana which prohibits Negroes from occupying hotels or motels. ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ But ~~xirtually~~ no hotels or motels accept Negro guests at the present time, with the exception of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ airport hotel at New Orleans airport.

Shreveport, June 1- Negro demonstration held.

Addenda

Florida - Lakeland - June 6 - movie theatre picketing.
Miami - ~~[illegible]~~ June - leading hotels desegregated (comparable to Miami Beach awhere they have been desegregted for some time).

Kentucky - Covington -
Henderson -
Hopkinsville -
Lexington -
Louisville -
Paducah - local commissions on civil rights sponsored in these cities by the statewide Commission.

Mississippi - Biloxi - June 23 - attempted wade-in.
Greenwood - June 24 - six Negro girls attempted sit-in (the city's first) at a drugstore.

North Carolina - Sanford - June - biracail committee formed.

Tennessee - Athens -
Oak Ridge - both cities have official biracial commissions and have had no demonstrations.

Texas - Austin - June 10 - 38 restaurants (estimated 70% of total) desegregated.

Virgi nia - Arlington - June 17 - 4 movies theatres desegregated.
Danville - June 13 - moderate business leaders from Chamber of Commerce and Retail Merchants Association outvoted Mayor Stinson and formed new biracial committee to replace collapsed white City Council committee. On the same date Negroes picketed a localmill for the first time, and pickets subsequently applied for jobs.
Falls Church - June 17 - a movie theatre desegregated.
Front Royal -
Harrisonburg - (mid-April
Waynesboro - Howard Johnson's is these cities desegregated.
Newport News - June - a biracial committee in operation.
Roanoke - June - a race relations sub-committee of the Citizens Committee for Greater Roanoke in operation. There have been no demonstrations.
Woodstock - June - has a biracial commission of 8.

FILE

RALEIGH: April 4 - Demonstrations began, continued each night, with arrests each night.
On April 7, two entered theatre lobby and refused to leave; arrested.
April 25 - Five Negroes were arrested in S. & W. Cafeteria line; there had been ten previous arrests at Ambassador Theatre.

April 30 - S. & W. Cafeteria and Sir Walter Hotel Coffee Shop refused to serve the Assistant Secretary of the State of Liberia and that country's representative to the United Nations, and her nephew, a student a Shaw University. The U. S. State Department apologized.

May 4 - Demonstrations continued, with attempts to get service at theatres and restaurants, including State House dining room. By the evening of the 10th, approximately 250 had been arrested. Those still in jail, and offered freedom without bond, elected to remain. And estimated 300 - 500 demonstrated in front of Governor's mansion. Negro leaders were asked to halt demonstrations for truce.

May 11 - 1,000 demonstrated, including 100 just released from jail. The following day the truce offer was refused and 200 marched. On the 14th, 750 marched with about 200 whites following mocking and cursing. Arrested were 347, with 15 charged with assault and one with carrying a concealed weapon. A television reporte and cameraman charged he was blackjacked by a Capital guard as he attempted to take pictures.

May 14 - The Mayor appointed a 15-member biracial committee; the Raleigh Merchants Bureau adopted a resolution urging its 400 members to serve all persons, and announced two restaurants were lowering racial bars. The Raleigh Ministerial Association issued a statement urging immediate desegregation of restaurants, theatres and hotels, and pledged its support.

May 15 - Biracial Committee met; Gino's Italian Restaurant served lunch to 22 Negroes without incident and announced its desegregation policy.

May 20 - Orderly marches of from 75 to 300 students occurred each day through the 25th. On the 23rd 1,000 jeering whites followed the marchers and three were arrested.
May 27 - 270 demonstrated, 2 whites arrested.
June 3 - The News & Observer was picketed by 500 demonstrators demanding better Negro news coverage; on June 4 261 Negro and six white demonstrators marched into the State House after the legislature had adjourned.

June 5 - Some 76 food and amusement concerns desegregated.

ROXBORO: Mayor appointed biracial committee (20 members) on June 23.

STATESVILLE: on June 9th voluntarily desegregated some restaurants and cafeterias.

THOMASVILLE:

May 10 - Spontaneous sit-in by group of teen-age Negroes at restaurant.

May 24 - Planned demonstrations began, with quiet picketing of small groups of students at theatres. Eleven arrested on May 24.

May 26 - Negroes called off demonstrations until June 1st as special committee met to consider appointment of biracial committee.

May 30 - Demonstration of 300; following day truce declared through June 7.

June 1 - City-owned pool opened on integrated basis; no incidents.

WADESBORO:

June 5 - Predawn shooting spree in which windows of two business establishments shot out, including one restaurant which had recently desegregated. No injuries.

WILMINGTON:

June 7 - About 75 high school students staged protest demonstration at cafeterias and theatres; biracial committee studying problem.

WINSTON-SALEM

May 21 - About 25 students marched and picketed theatre; Mayor Benton appointed 18-member biracial committee. The following day the committee met, as 45 students marched. Demonstrations continued through the 27th.

June 4 - Biracial committee met and indicated progress, with three sub-committees at work on motels and hotels, restaurants, and theatres. The following day it announced the desegregation of 14 of 15 major restaurants and many smaller ones, and the desegregation of all hotels and motels.

SOUTH CAROLINA

1 — CHARLESTON

During the week of June 17-22, Kress, Woolworth and W. T. Grant department stores desegregated their facilities, two weeks after marches, sit-ins, stand-ins, and picketing. ~~No. of demonstrators~~ ~~Number arrested~~ No official biracial committee has been formed as yet. Local groups have announced that pressure for additional desegregation will continue.

Stat. COLUMBIA - June 7- City Council began meeting with Negro leaders.

~~Some lunch counters were opened on a non-segregated basis last August.~~

2 — GREENVILLE

~~On May 20 the Supreme Court overturned tresspass convictions of ten Negroes arrested at a lunch counter in 1960.~~

On May 27 city officials met with Negro leaders, and on May 28, in less than 15 minutes, City Council repealed segregation laws but passed a "trespass" city ordinance making it unlawful ~~to~~ not to leave a business after being asked to do so by the owner. The new law does not mention race.

On June 3, 11 lunch counters were voluntarily desegregated, two weeks after the Supreme Court made a Greenville case the key to a series of sit-in rulings by overturning the trespass convictions of ten Negroes arrested at a lunch counter in 1960. Small groups of Negroes ate in the 11 places without incident.

Greenville is the second South Carolina city to desegregate lunch counters, Columbia having opened some lunch counters on a non-~~segregated basis~~ racial basis last August. The stores affected were: S. H. Kress, W. T. Grant, H. L. Green, Walgreen Drugs, Eckerds Drugs, and Belk-Simpson; In shopping centers, the K-Mart discount store and a Woolworth and Walgreen store. Desegregation was effected by a committee of variety and drug stores and restaurant operators.

4 — SPARTANBURG

On June 1 unofficial meetings were held to consider desegregation. On June 5 most downtown lunch counters and restaurants desegregated and Negroes ate in several places without incident.

5 — SUMTER

A suit to integrate the Carnegie Public Library (class action) was filed Juen 5 in U. S. District Court by three Negro plaintiffs.

3 — ROCK HILL

On June 1, 16 Negores demonstrated in front of drive-in restaurant.

DANVILLE: May 31-June 15--

~~Demonstrations began May 31 and continued through June 15~~

Demonstrations began May 31, with hundreds arrested. Biracial committee met on June 7. Demonstrators were injured by powerful streams of water and police nightsticks. On the night of June 10 47 were injured and two hospitalized; Negro leader charged demonstrators "beaten unmercifully." ~~Demonstrations continued on more peaceful basis~~ Two police cruisers were fired upon from ambush in Negro section. Demonstrations continued on more peaceful basis after June 11, when Mayor called for voluntary curfew effective 10 p.m. to 5 a. m. On June 13 moderate business leaders from Chamber of Commerce and Retail Merchants Association demanded action by city officials to end strife, and city ~~council~~ officials outvoted Mayor Stinson and formed new biracial committee to replace collapsed white City Council committee. 50 Negroes were released on bond. Demonstrations continued without police interference. For the first time pickets appeared at Dan River Mills, and the pickets applied for jobs. On June 16 35 demonstrators marched and were promptly jailed by new city ordinance providing $500 fine and 12 months jail. More than 125 were jailed during the demonstration period.

typed

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga, June 7--Following a series of demonstrations by Negroes at 4 local restaurants and 1 theater, mayor appointed a bi-racial committee, and Negro leaders agreed to a truce.

Clarksville, May 28-June 7--300 Negroes sought service in a drive-in restuarant, were turned away (May 28). All public parks and pools desegregated June 7.

INSERT KNOXVILLE DEVELOPMENTS HERE----------

Maryville, June 24--A mountain training camp sponsored by CORE was found burned to the ground; no injuries reported. Camp had been raided by sheriff's deputies previous week; 28 whites and Negroes arrested.

Memphis, May 1-June 10--Normad corporation announced May 1 that it will build an integrated motel. All first-class hotels and motels desegregated May 20, followed by desegregation of all public recreational facilities May 30 (as a result of Supreme Court decision May 27). Voter registration drive began June 10.

Biracial committee since 1958

except swimming pools

Knoxville, May 9-28--Demonstrations began May 9, resulted in arrest of about 100 by May 11. 3 hospitals agreed to desegregate May 19, and mayor appointed a bi-racial commission same day. 2000 citizens signed a petition May 22 to desegregate all public facilities; petition sponsored by Chamber of Commerce. 4 leading hotels and 2 motels voted to desegregate May 28.

Nashville, May 8-June 5--Following demonstrations May 8 and 9, a clash between Negro students and white hecklers May 10, another demonstration May 13 in which two persons were hospitalized, a permanent bi-racial Metropolitan Human Relations Council was appointed by the mayor May 16 "to recommend actions by the business community." City parks and wading pools opened to all June 5. Earlier (May 13), seven motels and hotels, eight restaurants desegregated.

Athens
Oak Ridge } biracial Committees

TEXAS

Denton, April 6--50 Negro and white students from North Texas State University picketed in the downtown area [redacted] carrying banners calling for the integration of local theaters.

Dallas, June 2--South's first integrated hospital opened here, will have completely integrated facilities including an open staff of Negro and white physicians. Following day [redacted] insurance executive [redacted] George L. Allen became the first Negro name to an important City Hall appointive body, the City Planning Commission.

Houston, June 10--All city pools and municipal facilities desegregated.

VIRGINIA

Alexandria, May-June--City council banned discrimination in all municipal public facilities May 27 and instituted a merit hiring and promotion program for all city employees regardless of race. Movie theaters and some bowling alleys quietly desegregated June 14.

Arlington, April-June--[redacted] County Board established an Arlington County Human Relations Council in April. Arlington City Council eliminated all mention of race on job questionnaires June 3.

Charlottesville, May 25-30--Sit-ins began at La Paree restaurant May 25, but the main target became Buddy's restaurant near the University of Virginia, with groups of about 50 Negroes and whites [redacted] demonstrating through May 30, when a local Negro leader was beaten up by two white men and hospitalized. The "stand-ins" were temporarily called off as a result of this incident. City's first Negro policeman was appointed in the midst of the demonstrations in which 5 persons were arrested. Efforts are being made to form a bi-racial committee, but have been [redacted] unsuccessful thus far.

Danville, May 31-June 22--50-60 Negro [redacted] youths started demonstrations to force hiring of a Negro policeman. Demonstrations continued through June 10 when 50 Negroes were arrested and a rally broken up by police using firehoses; about 45 [redacted] persons were injured. City passed ordinance June 14 [redacted] limiting number allowed to participate in demonstrations to 6; the following ~~day 35 more Negroes were arrested in the last demonstration before beginning an uneasy truce and bi-racial talks. June 10 Negro leaders were arrested June 21 for "inciting violence," and 3 more~~ arrested in a local [redacted] Negro Baptist church the next day on same charge. Thus ~~far more than 100~~ persons have been arrested, and there have been no concessions made to Negro demands.

Police seized the other leaders who had taken sanctuary in a local church June 22.

10 leaders in the demonstrations, including 3 whites, were indicted by a special grand jury June 21 on a criminal charge of inciting to riot.

far about 150

Farmville, May 18--Small sit-ins staged, [redacted] with no violence and no arrests.

Hampton, April-May--A petition of 1000 signatures was sent to Mayor April 1 [redacted] charging "racial discrimination" and "police intimidation" after Hampton Institute students, 10 of whom were arrested, attempted sit-ins. An 11-member bi-racial Council on Community Relations was formed May 18.

Virgi Virginia (cont.)-----

Lawrenceville, May 29--30 students quietly pikketed Downtown lunch counters.

Lynchburg, May-June-- Patterson's drug store announced May 22, following prolonged sit-in demonstrations, that it would serve anyone. Following week 10 restaurants voluntarily desegregated. In early June 2 movie theaters and 2 bowling alleys also voluntarily desegregated.

Norfolk-Portsmouth, Late May--Major movies theaters agreed May 25 to lower all racial bars after private meetings between white businessmen and Negro leaders. Norfolk City Council asked mayor to form bi-racial committee May 28.

Petersburg, April 25--3 Virginia State College students fined $25 and given 30-day suspendd sentences for picketing.

Richmond, May 28-June 18-- Parker Field, local athletic stadium, quietly admitted 9 Negroes to previously all-white section. All downtown movie theaters announced June 15 that they will desegregate by July 10. Three days later 35 of city's better restaurants agreed to serve all customers without regard to race.

Estimated number of arrests in 11 southern states since April 3, 1963

10,420

(the Southern Regional Council estimated the number of arrests during the February 1, 1960 through September 1, 1961 period of demonstrations in southern and border states at 3,600.)

Number of fatalities related to demonstrations since April 3, 1963

3

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City, May 31-June 4--Following sit-ins May 31 and June 1, Bishop's, a local restaurant, agreed to desegregate, was joined June 3 by city's largest downtown cafeteria. Three city hotels desegregated June 2, were joined by one other and 20 suburban motels June 3. City council approved appointment of a 15-member Community Relations Commission June 4. Two days later the board of managers of the Central YMCA recommended that Negroes be allowed to rent rooms at the downtown YMCA.

Hickory - June 6 - Mayor formed a biracial Community Relations Council

lower case city names

HIGH POINT:

May 28 - Mass demonstrations began May 28, Mayor's biracial (11-member) committee appointed ~~on May 30.~~ two days later.

LENIOR: May 24 - Mayor appointed five-member biracial committee, ~~on May 24th.~~

LEXINGTON: June 3-6 -

~~June 3.~~ Mayor Sink appointed biracial committee of ~~ten~~ 10 members and ~~on June 5 fifteen~~ June 3. 15 or more Negroes requested and received service at drug store lunch counter; they were turned away at theatre and bowling alley.

~~June 6.~~ June 5, but Demonstration by approximately 50 Negro students met by anti-desegregation group of 500 whites. One person ~~dead~~ recently killed and ~~seven~~ 7 arrested June 6.

The First Methodist Church admitted Negro worshipers ~~last month.~~

LUMBERTON: June 6 - Mayor Hedgpeth, ~~at request of Chamber of Commerce,~~ appointed tri-racial committee of Indian, Negro and white members. ~~The committee was appointed after two business groups said they did not approve recent ordinances limiting picketing.~~

MONROE: Mayor's biracial committee of 12 members formed sometime in May.

MOUNT AIRY, May 30 - ~~three~~ 3 Negroes ~~were~~ served in a drug store.

OXFORD: June 16 - Truce declared after previous demonstrations.

ARKANSAS

2) Hot Springs, April 4--Negroes attempted to integrate local bath house, 4 arrested.

4) Pine Bluff, April-June--, 300 Negroes participated in a march protesting all segregation (April 1). 39 arrested April 25 in demonstration to integrate local theater. 4 Negroes served at Woolworth's and Walgreen lunch counters May 5. Bi-racial committee formed in early June.

3) Little Rock, June 3--Arkansas Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional 4 state laws that NAACP contended had been adopted to surpress its activities. Theaters desegregated [redacted] the following week.

1) Fayetteville, June 17--Local restauarant association began a 60-day desegregation test.

goes here

FLORIDA

Bradenton - Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres. ~~No demonstrations. No biracial committee. No desegregation.~~

Cocoa - Late May - early June, peaceful picketing of restaurants & hotels. Mayor has been meeting with owners. ~~No biracial committee. No desegregation.~~

Daytona Beach - June 1 - 9, at least 7 street demonstrations, also picketing and sit-ins, involving in one instance over 100 persons, at least 12 arrests. Targets are theatres, hotels, recreation facilities & restaurants (beaches and some lunch counters are desegregated). Mayor has formed a biracial committee. ~~No desegregation.~~

Gainesville - June 2 attempt of Negroes to buy movie tickets led to gathering of 1000 persons, some violence, 1 shooting, and mayor formed biracial committee during the 4-hour disturbance. Picketing of theatres and stores subsequently peaceful, continuous. ~~No desegregation.~~

Melbourne - No demonstrations. Mayor has named biracial committee.

Miami - May 25, June 1, peaceful ~~XXXXXX~~ picketing of chain ~~[illegible]~~ stores for employment. All municipal facilities are desegregated. No demonstrations. ~~No official biracial committee.~~

Palmetto - Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres. ~~No biracial committee. No desegregation.~~

Orlando - ~~XXX~~ June 8 - city government forming a committee to meet demands and avert demonstrations, none to date.

~~Sarasota~~ - June 1, picketing stores and theatres, peaceful, continuous to date. ~~No biracial committee. No desegregation.~~

St. Petersburg - Theatre picketing threatened. No demonstrations. Has biracial committee. ~~No desegregation.~~

Tallahassee - May 23 - June 8 - large scale (75 pickets 1st day) demonstrations began, primarily aimed at theatres, but also chain stores (for employment) ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ By May 28, 29, 30 protest marchers numbering 300 and 400, 500 arrests in 3 days, tear gas used. During first week of June Court upheld thre right to picket, limited number of pickets. Picketing subsequently continuous and with police guard. ~~No biracial committee. No desegregation.~~

Tampa - has had a biracial committee for some time, most facilities are desegregated, employment demands being met. No demonstrations.

Winter Haven - June 1- 7, sit-ins, hostile white crowds, beaches closed. ~~No biracial committee. No desegregation.~~

[redacted]

GEORGIA May 7 - June 24 -

1 - Albany, - [redacted] picketing and boycotting began May 7 with Negro employment the goal and lasted for three consecutive days, then sporadically through May 25, with over 100 arrests. On June 14, after Negro leaders had legally contested the sale and lost, the city sold one pool and tennis court to James Gray for $72,000, kept others closed. Early in day of June 19, 47 Negro ministers issued manifesto asking peaceful negotiation of differences. Late in day of June 19 ~~and~~ 20, 21 gathering to march and demonstrate, at least ~~106~~ 140 Negroes were arrested, there was some violence. [redacted]

Negro stores were closed.

April 12 - June 24 -

2 - Atlanta, - After first sit-in attempt April 12, Atlanta had demonstrations - sit-ins, a prayer march (estimated 200 participants), kneel-ins, picketing - on at least 32 days from April 27 to the present, with at least 103 arrests. Demonstrations were usually in small groups, by June 7 drawing some crowds of hostile whites and occassioning one stabbing. Targets were restaurants and cafeterias. ~~Owners of one of the latter leases the Capital Building Cafeteria which is integrated to all state employees and their guests (Mayor Allen hosted 43 demonstrators May 17).~~ Highlights: 2 Negro Metropolitan Opera singers denied restaurant service May 5; Journal and Constitution dropped racial designations from obituaries, want-ads and amusements and a night club integrated second week of May; [redacted] students agreed to suspend demonstrations for bond issue vote May 15; Chamber of Commerce made public statement urging desegregation of accommodations May 29; city pools opened integrated June 10; 14 leading motels and hotels announced integrated policy June 20; leading restaurants expected to follow suit week of June 24. Some churches which previously turned away Negroes have admitted them to services. Mayor has met with Negro and white leaders without a committee. Atlanta has a private, staffed Council on Human Relations.

official

3 - Augusta, - April 5 - a group of young people picketed municipal recreation facilities. [redacted]

June 20 -

4 - Brunswick, - Howard Johnson motel desegregation ~~June 20.~~ [redacted] ~~Private Council on Human Relations.~~

5 - Columbus - Demonstrations threatened, none to date. **

7 - Marietta - By mid-May reported to have a biracial committee. No demonstrations.

6 - Macon, - April 2 and 3, ~~2~~ Two rows initiated by whites resulted in ~~1~~ one stabbing, ~~2~~ two arrests in integrated park. Mayor declined to close park, his mailbox bombed April 6. Aprill 22, 5 Negro girls sat-in at segregated (some are integrated) lunch counter and were arrested. Has a Negro committee which has negotiated with whites with some success in past. ~~No biracial committee.~~ **~~No desegregation.~~

8 - Rome, - April 2 ~~(day demonstrations were announced in Birmingham)~~ 62 high school students stood trial (51 of age received sentences) for lunch counter sit-ins of previous week, the first such activity in the northwest area of Georgia. June 12, 13, 14 - 15 students sat-in again. [redacted] **~~No desegregation.~~

GEORGIA cont'd/

9- Savannah, ~~June 3~~ June 3-June 24- current wave of demonstrations - marches, picketing, sit-ins - began June 3, continued daily through June 14 when the city announced some restaurants, theaters, and hotels had agreed to desegregated. (On June 4, 3 movies had desegregated for a few hours, then resegregated after a protest demonstration by whites. June 13 - Negro home shot into. When owners renewed demonstrations resumed June 18, 19, 20. Over 1000 arrests in 2½ weeks. 4 restaurants have been granted injunctions against demonstrators on their property. Mayor has been meeting with a recognized biracial** committee formed during the month. June 20 - Howard Johnson's desegregated.

~~** has private biracial Council on Human Relations.~~

KENTUCKY

STATE ACTION

Under a General Assembly Act of March, 1960, Kentucky established a Commission on Human Relations of 11 members, appointed by the Governor. On March 17, 1963 the Commission announced it was drafting a law for presentation to the Legislature, and in May, 1963 it called for "additional laws with sanctions to achieve the purpose of discouraging discrimination for which the Commission was created."

The state commission has fostered local commissions in Louisvills, Lexington, Henderson, Paducah, Hopkinsville, and Covington to work for racial progress.

Last fall Governor Burt T. Combs sent personal appeals to 7,000 businessmen in Kentucky asking them to provide "equal service to all." He received 417 replies, and 400 said their businesses were open to all.

LOUISVILLE, April 9 - May 16

The 11-member Louisville Human Relations Committee submitted to the Board of Aldermen on April 9 an ordinance outlawing racial discrimination in public business places. The ordinance provided for fines up to $100 for violations. After three convictions, the City could get an injunction against the violator which coulc lead to jail sentence for contempt of court. The ordinance was passed on May 16, to go into effect in mid-September.

The new ordinance will include all remaining restaurants, barber shops, pool halls, and any other segregated public facilities. Public schools, parks, swimming pools, hotel, theatres and 268 of 410 restaurants have been desegregated in the past eight years, the restaurants two years ago after mass demonstrations and a Negro shopping boycott.

LEXINGTON

The University of Kentucky announced Negroes will take part in its athletic program. This is the first Southeastern Conference school to take such action.

JESSAMINE COUNTY

The County School Board submitted, on June 3, an integration plan to the U. S. District Court, and said it was ready to carry it out immediately. Plan includes closing all-Negro Rosenwald-Dunbar elementary and high schools, formation of new elementary school, and integration of school buses. (Suit was filed September, 1962.)

MISSISSIPPI

Clarksdale, May 4-June 22--State NAACP President Aaron Henry's drugstore was damaged by an explosion which ripped a hole in the roof; no one injured (May 4). A similar firebomb was tossed into Henry's home April 12 during a visit there by Negro Congressman Charles L. Diggs (D., Mich.). Negroes threatened to broaden their boycott of downtown merchants May 26 unless bi-racial talks were held. Henry announced the launching of a series of spot picketing and demonstrations in the city(June 22).

Greenville, May 25--City council voted unanimously to consider the possibility of forming a bi-racial commission.

Jackson, May 27-June 24--After talks between 13 Negro leaders and Mayor Allen C. Thompson broke off, a series of demonstrations began May 28, resulting in more than 600 arrests by June 6, when a state judge issued an injunction barring further demonstrations. Same day two Negro men integrated the municipal golf course, teeing off without incident. Local NAACP leader Medgar W. Evers murdered June 12. Following his funeral services June 15, Negroes clashed with police in downtown area; Justice Department Attorney John Doar helped bring demonstration under control. Next day four young Negro women were admitted to a white Protestant church without incident. Mayor Thompson announced June 18 that city will hire 6 Negro policemen, Negro school-crossing guards, and seven Negro sanitation workers. A 42-year-old fertilizer salesman, Byron de la Beckwith of Greenwood, was charged with the murder of Medgar Evers June 23. Jackson District Attorney William L. Waller said June 24 that he will seek the death penalty for Beckwith.

Lexington, May 8--A Negro who attempted to register to vote reported that white men threw "Molotov cocktails" into his home about 3 a. m.; no one was injured.

McComb, May 15--Injunction against CORE forbidding it to back sit-in demonstrations at local bus station struck down by Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Winona, June 9--Two Negro women and a 15-year-old girl beaten by police at the local jail after trying to use the white facilities at town's bus station. The women, who were released a few days later, have been active in voter registration work in Mississippi.

Add North Carolina--- ---

Raleigh — April 4-June 5--Demonstrations began April 4, continued for over a month. By May 10 some 250 had been arrested. Following day 1,000 demonstrated; May 14 750 marched, were mocked and cursed by about 200 whites. 347 were arrested, with 15 charged with assault and one for carrying a concealed weapon. A 15-member bi-racial committee was appointed by the Mayor May 14, and the Raleigh Merchants Bureau adopted a resolution same day urging its 400 members to serve all persons. Demonstrations continued through June 3. Some 76 food and amusement concerns desegregated June 5.

Sanford

Roxboro — June 23--Mayor appointed a 20-member bi-racial committee.

Stateville — June 9--Some restaurants and cafeterias voluntarily desegregated.

Thomasville — May 10-June 1--Spontaneous sit-in by a group of teen-age Negroes at a restaurant May 10 followed by planned demonstrations beginning May 24. Two days later Negroes called off demonstrations until June 1, but 300 demonstrated May 30. City-owned pool opened on an integrated basis June 1; no incidents.

Burned

Wadesboro — June 5--Windows of business establishments, including one restaurant which had recently desegregated, were shot out in a predawn shooting spree; no injuries.

Wilmington — June 7--Some 75 high school students staged a protest demonstration at cafeterias and theaters; a bi-racial committee is studying the problem.

Winston-Salem — May 21-June 5--About 25 students picketed theater May 21, and mayor appointed an 18-member bi-racial committee. Demonstrations continued through May 27. 14 of 15 major restaurants, many smaller restaurants, and all hotels and motels desegregated June 5.

Wilson? Will name later!

NORTH CAROLINA

ASHEVILLE: Mayor's biracial committee of 12 formed; week of June 23, ~~several~~ 5 lunch counters and 3 drive-in restaurants desegregated. ~~Restaurants desegregated~~.

CHARLOTTE:

April 19 - Proprietors of segregated hostels, restaurants and theatres ~~were~~ warned of ~~they face~~ mass picketing unless agreement to desegregate by April 20. On April 26 several hotels and motels voluntarily agreed, after negotiation with the Mayor's Human Relations Committee, to accept guests on non-racial basis during the North Carolina International Trade Fair, April 27-May 4.

May 23 - The Chamber of Commerce recommended immediate desegregation, after 70 students marched from Johnson C. Smith University to Courthouse. On May 27 Mayor Brookshire announced that 10 elementary schools will desegregate and eight major hotels and motels had dropped racial barriers completely. The Biracial Committee has proposed first systematic program on large scale in South; talks contine with threatre ~~xxxxx~~ operators.

May 30 - Further demonstrations delayed.

CHAPEL HILL:

May 24 - Chamber of Commerce issued statement opposing discrimination.

May 25 - 250 Negroes demonstrate.

CONCORD: Biracial committee named ~~in May~~ June 7; seven drug stores and nine restaurants desegregated.

DURHAM: May 18-30

~~May 18 - Boistrous demonstrations began, and approximately~~ 1,400 were arrested during period of May 18-20. On May 21 a temporary truce was agreed upon, and the Mayor appointed a biracial committee.

May 26 - Protest demonstration.

May 30 - City Council desegregated swimming pools, and on June 4,12 motels and hotels and 55 restaurants were desegregated. The following day Mayor Brabarek's biracial committee announced that 31 retail businesses and several commercial and industrial establishments would institute or continue the practice of hiring and promoting on basis of merit rather than race. A public accommodations ordinance is under study. Charges against the approximately 1,400 students arrested were nol prossed.

ENFIELD: May 30 - a theatre was picketed.

EDENTON: April 5 - Three Negroes arrested in mid=March for picketing theatre were acquitted in Superior Court.

FAYETTEVILLE:
May 14- Police dispersed mobs of Negroes and whites with tear gas.
May 19 - Demonstrations began and continued for at least eight days, with as many as 1,500 participating in marches. On May 26 three were arrested, and a cross was burned at the home of a Negro attorney. On May 27 the Mayor's coordinating committee recommended immediate desegregation of restaurants and theatres.

June 11 - Demonstrations began again and continued for several days, with 200 or more participating each day. A 9-man biracial committee was named by the Mayor, during the following week.

June 19 - Twelve hotels and motels desegregated

GOLDSBORO: During the week of May 30 there were four "parades" of demonstrators.

440

GREENSBORO:

May 10 - Large demonstrations began, with picketing of theatres, cafeterias, and restaurants. On May 14, 200 Negro and four white students were arrested; on May 15, 240 were arrested, including four whites, after 1,200 marched and picketed; Demonstrations continued through the 24th, with 4,000 peaceful marchers on the 22nd, 1,350 marchers on the 23rd with 14 arrests; 900 marchers on the 24th; Approximately 1,500 were arrested during the week.

420 arrested on 19 sts. for sit-ins in Woolworth Johnson parking lot.

May 20 - Negro ministers suggested boycott, and on following day biracial ministerial group proposed selective buying campaign to support integration effort.

On May 22 Mayor Schenick appointed special 16 member Committee on Human Relations, on recommendation of Chamber of Commerce which had, with Greensboro Merchants Association, on May 16 adopted resolutions urging end to segregation. On May 24 the City's governing body endorsed (unoffcially) an 11-point resolution urging integration of businesses. On May 25 white residents signed a petition for integration of public facilities, and a truce was arranged. That same day the Greensboro YWCA endorsed action of the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants Association.

About 900 marchers were released from jail; ~~about~~ 300 remained.

May 29 - Conference of restaurant owners, but no announced result.

June 2 - Marches resumed, first demonstration since truce; 200 silent marchers on 2nd and 300 on 3rd. An attorney representing segregated restaurants and theatres demanded no integration unless $38,500 in damages paid by Negroes.

550 (on 4B) did not seek service on picket.

June 4 - Four inddor theatres tentatively agreed to desegregate.

June 5 - Eight ministers sign statement calling for continued segregation.

June 6 - Official end of ten-day truce; 800 demonstrate with 278 arrests.

June 23 - During past week S. & W. Cafeteria desegregated.

NORTH CAROLINA

Ashville — Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12 formed this spring. 5 lunch counters and 3 drive-in restaurants desegregated in late June.

Charlotte — April 19-May 30--Proprietors of segregated hotels, restaurants, and theaters warned of mass picketing unless they agreed to desegregate (April 19). Chamber of Commerce urged immediate desegregation of all public facilities May 23, and eight major hotels and motels dropped all racial barrier four days later. Talks continued with theater operators, and further demonstrations were delayed May 30.

ast biracial committee

Chapel Hill — May 24-25--Chamber of Commerce issued statement opposing discrimination May 24. 250 Negroes demonstrated next day.

Concord — June 7--Bi-racial committee appointed. 7 drug stores and 9 restaurants desegregated.

Durham — May 18-June 5--1,400 were arrested during demonstrations May 18-20. Temporary truce agreed upon May 21, with the appointment of a bi-racial committee by the mayor. City council desegregated swimming pools May 30. 12 motels and hotels, 55 restaurants desegregated June 4. Following day mayor's bi-racial committee announced that 31 retail businesses and several industrial concerns would institute or continue practice of hiring and promoting without regard to race. Public accomodations ordinance currently being considered. Charges against some 1,400 students arrested were dropped.

Enfield — May 30--Local theater picketed.

Edenton — April 5--Three Negroes arrested for picketing a theater in March were acquitted.

Fayetteville — May 14-June 19--Police dispersed mobs of Negroes and whites with tear gas May 14. Demonstrations lasting over a week began May 19, with some 1,500 persons participating in daily marches. Mayor's coordinating committee recommended immediate desegregation of restaurants and theaters May 27. Demonstrations resumed June 11, continued several days. 9-man bi-racial committee appointed by mayor following week. 12 motels and hotels desegregated June 19.

Goldsboro — Four parades of demonstrators staged during week of May 30.

Greensboro — May 10-June 23--Mass demonstrations began May 10, resulted in the arrest of some 440 persons by May 15. Demonstrations continued through May 24, with approximately 1,500 arrests. Mayor appointed a 19-member Committee on Human Relations May 22 and two days later city's governing body unofficially endorsed an 11-point resolution urging integration of businesses. Truce arranged May 25, but demonstrations resumed June 2. Official end of truce came June 6, was marked by another demonstration in which 278 were arrested. S&W cafeteria desegregated during week ending June 22. Earlier four indoor theaters had tenatively agreed to desegregate.

420 arrested May 19 for sitting-in at a Howard Johnson parking lot.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

(This is a synopsis of racial protest and reaction since April 1963. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of events in the South during the past during recent weeks. It is intended meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.)

ALABAMA

Birmingham, April 3-June 21--Weeks of mass Negro demonstrations in which thousands were arrested (including school children who joined the protest marches by the hundreds) ended May 10 when an agreement was reached between prominent white businessmen and Negro leaders. The uneasy truce almost came apart after the bombing of a Negro home and a Negro motel precipitated a Negro riot (May 11-12). Federal troops were posted near the city in the event of further trouble, and order quickly restored. An uneasy peace prevailed as the last U. S. soldiers left the area May 31. While Birmingham now has a new mayor, a new city government, and a slightly improved racial climate, its promises to open more jobs to Negroes, desegregate lunch counters and appoint a fair employment committee remain to be fulfilled, and the city remains a potential trouble spot.

Attalla, April 24--William Moore, a crusading Baltimore postman enroute to Jackson to deliver a letter he had written on civil rights, was found murdered near here. His bullet-pierced body, still carrying anti-segregation signs, was discovered along U. S. Highway 11. ~~about a mile from a general store where he had stopped for food the evening before.~~

1 ~~May 3~~

Fort Payne, June 3 - 10 freedom marchers arrested May 3 as they entered Alabama to continue the ill-fated march of William Moore were found guilty of breach-of-peace charges fined $200 each and court costs ~~and released~~. Their attorney filed immediate notice of appeal.

Alabama

B'ham 6/6/63 - Lovett's dept store lunch counter quietly integrated

B'ham 6/21/63 - In first step taken toward desegregation of public facilities since May 10 agreement, Park and Recreation Board announced that three of city's four public golfs which had been closed for 17 months to avoid desegregation order will reopen June 29 on integrated basis.

Montgomery, May 27--Montgomery Advertiser-Journal announced that papers will cease to print separate Negro editions, incorporate Negro news with white news, effective immediately.

Gadsden, June 18--More than 450 Negroes, many of them children, arrested for defying an injunction against sit-in demonstrations. Sheriff's deputies use electric cattle prods to drive them to jail, as state police did with Freedom Marchers a month previously. Protest campaign began the week before, June 21 42 arrested

June 16, several downtown churches accepted Negroes for services without incident.

Anniston, May 12--Negro home and church fired into by carload of whites. A former Ku Kluxer subsequently convicted for shooting into the church (May 30) and sentenced to 180 days in jail. City commission formed bi-racial committee of 4 Negroes, 5 whites May 18

Mobile, June 1--Mobile's Sheraton-Hilton Hotel (motel?) announced it will desegregate.

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge, May 28-June 1--Louisiana's capital city created a bi-racial committee, the first such group to be appointed in the state (May 28). The Committee meets for the first time May 31, following a march by 21 Negroes around the capitol (May 29) and a sit-in (May 30). The city's schools are to desegregate this fall. Negroes agree to 30-day truce June 4

Winnsboro, May 30--Beaten by whites, a Negro teacher resigns his post.

East Baton Rouge Parish School Board must submit school desegregation plan by July 5 to U.S. District Judge E. Gordon West.

WASHER, Nat

4/29 S.C. seg. courtrooms unconstitutional

5/20 S.C. sit in ruling Savanah Parks

May 23 175 United Presbyterian General Assembly backed integration

May 26 Meredith on Meet The Press

May 27 Bob Kennedy meets Meredith, Theater Owners of America

27 DC Mental Health civil rights rider killed

May 30 Lyndon Johnson speach at Gettysburg

May 25 Presiding Bishop of Prot. Epis Ch. called for members to actively support N. cause.

24 Bobby meets with Baldwin etc

27 - S.C. - Memphis parks

28 DC NAACP files represt. suit

30 Gettysburg - Johnson's speach

30 Nat. Press Club turns down N.

June 2 GOP propose rights bill

June 3 S.C. rules against Tenn pupil transfer plans

" " N need not exhaust remidies under state law

June 11 Pres speaks

June 13 - Labor officials back Pres.

June 14 - D.C. 3,000 march -
June 14 - SC refuse to desolve injunction - in Jack

June 19 - Pres civil rights message

June 20 - 43 senators cosign pres. bill

Tennessee

Nashville, April 4 – June 5 – ~~A new~~

~~After the "silent vigil" demonstration by 16 Negroes on the Davidson County Courthouse steps April 4, marked the beginning of a series of demonstrations. This was followed by a series of demonstrations broke out~~

~~April 4~~ May 8 and 9

Following a series of demonstrations, a clash between Negro students and white ~~men~~ teachers May 10, another demonstration May 13 in which two persons were hospitalized. a permanent ~~Metropolitan~~ biracial human relations council was ~~appointed~~ by Mayor Beverly Briley "to recommend actions by the biz community" May 26 ~~and~~ city parks and wading pools opened to all June 5. Earlier (May 13) seven motels and hotels, eight restaurants had desegregated.

TENN-

NASHVILLE

4/12 16 dem. stage "silent vigil" on Davison Co. Court steps

5/8 700 students. " " " " " (9)
5/9 500 Negro dem to protest seg. rest. B'ham (2nd day) (6)
5/10 fight between N. W 3 hurt 4 arrest

5/11 police patrol as truce over weekend prevails
interim biracial com. meets.
5/13 7 motels. hotels & rest desseg?
5/13 200 N demon - after meeting between W. N leaders -
6 arrest 2 hospitalized -
5/14 N leaders call off demons. interim biracial Com meets
5/15 interim com meets

5/16 Metropolitan Human Relations Council appointed -

5/30 Human Rel. Council holds 1st full membership meeting
" 5/30 7 M. sit in 2 rest. - not served no violence
6/5 city parks. wading pools open to all

6/3 SNCC picketed food market for "unfair employment practices

KNOXVILLE

5/9 demon. protest movie Theater - (50) arrested
5/10 " (24)
5/11 " about (100) past 3 days.
5/19 3 hospitals agree to integrate. mayor Duncan appts a comm.
5/22 2,000 sign petition to desseg all public fac. sponsered by Col C.
white. negro leaders talk
5/28 leading (4) hotels (2) motels vote to desseg

Maryville June 20- 28 W.N jailed after sheriffs raid on CORE training camp

Memphis

5/1 Nomad corp. announces it will build integrated motel

5/20 1st class hotels & motels desseg.

5/27 - S. C. orders immediate desseg public ~~parks~~ recreational facilities

5/30 officials announce desseg of pub. recreation facilities ex pools

5/31 Memphis Bar Assn rejects N members

6/10 voter regist. drive starts

Chatt.

5/30 (about 5 N's turned away from 4 rest & 1 theater

6/4 small group " " " " " "

6/5 " " " " 1 arrest

6/7 Mayor Kelly appointed biracial comm truce.

Clarksville 5/28 300 N sought service in drive in rest turned away

6/7 all public parks & pools desseg.

ARK.

HOT SPRINGS

4/4 N try to integrate bath house 4 arrested

PINE BLUFF - mass dem w march) 4/1 300 N march protesting all seg

4/25 N demonstrate to integrate Theater, 39 arrest

5/7 4 Negros served w Woolworth's + Walgreen lunch counters

June - Bi racial committe formed

Little Rock, June

5/1 3 whites arrested for going w N section

6/? Theaters deseg

6/3 Ark. S.C ruled unconstitutional 4 laws - That the NAACP contended had been drawn to suppress it

Fayetteville, June 17 - Local restaurant association began 60-day desegregation test.

OKLA

Okla City, May 31-June 4

May 31 Okla City 65 " " " " baked in
June 1 Okla City 25 teens sit in at rest Bishops-

June 2: Okla City N served in Black Hotel
Skirvin "
Skirvin Tower
} announced desegg

Okla City
June 3 Bishops negotiates + deseggs. also Anna Maud's largest down town cafeteria
- simultaneously - Huckins Hotel + 20 superban motels announce service to all

June 4 15 member Community Relations Comm. approved by city council

Following sit-ins May 31 and June 1 at Bishops, a local restaurant, establishment agreed to desegregate June 3, ~~was~~ joined by city's largest downtown cafeteria. Same day Huckins hotel and 20 suburban motels announced they will offer service to all; the other ~~to~~ city hotels ~~had~~ desegregated previous day (June 2). A 15-mem City council approved appt of a 15-member Community Relations Commission June 4.

TEX

Denton, April 7 - 50 Negro and white students from North ~~State~~ Texas University picketed in the downtown area here today ~~calling for~~ with banners calling for the integration of local theaters.

~~June~~ May 30 Fort Worth - Bd of Ed. adopted formal resolution ordering "full compliance"
— International Hospital —

June 2 Dallas - ~~Integrated (staff, rooms, patients) opening~~ South's first integrated hospital opened here today, will have completely integrated facilities

~~June 3 College Station - 3 N register at Texas A & M~~

including an open staff of Negro and white physicians. ~~Two days later~~ Following day insurance executive George L. Allen became the first Negro named to an important ~~Dallas~~ City Coll appt body, the City Plan Commission

~~June 13 Texarkana 200 W protest desegr of Texarkana junior college~~

~~June~~ Houston, June 10. — all city pools and municipal facilities desegregated.

Addendo

Nashville, May 13 - Shotgun fired from a ~~speeding~~ car into home of a local Negro leader; no one injured.

Lexington, Miss, May 8 - A Negro who attempted to register to vote reported ~~[illegible]~~ that white men threw "Molotov cocktails" into his home about 3 a. m.; no one injured.

Clarksdale, May 4 - State NAACP President Aaron Henry ~~[illegible]~~ drugstore was damaged by an explosion which ripped a hole in the roof. No one injured. ~~[illegible]~~

A similar firebomb was tossed into Henry's home April 12 ~~during~~ during a visit there by Negro Congressman Charles C. Diggs (D. Mich), who was in state on a civilrights fact finding mission. Again there were no injuries. Two white men later admitted throwing the bomb, were charged with arson which carries a max pen of 20 yrs imprisonment under Miss law.

Summary

Cities Where Some Desegregation Has Occurred Since April 3, 1963

Ala - Birmingham
Gadsden
Mobile

Ark - Fayetteville
Little Rock
Pine Bluff

Fla - Miami

Ga - Atlanta
Brunswick
Savannah

? [redacted]

Miss - Jackson

N.C. Asheville
Charlotte
Durham Concord
Fayetteville
Greensboro
Lexington
Mount Airy
Raleigh
Statesville
Thomasville
Wadesboro
Winston-Salem

Tenn. Clarksville
Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville

Tex. Austin
Houston

Va. Alexandria
Arlington
Lynchburg
Falls Church
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond

Okla. Oklahoma City

S.C. Charleston
Greenville
Spartanburg

[redacted]

Cities Where Some Demonstrations Have Occurred Since April 3, 1963

Ala. Birmingham
Gadsden

Ark. - Hot Springs
Pine Bluff

Fla - Cocoa
Daytona Beach
Gainesville
Lakeland
Miami
Sarasota
Tallahassee
Winter Haven

Ga - Albany
Atlanta
Augusta
Macon
Rome
Savannah

La - Baton Rouge
Shreveport

Miss { Biloxi, Clarksdale, Greenwood, Jackson

N.C. Charlotte
Chapel Hill
Durham
Enfield
Fayetteville
Goldsboro
Greensboro
High Point
Lexington
Oxford
Raleigh
Thomasville
Wilmington
Winston-Salem

Okla. Oklahoma City

S.C. Charleston
Rock Hill

Tenn. Chattanooga
Clarksville
Knoxville
Nashville

Tex. Denton

Va. Charlottesville
Danville
Farmville
Hampton
Lawrenceville
Lynchburg
Petersburg

October 3, 1963

Mr. James Silver
Department of History
University of Mississippi
Oxford, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

I have spent most of this week going through your manuscript. It may be a case of the mountain having labored mightly, and brought up a mouse. But, I have made some notes on the ms, which I am leaving with Les and which I assume he will forward to you. I hope they will be of some help at least, though Lord knows I don't expect you to accept them all.

Despite what I may have said in my notes, or what I might have scrawled on the ms itself, I think none-the-less that this is a splendid job. It is always easy easy to criticise someone else's writing, but having had some experience with the blood-sweat and tears that go into writing, I can only say, more power to you for a job well done.

But, when this piece comes out, I would advise you to have a reservation on the first plane out of Mississippi.

I am leaving for three weeks' vacation tomorrow, but will look forward to seeing your revised manuscript upon my return. Good luck to you.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

NOTES ON SILVER'S MANUSCRIPT

I. Seems to me PP 1-10 (to break line) could be boiled down to a couple of paragraphs. While one can draw parallels between Mississippi of 1850's and that of 1950's, a lot of what you're saying here about ante bellum Mississippi was equally applicable to other southern states during this period.

> Point: There was little difference between ante-bellum Mississippi and the rest of the ante-bellum South while there is a world of difference between present-day Mississippi and the rest of the present-day South. Why? What makes - or what has made Mississippi such a lone wolf even in Dixie. Although I know very little about Mississippi history, I should think that the present closed society was born during the Vandaman era, during the time when, as Will Percy described it in one of his chapters in Lanterns on The Level, "the bottom rail got on top." It has been there ever since. I would suggest that you give more space to Mississippi during Vandaman's time and less to ante bellum Mississippi.

Incidentally, Wigfall Green's forthcoming book on Bilbo has some colorful chapters on late 19th, early 20th century politics in Mississippi; in fact, I'd recommend your reading the work in toto since it may give you additional insight into the origins of the closed society.

II. Notice numerous places in which you quote sentences or phrases, but do not cite your source. In a study such as this, it is my opinion that you should cite chapter and verse so no one can accuse you of sloppy scholarships (that is, no one with an open mind; the closed society will, of course, accuse you of that - and much more - no matter how accurate your material, no matter how painstaking your scholarships).

III. One striking characteristic of this ms is its style, and it reminds me of nothing so much as Mencken's, particularly as expressed in "The Sahara of the Bozarts." So, whatever rewriting and revision is done, I hope the flavor of the

manuscript is retained, even though its style is not as dry and detached as that of the usual SRC publication.

IV. PP 16-17, bottom 16, top 17, here it seems to me your transition is bad. The reader is abruptly shifted, from a discussion of Race and Reason to the candidacy of a Mississippi legislator, and the paragraph seems to have no relation to what has preceded it or to what follows; it seems to have been thrown in almost haphazardly. Moreover, the statement quoted is quite similar to other remarks made elsewhere in the manuscript. I suggest, therefore, that it be deleted.

V. Strikes me that you have some awfully long paragraphs in this manuscript. Suggest yourconsider breaking into shorter grafs. See graf # 2, p. 22, for example.

VI. PP 22-23 -- Here the transition from one section to another is very well done.

VII. P. 23 -- Illustrates another tendency you have which I think should be corrected, namely, that of mentioning a man for the first time by last name only. Examples: Coleman, Williams, Attorney General of Georgia, Executive Secretary Patterson. While you and most Mississippians may be quite familiar with Christian names of these gents, other readers will not be. Standard practice to give a guy's first name or initials when mentioned first time, and his title or position if he has one.

VIII. Your section on the Mississippi press is a worthy companion to A. J. Leibling's "Wayward Press" pieces in the New Yorker.

IX. P. 38 -- suggest new heading for section beginning bottom of page. Actually, the point you make in this section, is exactly the opposite of what the hed suggests. You show that Mississippians will not bow to federal law unless, as at Oxford, forced to.

X. PP. 41-47 -- This section is a real blockbuster, one of the best sections of the manuscript I think.

XI. PP. 47-48 -- I get the feeling that the first two grafs in section beginning mid-page 48 are, not related to the subject of discussion, which is thought control. You may want to consider rearranging this section.

XII. PP. 51-52--It might be better to bring in your discussion of the SACS affair when you get into the Oxford part of this manuscript. Also, I think you should spell out exactly what the SACS did rule about Ole Mississippi. I'm not sure either that the attack on its ruling ties in well with your humorous but horrifying discussion of what the DAR and CC have tried to inject in grammar and high school education.

XIII. P. 54-60 -- This section needs considerable revision. It hops from anecdote to anecdote, from atrocity to atrocity. Actually, since it should be fairly apparent to your reader by this stage that justice is somewhat less than perfect in Mississippi, maybe you should drop this section entirely and replace it with one devoted wholly to the voter registration wars in Mississippi.

XIV. The middle part of this manuscript seems too diffused, too much a shotgun approach which aims at everything but fails to hit anything solidly. I refer here particularly to pages 54-69. This part has some passages which involve voter

registration, some which involve the church, some which involve injustice as reported by the Civil Rights Commission. Thus it seems to me that you're trying to cover too many things at once and that it would be better to combine and condense them into other sections.

XV. In some cases, I've suggested changes in your sub-heads, but I think you should scrutinize all carefully, try to make them shorter, snappier, and more likely to grab the reader's attention.

XVI. In your last section, I think in summing up your should stress the fact more than you have that Mississippi is not merely a closed society but in actuality, virtually a totalitarian society. To revert to another historical parallel, I can't help thinking that Mississippi today is the living proof that it can happen here, that Mississippi today is much like Germany only yesterday.

XVII. A final note: I decided not to reread the letters from other readers until I had gone through the manuscript again myself. I still think Van Woodward's critique is the most searching, and I'm sure it will receive your careful consideration. I also think the guy who urged you to show more restraint in your language has a valid point. And I cannot overstress my feeling that you should have this manuscript carefully scrutinized for possible libelous material by a <u>friendly</u> Mississippi lawyer.

LWD, fyi
Talked to Ed yesterday.
Fischer is most interested,
Ed says, in possibility
running Jim's SAA speech
in part or in toto in
Harper's magazine.

October 22, 1963

Professor James W. Silver
Department of History
The University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Professor Silver:

Thanks so much for your reply to my letter about MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY.

I know and admire Bill Goodman; in fact, I should say that I know, admire, and envy Bill Goodman, since he had the good judgment to talk with you about the book.

Still, we would like very much to do it, and I have taken the liberty of mentioning your speech and the possibility of a book to Jack Fischer, the editor of Harper's Magazine. He is very interested in running the speech and perhaps your personal addendum in the Magazine. He wonders if we might have a copy of the speech to consider. If he decided to do it, I suppose Les Dunbar should be consulted first.

In any case, even though all this is a bit premature, I hope it goes to show that we really would be proud to have you publish with us.

Sincerely,

Edwin Barber, Editor
College Department

EFB:KE
cc: Staige Blackford

A WORD FROM THE AUTHOR

Five or six U. S. army sedans each containing six white-helmeted federal marshals came over the Illinois Central bridge and up toward the Lyceum Building. As they made the slow turn to the right at the Confederate monument, they were met with a hail of bricks thrown at close range. The windshields and car windows were smashed and my wife and I could see the men inside huddling to protect themselves from the splintering glass. The relentless pounding of the bricks, gathered at the unfinished Science building, on the cars and the insane screams, "The sons of bitches have killed a coed." "we'll kill the bastard marshals." - plus shrill cries of filth and obscenity - proved that eighteen and nineteen year old boys had suddenly been turned into frenzied, wild animals. We knew that we were in for a night of terror. Not more than fifteen minutes before, my wife and I had moved back from the Lyceum, past the flag pole, after the tear gas was fired. When the army cars came by we were sitting on the Cardinal Club memorial; I was nursing a couple of cracked-open knees, having been accidentally tripped on the concrete crosswalk by a large Confederate flag carried by a young man going faster than we were. Already the students were yelling about regrouping to attack and to keep on attacking the marshals until their ammunition ran out.

At two the next morning my wife and I were once more together, to the side of the chancellor's home. Two contingents of federal troops, about a hundred men in each, marched by in full battle dress. As they turned the Circle, away from the pre-Civil War "Y" building and toward the Fine Arts Center, these American soldiers were assaulted with fire bombs. We saw two sheets of flame about the size of our small house fall among the troops. They barely got out of step. Only a miracle kept any number of them from catching on fire. Their

colonel later said that if any man had been seriously burned, both squads would have wheeled and turned their guns on the rioters in the smoke-filled Circle. It could have been a holocaust. By this time the insurrectionists were mainly outsiders.

All that night the discipline of the marshals fighting for their lives and the bearing of national guardsmen and regular soldiers were something for Americans to be proud of. Like many other observers, I was alternately enraged and heartsick that my fellow Mississippians, particularly the students, felt called upon to engage in a bitter, mad, full-scale insurrection against their own government. To me it was and still is nothing less than incredible. Later, when the state of Mississippi was flooded with noxious propaganda about what had happened at Ole Miss that night, I felt a growing compulsion to try to tell the truth, to relate in plain fashion what had taken place, and then to put it all in historical perspective. For more than a year this has been on my mind and in my heart - my wife says that I am obsessed with the subject. The result of my thought and study and research is in this little pamphlet.

I have tried to approach an immensely emotional subject with sentiment but without sentimentality. I am no longer angry with anyone. I have found it necessary to criticize the conduct of certain individuals, some of whom have been my friends. While names have been kept to a minimum and language has been restrained, I am sure that some will be hurt by what I have written. I am deeply sorry if I have done anyone an injustice. But the need for telling the story is greater than the importance of their feelings.

Why not forget the whole thing, put it in the past and build on from here? Largely because <u>what happened has been atrociously distorted and made the inspiration for future insanity</u> just as inevitable as the bloodshed at Ole Miss. As this is being written, less than a week after the murder of four Negro

children in the Birmingham church bombing, the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission has unanimously endorsed the behavior of Alabama's Governor Wallace. Not only does this indicate that Mississippi has learned nothing but it may well be considered a blueprint for future disaster. Some day Mississippians are going to have to grow up, to accept the judgments of civilization. Else we are doomed to many September 30ths to come.

I am reminded, perhaps presumptuously, of what L.Q.C. Lamar once said in another time of stress: "Upon the youth of my state it has been my privilege to assist in education I have always endeavored to impress the belief that truth was better than falsehood, honesty better than policy, courage better than cowardice."

One of my most prized possessions is a sheet of yellow scrap paper on which William Faulkner typed for me on December 1, 1955:

> We accept contumely and the risk of violence because we will not sit quietly by and see our native land, the South, not just Mississippi but all the South, wreck and ruin itself twice in less than a hundred years, over the Negro question.
>
> We speak now against the day when our Southern people who will resist to the last these inevitable changes in social relations, will, when they have been forced to accept what they at one time might have accepted with dignity and goodwill, will say, "Why didn't someone tell us this before? Tell us in time?"

He also wrote: "Some things you must always be unable to bear. Some things you must never stop refusing to bear. Injustice and outrage and dishonor and shame. No matter how young you are or how old you have got. Not for kudos and not for cash; your picture in the paper nor money in the bank either. Just refuse to bear them."

The South and the state of Mississippi are not my native land. I have lived in the South for forty-four years and in Mississippi for twenty-eight. I have taught, not too successfully, some five thousand students at Ole Miss.

There must be a former student of mine in almost every town in the state and some of them, I am sorry to say, are leaders in the Citizens Council and other groups who will in time find that they cannot set the clock back.

I was educated in the South, my wife comes from Alabama, and our three children were born in Mississippi. Our two daughters are eligible for membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution and in the United Daughters of the Confederacy. A long time ago, when my yearly salary at Ole Miss was $2300, I could have gone to a northern school paying almost twice as much. We came to Mississippi in 1936 as a result of the luck of the draw; we have liked it all these years, and we intend to stay here.

To those who do not believe in a critical attitude toward our social order, I reply that while a great many things are right about Mississippi and its people, some things need to be changed. They need to be changed because of my children and your children and their children. Mississippians are little different basically than other Americans, except that they have been victimized, more than others, by the terrible toll exacted by the closed society. We have all known many educators, businessmen, clergymen, newspapermen, in fact, leaders in all areas in our social order, who have been aware of the implications of the closed society and who yearn to see us all break loose from it. Most people of good will are afraid, fearful of the results of their speaking out, their saying what they know needs to be said, must be said.

I have been tempted to list some of the "constructive" things I have tried to do at the University and in the state, if for no other reason than to counteract the idea that I am only a carping critic. It has ever been my notion that one should do his job well "beyond the call of duty." But I have decided to spare the reader who may look at these few pages with an open mind and who is

willing to give me the credit for doing something because I felt that it was the right thing to do, with no questioning of my motivation. For those who will insist on assailing my integrity (there is some question as to whether I am a scalawag or carpetbagger) and my purpose, I offer the words carved in granite over the entrance to the ancestral home of Lord Aberdeen - where my family was fortunate enough to live for a year: "They have said. What say they? Let them say."

I have tried to be extremely careful with my sources. I have read many books and dozens of articles, have studied the newspapers carefully, have gone through court records and official reports of all kinds, and, most important of all, have talked and correspended with hundreds of people of every opinion. In many of my quotations I have left out, to save space, the normal academic paraphernalia, the sics and marks of elision . . ., but I have been most scrupulous about not taking anything out of context. I am sure that I have made mistakes but it is my hope that even those people who will heartily disagree with my conclusions will allow me credit for having made an honest effort. Like Mr. Kerciu who when accused of desecrating the Confederate flag replied that he was only painting what he saw on the night of the insurrection, I contend that I did not cause the closed society, I am only describing it.

While I was teaching at Emory University last summer, I was offered financial assistance by Leslie Dunbar, director of the Southern Regional Council, in the publication of this study which is, in effect, an extension of my presidential remarks to the Southern Historical Association. At first I demurred, thinking that Mississippians would not take kindly to a document sponsored by the Council. And then it struck me forcibly that this was precisely the trouble with the citizen living in the closed society, his being possessed by the feeling that he needs to slip up on readers, that he has to engage in hypocrisy.

The Southern Regional Council has had a long and honorable career in its search for solutions to southern racial problems. I am gratified and proud that its officials think that my essay may make a small contribution along those lines. Needless to add, I bear the sole responsibility for statements of fact and conclusion.

James W. Silver
University of Mississippi
November 7, 1963

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James W. Silver
University of Mississippi
November 7, 1963

Esleeck
Fidelity Onion Skin
100% COTTON

CONFIDENTIAL ---- THE ENCLOSED MANUSCRIPT IS TO BE SHOWN TO NO ONE.

I am sending to a very few friends copies of the first draft of my paper, "Mississippi: The Closed Society." This is on a strictly confidential basis, for obvious reasons. This first draft will be long and from it will be taken the material for a pamphlet to be distributed the day my talk is to be made at the Southern Historical Association meeting in Asheville, November 7. During the month of October the talk will be written from this same material.

It is necessary to have the final copy of the paper in the hands of the printer by October 1st. I have been collecting notes for more than a year and have spent part of the summer and about fifteen hours a day since September 1st getting this manuscript in shape. My time allowance is very short and every minute must be made to count.

I would appreciate more than you can know your reading this manuscript over very carefully and sending to me your observations and your suggestions for change. I am particularly anxious to get advice as to changes in emphasis and in language. I would like from you any suggestion for the improvement of the paper. Please check any error of fact or, as you see it, of judgment. As you will understand, a paper of this sort can't have a single error of fact in it, or it will lose its effectiveness.

You will get the paper in parts, probably three or four or five. You should have the complete manuscript by Monday, September 23. I plan to be in Atlanta Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, September 27-29. In that time I hope to put together the final draft. There is no particular need for you to send me the whole paper. You could write your comments out, send me pages taken from the manuscript, or you could send the whole business to me.

My address in Atlanta will be: Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

As you can see, this is pretty much a matter of urgency. I have been pressed fortime and am not at all satisfied with what I am sending you. But I do want the final paper the very best that I can make it, with your help. This may be the most important publication of my life and for that reason I am asking for your help.

In case you are too busy, or do not get the material in time, I still would like to have you send whatever ideas may come to mind regarding the talk to be made in Asheville.

CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL

MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY

The Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina not long ago documented what many of us suspected, that about two-thirds of southern whites want strict segregation and that Negroes in the same proportion desire integration. In Mississippi the figures would be considerably higher for the whites and somewhat lower for the blacks.

The melancholy truth is that a majority of neither race has been able to perceive the attitude of the other and for the whole South only one out of five white people recognizes that most Negroes simply do not accept the white image of proper race relations. In Mississippi it is notoriously true that lack of communication has permitted the dominant group "the luxury of ignorance about the wishes of those who are dominated." Hence the constant refrain from city and state officials that there is no racial problem in a social order where segregation is voluntary and peaceful and a happy and carefree citizenry is occasionally stirred to angry protest only by outside agitators.

"The strict segregationist majority among the southern whites," the report continues, "has the most idyllic image of the past and the greatest sense of doom for the future. White integrationists, on the other hand, join the Negroes in low ratings of southern race relations for the past and present and in high expectation for the future." The authors of the study conclude that a significant change in racial attitudes of white southerners alone can insure the survival of political democracy in the South. The certainty that this change is already under way is at best a well-kept secret in the sovereign domain of Ross Barnett, where the application of democracy is somewhat less than inspired.

Like other southerners, Mississippians are overburdened with a sense of history, but this does not imply the accuracy of their picture of the past. For even the rank and file patriotic societies make up an integral part of the good life and the romanticism of the Old South as well as the cult of the Confederacy flourish along with bitter remembrances of Reconstruction. In their hot pursuit of interposition, neither the governor nor the legislature of Mississippi indicates any awareness that in the dim and distant past of the Jackson period the magnolia legislators resolved that "the doctrine of Nullification is contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution,"

nor that an 1851 convention heaped ridicule on "the asserted right of secession" as being "utterly unsanctioned by the Constitution." It has long since been forgotten that Mississippians were Americans before they were southerners and that in a quarter of a century the people of Mississippi moved from a disposition to believe nullification morally and politically wrong as well as unconstitutional to a decision to put secession into operation.

The striking parallel between people and events of the 1850's and 1950's brings home a consciousness that Mississippi has been on the defensive against inevitable change for more than a century and that for some years before the Civil War she had developed a closed society with an almost universally accepted orthodoxy. The all-pervading doctrine then and now has been white supremacy, whether called slavery or segregation, bolstered by a passionate belief in state rights and religious fundamentalism. In such a society a never ceasing propagation of the "true faith" must and did go on relentlessly with a constantly reiterated demand for loyalty to a united front requiring that potential non-conformists and dissenters from the code be kept under wraps, squelched, or, in extreme cases, driven from the community. Violence and the threat of violence reinforced the presumption of unanimity.

It is somewhat confusing for Mississippians who have absorbed from early youth the mythology regarding the sanctity of state rights to learn that in the 1850's Mississippi Democrats, with their friends in control in Washington, demanded that the power of the federal government be used to destroy local self-determination in the territories and to thwart northern state nullification of the national fugitive slave law. Perhaps this has some relevance to the reluctance of those who cry "state rights" today to forego the luxury of federal funds for everything from farm subsidies to the longest man-made sand beach in the world. Or maybe it just indicates how empty is the state rights fetish at any time.

Mississippians have ever been conspicuously thin-skinned on the subject of white supremacy, especially when it is equated by outsiders to immorality. In both the 1850's and the 1950's, white citizens were completely enamored of their social and economic system. Their prosperity in either case was relatively great, with God and nature, - and more lately the Sovereignty Commission - apparently sanctioning a pattern of civilization deemed advantageous to those in control. The harmonious society rested politically on a one-party system, with no serious disagreement on fundamental philosophy.

All the forces which influence public opinion were harnessed so effectively in the earlier period that with the shock of John Brown's fiasco and the election of Lincoln, the people were primed for drastic and inconsiderate action. It wasn't called brainwashing in those days but Mississippians had swallowed an incredible batch of misinformation. Cotton was king, the South was solid, the money-grubbing Yankee wouldn't fight, and in "the last great bulwark of Christianity," God would not let his chosen people down. It was generally believed that seccession, being perfectly legal, would take place "without a jostle or a jar." Politicians vied with each other in their determination to drink all the blood that might be spilled and Governor John Pettus was making plans of an evening to ambush invaders of his realm as his grandfather had successfully ambushed the Indians. There was no comprehension of the fierce devotion to the Union of millions of Americans in the rest of the country, nor, for that matter, of the North's enormous industrial potential. Out of the Union, southern states would be in a fat bargaining position for a triumphant return, on their own conditions. Lincoln was remembered only for his house-divided speech, Mississippians being ignorant of his express determination not to interfere with slavery in the states.

For a full year before secession, Mississippi had been victimized by rumors of slave insurrections and incendiary plots, directed, of course, by outside agitators; an irresponsible press and local bully boys organized into vigilance committees performed their chilling chores. It was soon forgotten that as late as May, 1860, Congress had explicitly resolved, with Republican concurrence, when prompted by Jefferson Davis, that it had no right to interfere with slavery where it was protected by the Constitution. Senator Davis might have reminded his people that without secession, the Democrats would control the federal House and Senate, and that minority President Lincoln would be hard pressed to control his own divided party, let alone transform a Supreme Court that had already awarded the South its last inch of demand in the territories. When Mississippians finally discovered that Lincoln was not the rogue they had been disciplined to believe him, it was too late for anything except to read about him in the history books.

The truth seems to be that the people of Mississippi, under severe provocation it is true, had been thoroughly prepared for secession by their bungling politicians, their chauvinistic press, their political preachers,

and their blind philosophers. Seriously in the dark, caught up in the hysteria of the moment, plagued with a rapidly closing mind, which looked to authority instead of reason, Mississippi made a terrible decision which its citizens have been paying for and eulogizing even to the present generation. Davis claimed that the people "were in advance of their representatives throughout," which was true enough, but he failed to add that the emotional climax of secession was the predictable result of a generation of increasingly authoritarian indoctrination. The closed society had inevitably embraced disaster.

A few years ago a history professor at the University of Mississippi was forced to answer in writing to the Board of Trustees formal charges by an enraged alumnus who found subversion and apostasy in a thesis about Mississippi morale during the late Confederacy. The Board was apparently appeased when shown that the thesis was a modest extension of John K. Betterworth's excellent study of Confederate Mississippi in which about a third of the space is allocated to such topics as "Trade Through the Lines," "The Origin and Course of Dissent and Disloyalty," "The Disloyal Country," and "Loyalty and Vigilance." The people of Mississippi, perhaps unconsciously, have for a long time made a fine distinction incomprehensible to patriots and politicians. In their heartsick memory of a gallant heroism, they have erected, as we all know, monuments of Italian stone to the Confederate soldier on every courthouse square, but none to the secessionist leader. Jefferson Davis, thoroughly disliked and often hated during the war, became the exception only after his martyrdom and canonization as the central figure among the Confederate saints. In keeping with their genius, Mississippi politicians continue to appropriate the glory of the Confederacy to their own selfish ends by identifying themselves and their "principles" with the sacred past, and we need not be reminded of the extent to which the racists and the rabble have prostituted the Confederate flag.

According to Citizens Council literature, Mississippi is now the innocent victim of a second vicious Reconstruction from which its stalwart citizenry will at long last emerge triumphant as it did in 1875. It is perfectly true that for nearly ninety years Mississippi has grimly nullified the federal Constitution, but that she will convert the rest of the country to her present

position is only a wild gleam in the eye of William J. Simmons. Meanwhile the traditional view of Reconstruction has been thoroughly exploited and reworked, with embellishments, for its emotional impact on proud Mississippians. Once more illiterate Negroes are demanding integration of the schools and hordes of carpetbaggers and scalawags are driving black legislators into gross corruption and extravagance. Reconstruction Negroes "were precisely at the same level" of civilization as the terror-inspiring blacks of the Congo in 1962. "Men were castrated, women raped, young girls ravished and mutilated, homes burned and pillaged, the very earth scorched and barren." In the light of today's propaganda needs, the ghastly horrors of Reconstruction became even more sickening. Finally, the best white people in the state, their patience exhausted, rise up in their wrath to put down for all time such licentious behavior.

It is forgotten that in 1876 Mississippi's total debt, $830,750, came to a little more than twice the amount embezzled by one Democratic state treasurer in 1890. No single word about Mississippi having lost the war, about the Black Code, the refusal to provide the slightest suffrage or education for the ex-slaves. Nor any mention, for that matter, of the fact that in the 1870's Mississippi, as an agricultural state, would have been in distress economically regardless of all these circumstances. In any case, the redemption of Mississippi in 1875 is approached in one Citizens Council account in almost tender fashion:

> During the campaign which preceded the election the Federal commander of troops in Mississippi loaned a number of cannons to the Democrats which were fired by them in advance of their political meetings as was the custom in those days. The carpetbaggers and negroes, or Republicans, had none. This appeared to intimidate the negroes and apparently induced many of them to remain away from the polls on election day.
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> The election. . . resulted in an over-whelming victory for the Democrats.

The Mississippi Negro of 1860 was looked upon as a finished product who had gone about as far as he was to be allowed to go. In fact, an argument for secession had been that freedom for slaves would bring demands for social equality which would in time lead to intermarriage and amalgamation. Slavery, on the other hand, had in part prepared the Negro for freedom inasmuch as he had worked under the ablest agriculturists, on the best land. When emancipation did come, many conservatives such as James L. Alcorn were willing to work along with the black man in economics and politics. But white majority views prevailed and the racial code of the poor whites became public policy. The early

orthodoxy, soon to be cherished as an irrevocable creed, contended that the Negro, member of an inferior race, unmoved by ambition and aspiration which motivated the white man, would labor only under compulsion and was incapable of living without a master. This position was institutionalized by the Black Code which in turn helped to bring on Radical Reconstruction and to drive the Negro into the Republican party.

Until 1870 the Negro's position was capricious. The "Black and Tan" constitution was defeated as Mississippians responded to the cry of the Meridian Mercury: "This is a White Man's Government; and trusting in our firm purpose, our good right arms and God of Right, we will maintain it so." Even after Grant's election the Mississippi Democrats in convention called upon the people "to vindicate the superiority of their race over the negro," but with his inauguration and the successful resubmission of the new constitution, Black Reconstruction was underway, not to last the ten or twelve years usually associated with it, but to be overthrown by violence in less than five.

Like the planters who began to see violation of virtue in the New Deal farm program when some of the benefits began to trickle down to the tenant, Mississippi white farmers of all sizes directed their hatred toward the Freedmen's Bureau. Not only was the bureau a constant reminder of defeat, but its activities in behalf of Negroes ran counter to the social and economic code. There were, it is true, many prominent whites who were honestly concerned with allowing the Negro his basic rights according to the war amendments and working with him for their mutual benefit, but once given the assurance that the federal government would not intervene, these moderates were quite willing to join the mass of white Democrats in the use of violence to drive the Negro from power.

Those Mississippi leaders who inspired the University riot of 1962 made the absurd mistake of challenging the power of the federal government, as Pettus had done in 1861. The veterans of the Civil War had found to their sorrow that such a course was impractical and so they bided their time until the rest of the country was occupied with its own problems. Meanwhile economic pressure, ostracism, sporadic violence,the enrolling of Republicans in "dead books," the formation of militia companies and Democratic clubs armed with repeating rifles were but preparation for the "Mississippi plan," - the use of the riot as a political instrument.

The ending of Republican rule in Meridian in 1871 by means of a more or less spontaneous riot was not forgotten in Mississippi. The lesson, as seen by Wharton, was that "Negroes, largely unarmed, and timid and unresourceful after generations of servitude, would offer no effective resistance to violence." A warm-up explosion in Vicksburg in 1874, in which 36 Negroes were killed, led that city's Monitor to predict: "The same tactics . . . will surely save the State, and no other will." And so on election day in 1875 rifles and cannons brought an end to Reconstruction in Mississippi.

Twenty years later, Adelbert Ames took stock in judicious fashion:

> There was a time when policy made it advisable for the white men of Mississippi to advance "corruption," "negro mobs," anything and everything but the true reason for their conduct. They are white men, Anglo-Saxons - a dominant race - educated to believe in negro slavery. To perpetuate the then existing order of things they ventured everything and lost. An unjust and tyrannical power (from their standpoint) had filled their state with mourning, beggared them, freed their slaves and as a last insult and injury made the ex-slave a political equal. They resisted by intimidation, violence and murder. Excuses by the way of justification were given while the powerful hand of the national government was to be feared. Soon the national government and public opinion ceased to be dreaded. They then announced boldly that this is a white man's government and that the negro and ex-slave should, forever, form no part of it."

One of today's recurring little sophistries has it that equality must be earned, can never be achieved by force or law. White men, apparently, have paid their bill in full, perhaps at the Boston Tea Party. The historic fact is that in Mississippi between 1875 and 1890 inequality was effected by force and regularized by law, the constitution under which the state presently operates. By 1890 Negroes had long since learned that Mississippi freedom included neither political nor any other kind of equality.

In those fifteen years in which the Democrats cocked a wary eye on northern opinion, Negroes were deprived of their constitutional rights by violence, intimidation and fraud. All the social and economic sanctions available were "applied with savagery." Independents of the paleface persuasion who challenged the new business leadership were cried down as traitors to their race. When agrarian distress in the late 1880's seriously threatened the one-party white supremacy control, there took place "whippings" mutilations, robberies, rapes, and murders by bands of men." The citizen who protested such barbarism found himself the victim of threatened reprisal.

With Negroes outside the protection which comes from political and economic power, it might have been expected that some members of that unhappy race would be cut down in the fierce competitive struggle for existence. It was more than a matter, as suggested by the Weekly Clarion, of stamping out the black man's "lust for blood." The record includes a species of savagery unknown in the days of slavery. For a generation after the redemption of Mississippi, Negro blood was coined into white gold through a convict leasing system which, according to a state historian, "left its trail of dishonor and of death which could only find a parallel in the persecution of the Middle Ages." Theft of property valued at more than ten dollars was declared grand larceny, with the thief to be sentenced up to five years. The prison population quickly trebled. Statistically a five year sentence meant a fifty-fifty chance at death because the annual mortality rate among leased convicts ran well over ten per cent (as compared with one per cent in the North and East). Slavery had been mild compared to this new dispensation. A Hinds County grand jury in 1887 described inmates of the penitentiary hospital as having "the stamp of manhood almost blotted out of their faces." Lest this be considered sentimentality, the same jury the following year, having examined a camp of lessees, reported the comforting discovery that the leathers used in tying up prisoners by the thumbs "are remarkably soft and pliant, so that the only pain inflicted is from the attitude the prisoner is forced to maintain." Public shame brought convict leasing to an end in the twentieth century.

On the floor of the 1890 convention, Judge J. J. Chrisman declared: ". . . it is no secret that there has not been a full vote and a fair count in Mississippi since 1875 - that we have been preserving the ascendancy of the white people by revolutionary methods. In plain words we have been stuffing the ballot boxes, committing perjury, and . . . carrying the elections by fraud and violence until the whole machinery was about to rot down. No man can be in favor of the election methods which have prevailed . . . who is not a moral idiot."

The presiding officer, Judge S. S. Calhoon, who admitted that the 1868 constitution had worked reasonably well, openly acknowledged that after the overthrow of Reconstruction by revolution, enormous evil had resulted from chronic fraud and political juggling. According to the judge, patriotic citizens saw the need for "purifying" the ballot box. More succinctly, the Clarion-Ledger summed it up: "If every colored man in Mississippi were a graduate of Yale

College, the two races would remain just as widely separated as they are now in all political and social matters." Not to be outdone in the matter of Ivy League symbolism, a letter-to-the-editor writer held that "If every negro in Mississippi was a graduate of Harvard, and had been elected as class orator . . . he would not be as well fitted to exercise the right of suffrage as the Anglo-Saxon farm laborer. . .."

An official pronouncement of the Democratic party made it clear that all issues except white supremacy must be obliterated. This was done literally in the case of the only Republican outside the river counties audacious enough to make a campaign in 1890; the Clarion-Ledger congratulated Jasper County when his body was found riddled with bullets. Not that assassination was the right answer; it should be made obsolete. Colonel B. F. Jones put it this way: "The old men of the present generation can't afford to die and leave their children with shot-guns in their hands, a lie in their mouths and perjury in their souls, in order to defeat the negroes. The constitution can be made so this will not be necessary."

And so "it was reserved for the State of Mississippi to make its very Constitution the instrument and shield of fraud." Through poll tax, residence, registration, literacy and "understanding" clauses in the fundamental law, the Negro was effectively eliminated from participation in politics. The voting rolls of 1892 showed 8,615 Negro registrants and these were soon to be almost wiped out by that stroke of genius called the white primary. "Foreign and uncongenial to the spirit of popular liberty and representative government" though such an arrangement was, according to a conservative Mississippi historian, the Negro "was the gainer by the removal from the distraction of a sphere for which he was neither fit nor needful. The constitution of 1890 brought rest to the plantations." It was a demonstration "of the negro's incapacity and unworthiness for the equipment of political equality."

William D. McCain has described the situation with great accuracy: "White supremacy had been gained at a terrible cost. The people of Mississippi would have undoubtedly preferred an inefficient and even corrupt government in the hands of white men, than a perfect government in which there was danger of Negro control." They got both inefficiency and corruption.

Political disfranchisement may not have been the most significant part of the story. An unwritten law had been devised to replace the slave code of 1857. "Few of its provisions could be found in the statute books. Its

application was at times capricious and unpredictable. But, in general, members of both races understood and observed its content. In almost any conceivable contact with a white man, there were certain forms of behavior which the black man must observe. The Negro, at last, was 'in his place'." The caste system had once and for all been substituted for slavery. Mississippi's society was closed and unalterable.

In the twentieth century there has yet to be a real challenge in Mississippi to white supremacy in all of its manifestations: residential segregation, social separation, sexual isolation, economic subordination, and caste etiquette.

In spite of its hypocritical propaganda, the Citizens Council has not strayed far from the imperishable wisdom of its spiritual father, James K. Vardaman. Education of the Negro was the real threat to white supremacy. If educated, the Negro would become dissatisfied. Inasmuch as he "will not be permitted to rise above the station he now fills," education would be "a positive unkindness to him. It simply renders him unfit for the work which the white man has prescribed, and which he will be forced to perform." Why "squander money on his education when the only effect is to spoil a good field hand and make an insolent cook?" The Negro, Vardaman continued, was "a lazy, lying, lustful animal which no conceivable amount of training can transform into a tolerable citizen." To prosper he "must avoid politics and maintain the relation which he now occupies to white folks." On the grounds of expediency (again with a look at the federal courts perhaps), school funds should be divided according to what each race paid in taxes. "No white man in public life in Mississippi proposed doing anything constructive for the Negro," says Albert D. Kirwan. In 1904 less than two thousand Negroes were permitted to vote.

For three decades Mississippi politics was dominated by Theodore G. Bilbo, pronounced by the state senate in 1911 "as unfit to sit with honest, upright men in a respectable legislative body" and described more pungently by LeRoy Percy as "a slick little bastard." Bilbo reminded Percy of the man who picked a yellow-striped caterpillar out of the dust and, swallowing it, said: "It is not my regular diet, I just wanted to see how strong my stomach was."

Whether Bilbo "stands for nothing that is high or constructive, represents nothing save passion, prejudice, and hatred, advocates nothing that is worthy," as stated by Fred Sullens in 1915, is of small importance as compared with his example as a monument to Mississippi's one-party system. White supremacy

for more than a century has dictated multi-factional arrangements in which the voter is "confronted with new faces, new choices, and must function in a sort of state of nature." There can be no real debate on issues for there is no issue beyond the supremacy of the white man, no continuity of existence even of factions, no competition between recognizable groups. Each leader is for himself and "often for himself only." All this "places a high premium on demagogic qualities of personality which attract voter attention." There is "no institutional brake on capriciousness,"and any challenge to the equilibrium in race relations is likely to cause a Bilbonic plague or a Barnett blight. With no qualification for high office except the desire to serve, Barnett required two expensive campaigns for governor before he learned the tricks of the demagogue. Historically the race question "first crushed and then prevented the rebirth of political parties."

No clearer instance than Mississippi's gubernatorial election of 1963 can be found of "transient and amorphous political factions ill designed to meet the necessities of self government . . . fortuitous groupings of individuals. . . spectacular demagogues odd enough to control the attention of considerable numbers of voters." There is no way to check the wild-eyed, no block for unscrupulous and spectacular personalities, no power to carry out sustained programs of action. Great negative power accrues to those able to invest their dollars in legislative candidates. Business and finance skillfully manipulate this one-party system to the greater glory of laissez-faire which, ironically, leads to an inevitable transfer of state functions to the federal government and a diminution of state rights.

No one has better described mid-century Mississippi politics than V. O. Key: "The almost overwhelming temptation, especially in areas with many Negroes, is to take advantage of the short-run opportunity to maintain the status-quo by using the race issue to blot up the discontents of the lesser whites. By this means the governing classes can kill off or minimize pressures for improved governmental services from whites and find support for low public outlays for the benefit of the Negro." Of course the disfranchisement of the black man fits perfectly into this scheme. "With a high degree of regularity those of the top economic groups - particularly the new industrialists - are to be found in communion with the strident advocates of white supremacy. In the political chaos and demoralization that ensue alert men with a sharp eye for immediate advantage take and count their gains. The requirements are for a remarkably enlightened leadership that is at the same

time tough enough to maintain a hardboiled discipline within its own ranks. Only by such means can a social situation with volcanic potentialities be kept under control." As this was being written some fifteen years ago, a southern Secretary of the Army, Kenneth C. Royal, was saying in Jackson: "There will always be some who will hearken to the arguments of bitterness and bigotry, but the fundamental common sense and the essential spirit of fairness of the American people will ultimately bring failure to any class party or any party of intolerance." That fundamental common sense and essential spirit of fairness are,at the moment, on leave from Mississippi.

(5 spaces) Today the closed society of Mississippi imposes on all its people acceptance of and obedience to an official orthodoxy reminiscent of the one developed in the middle of the 19th century. In fact the philosophical basis for slavery has become the substance of the white supremacy catechism. Though lacking the considerable intellectual integrity of the pro-slavery argument, the segregation creed assumes 1) the biological inferiority of the Negro, 2) the sanction of the Bible and Christianity, 3) the aptitutde of the Negro to menial labor only, 4) racial separation as an absolute requirement for social stability, and 5) the necessity for the Negro to earn his way to a higher and more responsible citizenship.

The doctrine of state sovereignty, having emerged untarnished from the Civil War, is as much a cornerstone of the American republic as in the days of John A. Quitman, with every Mississippi politician adept at intoning the sacred ritual of the 10th amendment. The political conservatism of the founding fathers is worshipped with such abandon that one may conclude that Mississippi leaders not only deny the constitutionality of the 14th amendment but seriously question the legal adoption of the Constitution itself. They really hunger for the good old days of the Articles of Confederation. Mississippi once exercised its right to secede, lost the war but won the Reconstruction, and every patriot must be ready to do it all over again. For the few who appreciate philosophical subtleties, the implications of Social Darwinism, imperialism, and good old Anglo-Saxonism are thrown into the argument for good measure.

Whatever sanction white supremacy may have had in the minds of the enlightened at the turn of the century has long since disappeared, destroyed by the new anthropology, the abandonment of tortured Scriptures, the mechanized assault on mud sill labor, the lessening of the fear of race conflict, and recognition of the fact that the Negro, when given the chance, has indeed been

capable of earning his way. These modern notions have even seeped into Mississippi notwithstanding the strident denials of those living in the past, and while they have been discussed but furtively, it is possible to forsee a day when a new and more intelligent patriotism will assume there are no inferior Mississippians. The time is not far off when the incompatibility of state rights with modern industrialization, increased social services, adequate education, and effective national defense, as well as the absurd constitutional double-talk of a Citizens Council dominated governor will become apparent to all except the die-hards. But, at the moment, Mississippi still cries: NEVER!

Refinements of the orthodox view would challenge the imagination of any reputable psychiatrist. For reasons which shift from crisis to crisis, "vicious, unfair, slanderous, and deadly propaganda" is constantly directed at good, Christian Mississippi from the outside. This is easily believed by Mississippians whose Scots-Irish pedigree carries an aura of persecution. Despite the interminable barrage of Communist-inspired lies, according to Judge Sebe Dale, "There is no ill feeling between the races in Mississippi." "Here in Mississippi," Governor Barnett tells a Negro audience, "we are enjoying a wonderful and peaceful relationship." Senator Eastland is even more reassuring: "There is no discrimination in the South." A former president of the Mississippi Bar says, "The Mississippi Negro is smart enough to know that he is being well treated. They do not like the attitude or actions of the NAACP." As the late Senator W. B. Alexander saw it, "the colored people of Mississippi do not want integration," for the black-white relationship is "that of utter friendship, harmony, trust, peace, and good will." Attorney General Joe Patterson is sure "The dual system of education is working to the complete satisfaction of both races." A private citizen of Shaw, race unknown, thinks "the colored people of Mississippi have a great privilege to live in a State where the white people will build churches and schools for them." According to the testimony of Congressman Jamie Whitten, he truly believes he has "the warm love and respect of the Negro citizens." Mississippians refuse to recognize that there is a race problem. The wonder is whether such a paradise has ever before existed on this earth.

Perversion of the Constitution has always been a Gibraltar in the defense of the status quo. As instructed by a Citizens Council intellectual, the Mississippian is duty bound to defy an unconstitutional decision of the

United States Supreme Court; otherwise nine men could "succeed in putting themselves above the constitution itself." The 14th amendment is "a false instrument, never ratified." Judge M. M. McGowan clinches the matter: "No court decision is 'the law of the land.' No court decision is the law of the case if based upon an amendment which was illegally placed in the constitution." All court decisions, according to Mississippi's self-styled savior of constitutional principles, the honorable governor, must comply with his view of state rights, without which "human rights, liberty and freedom will perish."

When Governor Barnett speaks of the Bill of Rights or of the people, it becomes obvious to the simplest mind that he restricts his thoughts to established first class citizens. "If we start off with the self-evident proposition," he says, "that the whites and colored are different, we will not experience any difficulty in reaching the conclusion that they are not and never can be equal." No Mississippian in public office has questioned these words of wisdom for more than a century. With Vardaman out of the way, Bilbo had reigned supreme as the high priest of the doctrine of inequality, with its horror of amalgamation summed up in The Man's words: "if the blood of our white race should become corrupted with the blood of Africa, then the present greatness of the United States of America would be destroyed and all hope for the future would be forever gone." At the flip of a page, Barnett destroys Egyptian civilization with an injection of Negro blood.

After the Brown decision, Judge Tom Brady, a Yale graduate, and now a Barnett appointee to the Mississippi Supreme Court, became for awhile the metaphysician of the master racists with the publication of a hastily written and scholastically barren volume entitled Black Monday. This became outmoded over night by the present "repository of segregationist propaganda," Race and Reason, by Carleton Putnam, Princeton graduate, Roosevelt biographer, and successful businessman, become, by his own admission, expert theologian, psychologist and anthropologist in a two year period. To almost universal Mississippi enchantment, Putnam exposed the Franz Boas conspiracy which, he asserted, had gripped the scientific world in a climate of terror and fear of reprisal and persecution for a generation. For those unconcerned with academic buffoonery, what could be asked than the endorsement of Race and Reason

by the Commercial Appeal, the News and Courier, John Temple Graves, and the Jackson Daily News? Mississippians did not read the book (they just sent it to their friends, as instructed by the Citizens Council), else they would have discovered that, even by Putnam's illogic, the white race was already doomed inasmuch as more than half the country's Negroes lived in integrated situations. But who would argue with the new messiah? With a flourish of trumpets he was brought to Jackson on October 26, 1961, proclaimed by the governor as "Race and Reason Day," and feted at a $25 a plate dinner attended by more than five hundred patriots, the civic and business leadership, the state's "people of education, culture, and high position."

There was no Dickens to point out that there never had been another such day in Mississippi. It could, Barnett believed, "mark the turning point in the South's struggle to preserve the integrity of the white race." Putnam had, said Congressman John Bell Williams, "enunciated an ideology around which the entire movement for racial integrity can be consolidated." Putnam had indeed provided an Article of Faith Mississippians could live by. Denouncing the "left-wing pseudo-scientists" for creating the fallacy which "has gained complete possession of the Northern and Western mind," he designated Mississippi as "the heartland of the struggle for racial integrity," and in his best Bryan manner exclaimed: "You don't crucify the South on a cross of equalitarian propaganda." Calling on the South to produce more Barnetts, Putnam identified equalitarianism with communism and segregation with Christianity, which of course Barnett had been doing long before he ever heard of the word anthropology.

Now, jubilantly declared the executive director of the Jackson Citizens Council, "hard work by good men, armed with a noble and just cause," would enable southern patriots to "get through" to the rest of the nation. Perhaps they did get through. Less than a month later, the American Anthropological Association unanimously repudiated Putnam in a down-to-earth declaration which concluded: "The basic principle of equality of opportunity and equality before the law is compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization."

On March 13, 1963 William L. Gilbert of Utica announced his candidacy for the state House of Representatives, Hinds County post number nine. His

stated principles were complete and unassailable:

> I am a Mississippi Democrat with conservative political views. I supported the unpledged elector movement in 1960. I am a staunch believer in constitutional government, states rights, the southern way of life, and separation of the races.
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> The forces of socialism and communism outside our borders are advancing and spreading rapidly over the world while within our borders, the dictatorial Kennedys, socialistic Supreme Court, politicalized federal courts, power-seizing pressure groups are gradually and certainly undermining and destroying the principals upon which this great nation was founded.
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> Since Mississippi and the Southland has inherited the task of making the last great stand for constitutional government, states rights, individual freedom and democracy, we must cast aside our personal and political ambitious, close our ranks, unite and solidify our beliefs and convictions and advance and achieve our destiny by handing down to our children and descendants the greatest gift that one can give or receive - a free Christian, Democratic nation and world.

In the first half of the present century there was no serious challenge to the caste system in Mississippi even though the Negro spoke the same language and subscribed to the same religion as the white, increased his literacy and mobility, and accepted universal American goals. True, the Negro also played a proper role in two world wars and heard, ever so faintly, the siren call of Franklin Roosevelt. But the white man responded with an accelerated feeling of urgency to be on the constant alert for any crack in the wall of white supremacy.

At the very time when the Negro was in the long-time process of becoming a man, he appeared to be and demonstrably <u>was</u> a cultural inferior, carefully trained for that status by every controllable factor in his environment. William Faulkner has the Mississippian say, "We got to make him a nigger first. He's got to admit that he's a nigger." From birth the Negro was exposed to an irresistable pressure for deferential behavior and when he failed to conform he was driven out or even killed. He was regarded by most whites and probably by himself as being shiftless, apathetic, capricious, untrustworthy, lacking in initiative, unstable, insensitive and, for the most part, an amiable and happy beast perfectly adapted to his wretched position. By and large he played well the role of Sambo, giving little indication of any hope or desire to share in the white man's privileges.

In these fifty years the Mississippi Negro did not vote, did not serve on juries, held no slightest office in local government. He attended inferior schools, lived in slum housing, received unequal treatment in the courts, sat in the back of the bus, and was "segregated in his illness, his worship, and

even in his death." The good Negro -- here "good" refers to ideology, not to observance of law -- was the least likely to be victimized by police brutality for he had learned that militancy against the code would not be tolerated. Resistance in any way except perhaps through "Uncle Tomism" was out of the question.

There is no need here to repeat much of the shameful story of the use of violence to keep the black man "in his place." Every knowledgeable Mississippian can, if so disposed, recall deeds of varying degrees of horror which he has witnessed or has had told to him in moments of confidence or bravado. Each of the twenty or more lumbermen in their seventies or eighties whom the author interviewed in the early 1950's related tales of the brutality and bestiality of the white man in the hardwood forests of the Delta after the turn of the century. Forty years after the event a kindly old gentleman remembered with pride how quickly he had solved a "labor problem" at his Charleston mill when the colored crew walked off just because one of the Negro workers had been hanged for talking back to the boss.

A classic example of lynching as a means of social control was covered by the Jackson Daily News in December, 1928. Before escaping from Parchman a lifer named Charley Sheppard murdered the prison carpenter and kidnapped his daughter whom he took on a wild twenty-four hour flight through the swamps. He raped the eighteen year old girl. Several thousand men including units of the National Guard, aided by bloodhounds, failed to catch Sheppard who turned himself in to a woman plantation owner. A mob took over, one skillfully and purposely directed. After being displayed in front of a store, Sheppard was taken on a seven-hour tour of the main roads, the cross roads, and the back roads. Several prison camps were visited. As word of the affair spread through the Delta some three thousand cars and six thousand whites, according to the reporter, converged on the scene of the coming revelry.

> Here, with the same methodical precision which had marked all their actions, mob leaders unloaded dried wood for the cremation, built their pyre, bound and strapped the negro and poured upon him gasoline which had been carried along for the occasion.
>
> Before the match was touched to him Sheppard's mouth and nose were partly filled with mud to prevent him from inhaling gas fumes which might cause his instant death.

As the fire blazed up, "a wild-eyed member of the mob, intent on further torture, leaped atop the pile of wood, straddled the negro's body and cut his ears off with a pocket knife." Like a knock-out in the third round, the sacrifice itself took only a few minutes but not before the shrieks of the victim had been mingled with the screams of a hundred female spectators.

Sheppard "twisted and rolled in the flames, and finally rolled off the pile of flaming stavewood." He was immediately seized, thrown back and more gasoline was applied. The orgy finished, a leg bone and the skull were claimed as souvenirs. Later the ears were exhibited at a filling station. The coroner's verdict: "Death from causes unknown."

In the 20th century never as much as ten percent and normally less than five percent of the Negro voting population has been allowed to register. In 1899 eighty-two percent of the white voting population was registered, as compared with nine percent of the Negroes. In 1954 the figures were sixty-three and five, and in 1960 sixty-seven and five. In 1963, 3295 of a voting population of 4449 whites were registered in Amite County, as compared with one registered Negro out of 2560. In Coahoma County the whites had registered 8376 of a potential 8708, while the Negroes had 1371 out of 14,604. In Lowndes County the white figures were 5869 of 16,460, the Negro figures 63 of 8362. In 1962 there were five counties with Negro majorities with not a single Negro registrant.

Governor Barnett has repeatedly claimed that Negroes in Mississippi just don't want to vote, that they could if they so desired. In April, 1963 more than a thousand Negroes signed affidavits that they had been denied the right to register in Coahoma County. It is Burke Marshall's opinion that Negro non-voting results "almost exclusively from racial discrimination . . . and fear among the Negroes . . ." Since 1954 the Mississippi legislature has required the voter applicant to read and write <u>and</u> interpret any section of the state constitution, to be of good moral character, and to have his name and address published in a local newspaper for two weeks. Applicants may now be challenged as to moral character by any qualified elector, with the discretion of the county registrar approaching infinity. In May, 1962, the legislature further tightened registration procedure. All of which should help explain the answer of a Mississippi Negro who stated that, yes, he could read the constitution in Chinese. "What does this clause say?" asked the astonished registrar. "It says that this here nigger ain't gonna vote this year." At the moment a substantial Negro vote would embarrass any candidate in Mississippi. But the future is also plain. As Senator Bilbo once reminded an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers: "Son, when you can show me that you can control any sizeable number of voters in Mississippi, I'll be the damnedest champion you've ever had."

Gradual improvement of white schools was shared by the Negroes only to a remote degree. But, as Vardaman had understood, any Negro education spelled the doom of the caste system. There may have been rumblings before, but the summer of 1954 brought a shock from which the Old Guard will never recover. Having talked with a small number of conservative colored men, Governor Hugh White called in a hundred Negroes to get their endorsement for "separate but equal" school facilities. An error was made in sending out invitations a month in advance, for this gave the young radicals time in which to maneuver. They arranged for a caucus the night before the big meeting and after a heated debate carried the timid along with them.

Speaker Walter Sillers opened the momentous conference. Governor White spoke of amicable race relations of the past. As planned, when the preliminaries were over, Charlie Banks got the floor, argued for the abolition of segregation. Five or six others quickly followed in the same vein. A Negro conservative publisher made a last stand for the old regime but was roundly denounced by a woman delegate as being a classic example of the effects of segregation. In desperation, Sillers called on another known friend of the white man, the Reverend H. H. Humes. The minister was the center of all attention. "Gentlemen," he began, "you all should not be mad at us. Those were nine white men that rendered that decision. Not one colored man had anything to do with it. The real trouble is that you have given us schools too long in which we could study the earth through the floor and the stars through the roof." Segregation had to go.

At this point, Governor White, mumbling that you couldn't trust Negroes any more, called the meeting to an end. It was also the end of an era. As one of the untrustworthy related almost a decade later: "For the first time I was really proud to be a Negro in Mississippi."

Since that day Mississippi has watched other Negroes "whose courage, intelligence, and integrity fill many with awe and inspiration." In June, 1963, an English instructor at the University of Mississippi wrote to the Clarion-Ledger: "Mississippi, after all, did produce Medgar Evers, a man who would not learn to be 'practical' or 'shrewd,' would not learn to serve whimsical Time and brutal Circumstance, would not accept a definition of his 'place' laid down by someone else (the kind of someone who would skulk in a thicket and shoot him in the back for disagreeing). Here was a man who knew precisely how

much he was risking and why, and who had the courage and ultimate intelligence to do so; and I, witnessing his conduct . . . have felt myself grow a dimension in aspiration and resolution . . ." The instructor is not alone. Mississippi has long had a military tradition which as placed a high value on valour. The day cannot be far off when great moral and physical courage will be recognized as having very little to do with color.

According to the Jackson Daily News "there is nothing new in the tactics of propagandists smearing the South. This has been a trait for well over a century. The current crop of hate peddlers simply drum up new accusations and the bias has become so stereotyped only the most gullible fall for this odd-ball thunder." Honorable people all across the nation are beginning to "see through the trashy social and political gunk," and, as might be expected, "damned few Mississippians believe anything they see or hear on a national newscast any more." In the Clarion-Ledger, Charles Hills writes with a greater sense of history: "The South has been and is being subjected to such a barrage of hate-mongering and bias from the Yankee press as the world has never seen before. Never was Hitler, nor Mussolini, nor the Mikado, nor even Kaiser Wilhelm attacked so venomously under the caption of 'free reporting.'" The reason for this outside heckling Mr. Hills finds in northern "jealousy because of Mississippi's industrial expansion." There being no way to excuse the vast loss of American wealth overseas, "the administration tried to camouflage our own national weakness by throwing off on the South." "We are changing from the richest nation to the poorest," and the "Kennedys came along and did away with truth and decency" while using the Negro as a "patsy" and blaming it all on the South. In such psychopathic writing Mississippi always represents the South and the South is a solid and unfaltering unit.

When Medgar Evers was assassinated, state officials and the press made perfunctory noises about the "regrettable" incident before launching into unbelievable monologues about outside agitators. To Congressman Colmer the murder was "the inevitable result of agitation by politicians, do-gooders and those who sail under the false flag of liberalism," including, it must be assumed, the agitation of Evers himself. The Clarion-Ledger columnists rushed in to suggest that "a paid assassin might have done the job. There are rumors that the man was expendable." ". . . it is barely possible that

desperately ruthless forces may have used him as a sacrificial offering, to rekindle the flames of unrest here and spur their drive for 'victory' everywhere." The governor duly notified the Highway Patrol to be on special alert for non-resident vehicles "inasmuch as we have had several agitators in our state in the past several weeks." When Byron de La Beckwith, scion of an old Delta family, born on the Pacific coast but having lived in Mississippi for thirty-eight years, was apprehended, the Clarion-Ledger flashed what may remain its most illuminating headline: CALIFORNIAN IS CHARGED WITH MURDER OF EVERS.

Such blatant irresponsibility is favorably received by an anxious, fearful, frustrated group of marginal white men who exist in every Mississippi community. It makes no difference whether these people are suffering from their own personal inadequacies or whether they are overwhelmed by circumstances that would defeat a prodigy, they do escape periodically from their trouble into the excitement of racial conflict. They are compelled to keep the Negro down in order to look up to themselves. They may even work for the betterment of the Negro "up to a point," to prove their lack of basic prejudice. Of course, "When a Negro obtains a good pair of shoes and learns to write a literate letter, some whites think he wants to marry their sister," such a deduction being possible in a state whose white inhabitants assume that only they can understand the black man. Racial bigotry transcends reason in Mississippi because, for various motives, so many leaders are willing to exploit the nameless dreads and alarms which have taken possession of a considerable proportion of the white people. The poor whites may not raise their standard of living by blaming it on Negroes, but they do release an aggressive energy upon a socially accepted scape-goat. Last in everything else, they can rejoice in still having the nigger. At least in the short-run, nearly every white man does stand to derive economic, political, or status gain from keeping Negroes in their place.

In Mississippi the techniques of arousing hopes and fears have long been the source of lucrative rackets and successful careers. An impenetrable rigidity in the face of a deliberately created outside enemy, with appropriate pious obeisance to the church, patriotism, and the heritage -- a situation in which all can see the demagogue "stand up and be counted" -- has been the surest road to political reward.

Despite the prevailing atmosphere of great emotionalism in 1861, the

conservative men of large property holdings considered secession a doubtful though perfectly legal remedy for their troubles. As Percy L. Rainwater has shown, it was a much larger group of active, restless, and politically ambitious lawyer-politicians, petty planters, and small-town editors -- the "new men," successful enterprisers on the make, but without the restraint of large vested interests -- who took Mississippi out of the Union. These partisans, "the hot-spur secessionists in wild frenzy, and madness, bore down upon the halting and bewildered groups, sweeping them along with the angry current of precipitate secession and leaving unmoved and adamant only the most stalwart. This small and loyal union group found itself isolated and, under the pressure of the radical forces, utterly unable to stay the current of secession which was rushing on to war and the ruin of the system which both groups desired to perpetuate at all costs." For those few who attempted to stand fast, the president of the convention had a remedy - "a stiff limb and a strong rope vigorously applied will prove a panacea for the infection."

Historical parallels are notoriously dangerous. Mississippi had no major city in 1860 and none (except Memphis and New Orleans) a century later. But in twenty years after 1940 Jackson had jumped in population from 40,000 to 150,000. This highly prosperous metropolitan area was filled with "new men," successful enterprisers on the make, who were as enamored of the satisfying status-quo as their ancestors had been. The pursuit of riches and all that money will buy required the talents and energies of the Jackson business leadership to the point that except for the obvious "good works" done with Rotary fanfare, there was little time devoted to thinking about inevitable change bound to accompany progress. The right-to-work law was imbedded in the constitution, a colossal program of state socialism was set up to entice the Yankee carpetbagger industrialist, and the masses of white Mississippi men and women were made available for the subsidized factories at minimum wages. The fruits of this economic revolution were "for whites only," and when it appeared that the caste-ridden Negroes might be a mite restless, they were turned over to the tender mercies of the White Citizens Council. As if this were not enough, Council extremists also took over the minds of an apathetic and fearful people whose expressed opinions bore no relationship to the independence, the nationalism and the democracy of their patron saint, Andrew Jackson.

The Citizens Council conquest of Mississippi was neither automatic nor easy despite a favorable climate and the undeniable organizational talents of its early leaders. Under Governors White and Coleman, these extremists of the right were kept at arm's length while peddling their clan as a law-abiding "modern version of the old-time town meeting." Congressman Williams observed that the Council stood for "equality for the Negro under the law, and when the time comes that peaceful and legal means is failing to halt integration it's time for the councils to disband." For some years after the segregation decisions, while the Council was vulnerable and gathering strength, it was possible for a moderate such as Frank Smith to hold out against the rabble rousers and remain in Congress representing the Mississippi Delta. Though openly advocating the use of economic reprisal and social pressure to maintain segregation, the Council decried violence and plugged its own respectability.

A small but select stable of malcontent speakers was available from the beginning and the Council showed no reluctance in bringing in "outside agitators" as long as they were of the correct persuasion. Cunningly devised scare and atrocity fabrications quickly impressed a people nursed on nightmares. According to Judge Brady, the NAACP was driving toward "a revolution in the bedroom" to mongrelize the country before turning it over to the Communists. The judge was willing to "give the Negro in good conscience all that he is justly entitled to and what we in good conscience can afford." Council literature from the start specialized in African horror stories.

A coarse speech allegedly made to a Mississippi colored audience by a Howard University faculty member and widely distributed by way of the mimeograph machine, was exposed as a hoax. The lurid story reported a Professor Roosevelt Williams as elaborating on the secret craving of white women for Negroes and implying that the day was just around the corner when the blackest male could satisfy his most meretricious desires. This crude little jewel was traced to the Attorney General of Georgia who said he got it from the Mississippi Citizens Council. Executive Secretary Patterson at first shamefacedly declared that "we never claimed it to be authentic," but later boldly challenged the NAACP to prove it wasn't so. Anyway, he countered, the unsuspecting dupe "will wake up some day just in time to see some sloe-eyed, pigeon-toed Red, and a blue gum Detroit black, come up and take his car and his bottle. . . and perhaps his wife and daughter."

The Citizens Council does little officially or openly. Boycotts of Falstaff, Ford, and Philip Morris just happened, the automatic response of indignant citizens to inept public relations of the companies involved. Economic reprisals against Greenville, Laurel, Pascagoula and Lexington newspapers were nothing more than spontaneous outbursts of an enraged people. When in May, 1955, the NAACP president blamed the murder of the Reverend George Lee on the Citizens Council, the secretary of the Humphreys County chapter emphatically denied that any member could have shot down the voter registration worker since "violence is against our constitution and by-laws." Still, it was the Council who kept black lists of Mississippi professors who were not right on segregation, who circulated a document showing the gross treason of the dean of the Ole Miss Law School in signing a statement urging respect for Supreme Court decisions, who attempted a showdown at Millsaps College which led the Delta Democrat-Times to suggest that "the undertaker who is president of the Jackson Citizens Council is prepared to embalm and bury the remains of academic freedom in Mississippi."

By 1958 the Council claimed to have distributed eight million pieces of "literature," much of it reprinted from the Hederman press. Professional anti-Communists had been brought into the state to "earn their fee" by implying that those lukewarm on segregation were members of the Red apparatus. After Barnett's election, the Council felt strong enough to list as subversive to the Mississippi way of life the American Red Cross, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Benevolent Order of Elks, Jewish War Veterans, Methodist Church, National Lutheran Council, Department of the Air Force, Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Young Women's Christian Association. It was never explained what fate would befall the native Mississippian who belonged to the YWCA and the auxiliary of the Citizens Council.

The Council circulated lists of hate magazines, some of them anti-Semitic, it "exposed" a plot of Allan Nevins to bring about intermarriage of the races, it inspired petitions demanding that office holders go to jail rather than submit to federal court decisions ("This is a matter of constitutional government," said Judge Russell Moore), it set up organizations of "Minute Men" made up of the "finest white citizenry" to peaceably assemble on short notice "to demonstrate a protest against any invasion of our institutions." This last gimmick never seemed to take fire even though each group sported seven colonels, five captains, and five lieutenants. In no case was violence planned, at least as long as the status-quo prevailed. Still, as Lewis Hollis, CC

executive secretary, once bluntly insisted, "there is a point beyond which even the most judicious restraint becomes cowardice. Violence is an unpleasant remedy to which people resort only in a desperate extremity when all else has failed." To the present moment the Citizens Council has largely had its way. In the spring of 1963, according to the Daily News, the Council justly took credit for "avoiding violence and bloodshed" in Greenwood. An organization that can prevent violence may have the capacity and even desire under some circumstances to cause violence. It makes one wonder how the Council defines " a desperate extremity when all else has failed."

In the beginning Simmons had called for "organization . . . and more organization." The Jackson chapter built up a card file containing the racial views of every white person in the city. A candid Mississippian wrote the State-Times: "If a group of serious-minded individuals, armed with pencils and a known philosophy of 'you're either with us or against us,' comes around to your door, demands to know your personal views and applies the pressure, only a Mongolian idiot would fail to give the right answers and pay the $5.00." Block by block surveys of Jackson, Greenwood, and McComb turned up the unstartling findings that 98 percent of the white people not only supported school segregation but promised to support the Citizens Council in any crisis.

As one astute observer saw it, the Council had by 1959 "created a climate of fear that has strait-jacketed the white community in a thought control enforced by financial sanctions, and has undone most of the improvements in race relations made over the last 30 years." In 1962 the editor of the Forest Scott County Times and public relations director for the Sovereignty Commission, an indefatigable supporter of segregation, was willing to take issue with the "rabble-rousing leaders of the Citizens Council - more interested in agitating the racial problem than solving it." Erle Johnston thought the Council purpose "now appears to be making white people hate each other." As once prophesized by its own paper, the leaders in the Council had indeed created a juggernaut.

In January, 1960, Ross Barnett moved into the governor's mansion and in considerable degree turned over his office to the "Rajah of Race," Mr. Simmons. This quiet-spoken, unobtrusive, redheaded bigot was ready to prove himself

an evil genius at organized indoctrination on a massive scale. He would call the tune of interposition, direct the unpledged electors in 1960, and huddle with Barnett in Jackson and Oxford. His outfit would henceforth receive a generous slice of state funds allotted to the Sovereignty Commission.

A great-man-in-reverse theorist might explain Mississippi's deterioration by pointing out that in 1950 Ross Barnett, having made a considerable fortune as the state's leading damage-suit lawyer, decided to crown his successful career with four years in the governor's chair. In 1951 and again in 1955 the people resoundingly said, "No." Shortly after his second defeat, Barnett emerged as a bellowing champion of white supremacy in his loudly proclaimed though futile assistance in the legal defence of the Clinton, Tennessee, terrorists. Already a long-time Sunday School teacher firm in the knowledge that "God was the original segregationist," he pulled out all the emotional stops in what he realized was his third and final try for the prize he coveted. He defeated two ineffective opponents in 1959 and the following January came into office militantly stubborn, an inflexible racist with a mind relatively innocent of knowledge of history, consititutional law, and government. A few intimates now feel that he had reached an advanced stage of senility.

As governor, Barnett was soon in deep trouble, his administration beset by corruption, inefficiency, and a chronic inability to find enough jobs to fulfill the candidate's promises. His ridiculous posturing - he returned from an extended South American junket pleased with the universal segregation he found there, and later he coined an imperishable Coolidge-like sentence upon learning that a favored inmate of the penitentiary had vanished, "If you can't trust a trusty, who can you trust?" - soon made it almost impossible to find a person who would publicly admit that he had ever voted for Old Ross.

This simple and pious man who had declared during the 1959 campaign that "Hodding Carter is a moderate by his own admission," even before his inauguration called on the faithful to "stand up and be counted" so that the "gentlemen burglars," the moderates, could be driven from the state. His copy of the Constitution was somewhat the worse for age - it stopped with the 10th amendment. It logically followed that the new governor would shortly create the office of prime minister of racial integrity and adorn it with the presence of Mr. Simmons.

The Mississippi press mounts vigilant guard upon the racial, economic, political and religious orthodoxy of the closed society. Depsite varying degrees of moderation expressed in the daily papers of Greenville, Tupelo, and Pascagoula, and in an occasional rural weekly, the Jackson Clarion-Ledger and The Daily News so dominate Mississippi thought as to constitute one of the really influential family newspaper holdings in the United States. To know the Hederman press is to understand the people of the state.

The news director of a Jackson television station, fed up with the constant tirade against the alleged distortions of the national news media, recently commented on the lack of factual reporting in Mississippi: "We aren't getting the full truth," he said, "too many political officials and too many controlling business leaders are too happy with their home grown version of news management." Only a constant and critical reader of the capital press would believe the extent to which news is manipulated. Negro crime in the North, Negro complicity in Communism, and even Negro support of Governor Barnett are given the headlines day after day. Shotgun blasts fired into Negro homes become a NAACP plot. An Oxford ministerial association's moderate statement calling for penitence after the riot is ignored. The reception of Governor Barnett outside the state is highly colored. The only pictures of the Negro demonstration in Washington on August 28, 1963 show the litter left by 200,000 marchers, and one news story in the Clarion-Ledger is captioned, "Washington Is Clean Again With Negro Trash Removed." Reports of cross burnings on the University campus are both exaggerated and fabricated. The rest of the country is about to come around to the Mississippi way of life, partly due to the missionary efforts of Sovereignty Commission publicists who write up the reports of their own speeches. Special correspondents in Washington send back political and racial copy their employers so dearly like to read. Much of this kind of distortion is trivial but its cumulative effect is overpowering.

In times of trial the Jackson papers lose all semblance of perspective. For example, on the day that Judge Mize ordered James Meredith enrolled in the University, the Daily News front page carried these headlines:

ROSS RISKS JAIL TO HALT MIXING
Note Bares Negro Plan to Agitate
Hattiesburg Agitation Order (photostat)
We Support Gov. Barnett (editorial)
Negroes Purchased Shot, Says Mayor
President Deplores Shooting in State
Judge Mize Issues Permanent Injunction (bulletin)
Meredith Effigy Hanged At Oxford
Barnett During and After Broadcast (picture)

Moses' Automobile (picture)
Crossroads (column of Editor Jimmy Ward): Barnett - "All Loyal Mississippians Support Him."

The only non-inflammatory items were a small cartoon about a Mississippi College football game and the index.

On November 28, 1962, the day the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools was preparing to decide on the accreditation of the University of Mississippi, the Clarion-Ledger contained the following stories:

1. Gov.-elect Wallace of Alabama hits SACS power in Jackson addresses to legislature and Citizens Council.
2. Judge McGowan blasts SACS policy.
3. Speech of Dr. Medford Evans, Citizens Council consultant, at Indianola, identifying communism with integration and denouncing academic freedom.
4. Negroes plead "Fifth" in probe of Muslims.
5. Secretary of State Ladner praises "Women for Constitutional Government," calls for revitalization of 10th amendment.
6. Lt. Governor Johnson declares Mississippi officials innocent of guilt for Ole Miss riot.
7. Ethridge column: "Pastor Says Oxford Clergy Wrong to Urge State People Repent."
8. Justice Percy Lee Says JFK overstepping bounds - Congress must reassert itself.
9. Ole Miss Beauty Enters Maid of Cotton Contest.
10. Mississippi ranks among top 5 in broiler production - and Vice Chancellor Bryant defends SACS.

To heavy-handed Hederman hatchet men the Fifth Circuit Court becomes "the nine judicial baboons in New Orleans," President Kennedy "regards himself as a new Jesus whose infinite wisdom represents mankind's only real hope of salvation," and Ross Barnett is twisted into a modern combination David, Horatius, and Leonidas. Tougaloo College, a center of integrationist activity, is rechristened "Cancer College," with a new summer course in "Rapid Hate," and the slander-loving Rebel Underground, having recommended the assassination of the President of the United States, emerges as "an inoccuous handbill" calling on Ole Miss students "to continue their resistance to integration." By March, 1963, the Daily News adds up the "price tag" on the federal invasion of Mississippi as coming to $14 million because of 130 bonus accidental deaths on the state's highways attributed to "a frame of mine, an atmosphere of anger, a period of bayonet-point frustration" which lowered the morale of the highway patrol. For the University faculty members who have the temerity to treat Meredith as a human being, Jimmy Ward predicts crushed spirits, bitterness, even self-imposed tragedy. "It would appear apparent by now that prudent people will not wantonly toy with tradition or tamper with the soul of a civilized society."

Mississippians have long since been made conscious of their image within and without the state. In April, 1962, Nieman Fellow John Herbers described the difficulties imposed on reporters by city officials suspicious of potential trouble makers from the press. In one case an innocent bystander was bitten by police dogs used to break up a demonstration protesting segregation at the state fair. An enterprising reporter found the victim in a Jackson hospital, with a new pair of trousers bought by the city and an apology from Mayor Allen Thompson. But the mayor, upset by the story, denied that he had apologized to anyone and said the man should have moved if he had not wanted to be bitten. Winona and Grenada agreed to comply with an Interstate Commerce Commission ruling against segregated travel facilities but quickly reversed themselves upon Citizens Council prompting. "The mayor of Winona explained he thought he had been talking to an ICC agent rather than to a reporter," and the mayor of Grenada charged he had been misquoted, while the local chamber of commerce and city council adopted resolutions against "false" news reporting. An United Press International story on integrated Memphis schools describing white and black children skipping rope together drew this official protest from a Mississippi subscriber, "Why can't you report the facts without romancing the Negro race?"

The church in Mississippi not only played a principal role in the formulation of the orthodox view in the 1850's but helped stimulate secession and sustain civilian morale in the 1860's. In the desegregation emergency after 1954 the role of the church has been more difficult to assess in view of the release by the Mississippi Diocese of the Episcopal Church of a general call for support of the Supreme Court's decision and eventual integration. In the past year many individual preachers and a few ministerial groups have made courageous stands but the church as a whole has placed its banner with the status quo. Ministers who did most of the talking about segregation were for it, prompted no doubt by "an echo from the pew," and perhaps by the fear of being designated "Red-tinged" clergymen. The Citizens Council sponsored "A Christian View on Segregation," "A Jewish View of Segregation," and "Is Segregation Unchristian?" pamphlets filled with Bible quotations to sustain the weary.

"Letters to the Editor" from Olive Branch to Moss Point and from Corinth to Natchez reflected the influence of fundamentalism on the race question.

Favorite scriptural passages quoted were:

> Genesis 27:33: And Isaac called Jacob, and blessed him, and charged him and said unto him, thou shalt not take a wife of the daughter of Canaan.
>
> Numbers 36: 9-10: And that the tribes be not mingled one with another but remain so as they were separated by the Lord.
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> Ecclesiasticus 33: 11-12: With much knowledge the Lord hath divided them and diversified their ways. Some of them hath He blessed and exalted; and some of them hath He sanctified and set near Himself; and some of them He cursed and brought low and turned them from their station.
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> Ecclesiasticus 13: 19-20: Every beast loveth its like; so also every man that is nearest to himself. All flesh shall consort with the like to himself, and every man shall associate himself to his like.

A bill in the Mississippi House (now law) to permit an individual church to secede from its central organization and keep its property was advocated in a joint hearing by Senator Edgar Lee who insisted that if the law were not passed, "one of these days you are going to awake to the cries or screams of a mulatto grandchild." Not long after the Oxford riots, the Mississippi Baptist Convention declined a series of resolutions reaffirming "our intelligent good will toward all men," and calling upon Christians to pray "that we may live consistent with Christian citizenship" when so urged by a Grenada preacher who thought that it would be most unwise to take action at that time since any resolution must be open to all kinds of interpretations. This fence straddling (the convention did affirm a resolution on temperance) had little appeal for a Baptist missionary second cousin of Governor Barnett who wrote from Nigeria that Mississippians were making her work more difficult: "You send us out here to preach that Christ died for all men. Then you make a travesty of our message by refusing to associate with some of them because of the color of their skin. You are supposed to be holding the lifelines for us, and you are twisting them into a noose of racism to strangle our message. Communists do not need to work against the preaching of the Gospel here; you are doing it quite adequately." The missionary's mother expressed regret over the letter: "Antonina doesn't understand that Ross has been doing the best he can. She's been over there and doesn't know the situation here." From South America Billy Graham cabled the governor before the insurrection but somehow this communication never got into the Hederman papers.

A remarkable churchman, Rabbi Charles Mantinband, challenged the closed society for sixteen years while pastoring his congregation in Hattiesburg.

For all this time he maintained membership on the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, and for three years he was the chairman of the Mississippi Council of Human Relations. In May, 1962, he wrote: "Life can be very placid and gracious in this part of the country -- if one runs with the herd. The South is turbulent and sullen and sometimes noisy, but there is a conspiracy of silence in respectable middle-class society. Sensitive souls, with vision and the courage of the Hebrew prophets, are drowned out. Timid souls, complacent and indifferent, seldom articulate their protests."

"Come weal, come woe,
My status is quo."

In 1958 while Mantinband was abroad the Citizens Council suggested to the temple that this was a good time to get rid of the "mischief-making rabbi," else, "we cannot be responsible for the consequences." With probable misgivings, the temple stood by its pastor, who later commented that: "in an atmosphere where emotions are strained and people are hardly rational, there is little place for logic and appeal to reason. Instead, we must resort to 'chochma,' that shrewd combination of wisdom and subtle humor." Mantinband found himself unable to distinguish between God's children or to sit silently in the presence of bigotry. "Ultimately victory must come," he believed, "the time is past when a Jew dare be neutral."

On Washington's birthday, 1963, Rabbi Mantinband wrote in obvious distress: "The 'why' of Mississippi is anybody's guess. I suspect we are lacking in courage and in true spirituality. Some of us are very lonely." Four months later he moved to Texas.

The industrialist, kingpin of the power structure in Mississippi and the man most likely to crack open the closed society, has hesitated to exert his strength in the growing crisis of the past decade. As judged by longtime capitalist L. O. Crosby, Jr., "We have splendid leadership in Mississippi but we have some of the worst demagoguery that can be found. The business man can be more successful and happier in a state that does not have continued problems of ignorance, poverty, demagoguery and emotionalism."

Why, then, does the power elite tolerate the claptrap of a Barnett or a Paul Johnson? It is part selfishness and greed -- the old alliance between

conservative businessmen defending 1925 free enterprise and opportunistic politicians who would keep the masses, black and white, under control -- and part fear, fear of upsetting the apple-cart, fear of economic pressure from the Citizens Council the complacent industrialists allowed to grow into a monster. Also, there is an element of truth in Barnett's diagnosis: Mississippi has made manufacturing progress and some of it has unquestionably come from the increased state socialism sponsored by his administration.

In 1929 Mississippi had a per capita personal income of $510, only 40.5% of the national average. By 1960 this personal income had grown to $1,173, or 52.8% of the national average. Most of the gain came during World War II, income having doubled between 1929 and 1945 but having increased only 17% between the end of the war and 1960. Much of this apparent improvement resulted from a substantial outmigration from the state. Thus, according to its own Economic Council, "Mississippi appears to have marked time during the fifteen year period from 1945 to 1960." Since 1940 the labor force has actually decreased by 65,000, with those engaged in agriculture dropping from 58% of the total at the earlier date to 21% at the latter. Manufacturing employment rose from 67,000 in 1940 to 131,000 in 1960. In numbers employed the most important plants produce apparel. "Experience since the end of World War II gives little basis for projecting that per capita income in Mississippi will increase at a faster pace than in the nation as a whole," says the Economic Council. "The gap between Mississippi's per capita income and the national average has not been reduced."

Fifty percent of the adults over twenty-five in Mississippi have less than nine years of schooling; in 1940 the figure was 7.2 years. In 1960 the median for whites was 11 years and for Negroes six years. Increased educational opportunity for skilled workers is imperative, provided they can be kept in the state. High productivity industries are desperately needed. In the past, manufacturing has not been built upon industrial innovation. Mississippi stands at the bottom of the list of states in number of patents held per capita.

In the very month of the Oxford riots the Mississippi Economic Council declared that "somehow the economic community must find the means of moving more to the forefront of industrial innovation. In its human resources Mississippi does not lack the raw material of economic progress, but this

material must be mobilized and adapted to the changing industrial society which has replaced agriculture. The crucial catylist is leadership, both from those in public office and those in private business. The future economic course of the State will require that as new leadership emerges it brings new dedication, new boldness, and new imagination to meet the new problems of directing Mississippi's progress in a dynamic ever-changing economy."

Such new leadership contemplated by the state's chamber of commerce could not by the wildest imagination be meant to include the massive ineptness and poverty of intellect of the present administration nor the shrewd but negative short-sightedness of the fanatics in the Citizens Council.

In 1960 the legislature, at Barnett's request, passed thirty-nine "specific laws designed to make Mississippi more competitive," and three years later the governor claimed "the long-promised tomorrow is here, now. It is here today. We are at the dawn of Mississippi's brightest economic day." At least half the people of the state would have found this difficult to believe, if they had heard it, but, according to the governor, four hundred and sixteen new industries and plant expansions that would provide 31,000 new jobs, meant that, percentage-wise at least, Mississippi was leading the country in industrial growth.

Although Mississippi has made progress industrially, no one in his right mind takes Barnett's numbers game very seriously. By the same reasoning, Robert (Blowtorch) Mason would have won the Democratic nomination for governor in the first primary in 1963 for his vote as compared with that of 1959 had increased by a whopping 29% -- it went from 2704 to 3485. The speculation as to new jobs created was taken by Barnett from the optimistic estimates of firms coming into the state. Old jobs lost are left out of the calculations. Even the industries themselves are sometimes dubious. A picture frame plant, for instance, opened in Greenwood in 1959, went into bankruptcy in 1962, and a "new industry" was announced in 1963, one which in reality signified a switch in firms but not a single additional job. In January, 1963, Barnett dedicated a building of the Mississippi Surplus Property Procurement Commission, set up to acquire and store federal surplus property, and certified it as "a new industry, the 418th since I became governor."

This indulgence in Soviet-style statistics could be forgiven an ambitious

governor were it not that many people are tricked into believing Barnett's administration responsible for industrial development such as the great new oil refinery at Pasgagoula. According to its manager, Standard Oil of Kentucky came to Mississippi because of geographic considerations, the work record experience of other industries in the region, and the leadership of supervisors and businessmen in developing the Bayou Casotte area. At first Barnett jubilantly announced that Standard Oil chose Mississippi because industrialists throughout the nation favored segregation. "Who says that segregation doesn't pay?" he roared. When Standard Oil's president rebuked him, Barnett switched to Mississippi's "favorable political climate," adding that the state could expect industry to flock in because of Mississippi's "image of invincibility," built on its last ditch stand for segregation. The truth seems to be that Barnett learned of the prospect of securing the refinery only when it became necessary to obtain state approval of the sale of 16th section school land.

The governor's bewildering assertion that "Our state is making more gain in economic development than any other state in the southeast or southwest," also appears somewhat perplexing in view of the Mississippi wages-salary income for 1962 of $1.74 billion as compared with Alabama, $3.55 billion, Georgia, $4.96 billion, North Carolina, $5.42 billion, South Carolina, $3.8 billion, and Tennessee, $6.19 billion. Even in the percentage of gain over 1961, Mississippi falls below Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Mississippi has, however, outdistanced her sister states in the hundreds of millions of dollars worth of city and county bonds sold to build plants to entice new industry. A pants factory expansion may well be Barnett's most enduring industrial monument, - or perhaps the Westinghouse Air Brake Company plant which went to South Carolina rather than Oxford after the riot.

It is unlikely that even a Barnett or a Johnson would have the gall to suggest that it was their influence which will bring the spending of several hundred million dollars in Mississippi by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. But they should recognize the implications of the fact that for years a substantially greater (three to one, according to some figures) flow of federal funds poured into Mississippi than the residents of the state have returned to the federal treasury. Mississippi pays the lowest per capita federal tax and the lowest percentage of its personal income in federal taxes. In 1959-61, according to the Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service, per capita payment to the United States from Mississippi was $218 as compared

with $327 going the reverse way. Of every thousand dollars in Mississippi income, $286 came from the federal government. It may be argued that, statistically, Mississippi has contributed nothing since World War II to the defense or even the running expenses of the national government.

Whether there is enough enlightened leadership in industrial Mississippi to bring the state into tune with mid-twentieth-century progress is a doubtful but not a completely hopeless prospect. The Mississippi Economic Council has demonstrated that some members are fully aware of the needs for the future. But it will take more courage, intelligence, and unselfish devotion to Mississippi's total interest (as well as the national interest) than has been in evidence since World War II. It will require more than a few businessmen scurrying around secretly as if they were plotting revolution rather than dealing with urgent social problems. It is partly a matter of attitude and instinct. In December 1962, the publisher of the Kosciusko Star-Herald called for fair play toward James Meredith and his family in their home town (where Meredith had been harassed by police and his folks by hoodlums.) The gesture was prompted by fine instinct and a sense of justice, but the closed society prompted Billy McMillan a week later to allege that he had written the original editorial in the hope that "industries would not be afraid to locate here."

Governor Barnett has never indicated any comprehension of the truth that Mississippi's old way of life and industrialization are mutually exclusive. Business leaders certainly understand that a modern industrial structure cannot be raised upon the sands of segregation, minimum wages, poor schools, anti-intellectualism, Negrophobia, meager social services, anti-unionism, and a general policy of "hate the federal government." The pressing requirement is that a substantial number of prudent and imaginative representatives of the power structure - which until this moment has failed the state - will have been aroused sufficiently by recent events to band together for the purpose of crushing for all time Mississippi's self-inflicted closed society.

Next to the anxiety over the future of race relations, the still rural-oriented Mississippian is most alarmed by the prospect of a successful invasion of the state by organized labor. It is, in fact, the firmness of the

national unions on integration that has become the most grievous cross southern organizers have had to bear and has been the chief reason for the failure of most operations Dixie.

To hear Vaughn Watkins, outgoing president of the Mississippi Economic Council, tell it one would assume that some fifty thousand organized workers were about to capture the state and deliver it to the enemy. In the spring of 1963 he warned that unless effective counter action were taken, "the plan of the AFL-CIO to take control of politics in Mississippi will succeed." "The danger is real, the time is now," he said. He of course was fighting not the fine people who were the workers in Mississippi but out-of-state dues collectors who "despise the conservativism of the South," and seek "even further liberalism than has been manifested by the national government." Mr. Watkins urged financial backing and organization to prevent the "domination by those who are unfriendly to us and our way of life."

The Economic Council need have no fear of organized labor capturing the only state with the right-to-work principle firmly inserted into its constitution. Even moderates on the race question agree with the propaganda of the Clarion-Ledger that such legislation protects the working man and do not question the fake statistics which seek to prove that right-to-work states are the industrial giants of the country. For a long time Mississippi manufacturers will continue to bleed their hearts away for the rights of the laboring man before legislative committees.

It has ever been thus. In 1946 the whole community of Grenada was successfully rallied to keep out the Congress of Industrial Organizations. City officials, church leaders, professional men, bankers, and the press set up a citizens committee which identified the CIO with communism, world government, poll tax repeal and brutality, "all of which are against American and Southern principles." The Daily Sentinel-Star was quite frank: "Should the majority favor surrendering their rights to the CIO, it is believed by many that the Industry will cease operation." The election, as the editor looked at it, had been arranged in the first place under "Communist-influenced national laws," and the union had "championed damnable legislation -- all that is detestable to Southern manhood and Southern womanhood." This particular edition of the paper went free to all the workers, who voted 297-122

to maintain their happy southern individuality.

There is no need here to recount the vigilante methods used to keep Mississippi society insulated from outside labor influence. After the pistol whipping of an Amalgamated Clothing Workers organizer - which was ignored by law enforcement officials - the prosecuting attorney announced that "The good people of Benton County have always managed to take care of their own affairs without the assistance of an outside organization and we shall continue to do so." Which brings to mind a notorious letter sent in 1954 by the mayor of Pelahatchie to a New Haven manufacturer. It concluded:

> Then our wonderful labor, 98% native born, mostly high school graduates, will lower average hourly industrial wage rates 6 cents to 49 cents below other Southern States, and from 50 cents to 95 cents below Northern States. You will also get a much higher average man production, some Plants even getting double what they got in Northern Plants. This labor is truly American, not inflicted with the "Something for Nothing" idea and works together joyously with Management for the success of both.

The more conservative craft unions are themselves often lined up with the status quo. In 1963 Jackson city officials received firm support from the Steamfitters and Plumbers local in their handling of "racial agitators." A more profound indication of the intolerance of organized workers may be found in a plaintive memorandum of a union official who dared join a colleague, a white lawyer, and a Negro to challenge in court the legality of Sovereignty Commission tax money subsidies to the Citizens Council:

> Jan 7: filed suit
> Jan 8-12: received reports of upset members, threatening phone calls to family.
> Jan 13: intense opposition to my involvement with Negro in action
> Jan 14: no calls of threatening nature to family today. Reports from Greenwood and Hattiesburg of intense opposition and petitions being circulated.
> Jan 16: visited by relative with request to withdraw, refused. Shaffer under extreme pressure (and me too). Gave him pep talk. Elected president of Central Labor Union.
> Jan 17: Shaffer made public announcement of withdrawal. Petitions asking my withdrawal, resignation or transfer gaining speed in Jackson.
> Jan 19: drove to Hattiesburg. Controversial meeting. Voted 29 to 6 to recommend I be fired.
> Jan 20: withdrew from suit.

Majority membership in a half dozen locals signed petitions requesting the dismissal of the labor leader and the Jackson local printed a resolution stating: "and may this action constantly serve as a reminder to all who hold positions of authority that such actions will be strongly met and dealt with in a determined manner by the membership with or without approval of local

officers or officers of higher authority." The time is coming, the petition continued, "when we must choose between a union principle and a principle of our southern way of life." It was the understanding of the man who had stirred up such a hornet's nest that the resolution was the work of the Citizens Council.

Industrial workers in Mississippi, in many cases not long off submarginal farms, will not be forever immune to the call of their own self interest. In the state's largest single plant, the Storkline Corporation in Jackson, the workers were constantly besieged by every propaganda device that could be thrown against them by business leaders, civic clubs, politicians, company management, and the press. Twice they voted down the Carpenters and Joiners Union and twice the election was thrown out by the National Labor Relations Board because of intimidation, a "community atmosphere" not conducive to fair elections, company surveillance and promises of benefits for anti-union activity, as well as a last minute patronizing harangue by Governor Barnett on company time the day before the second election. When in the summer of 1963 the employees finally decided for the union 806 to 586, the Clarion-Ledger which had devoted columns of editorial space in fierce condemnation of the union, announced the workers' victory in two short paragraphs deep inside the paper.

Union leadership in Mississippi has been upgraded tremendously. When the time comes, as it surely will, that the labor union is recognized as an integral and useful part of the state's industrial community, the workers will have been educated to the point of giving the closed social order it walking papers.

There seems to be considerable confusion in the minds of Mississippi lawyers and jurists as to whether the state's citizens must obey the law of the land as interpreted by the federal courts. Since 1954 only an occasional Robert J. Farley or Karl Wiesenburg has raised a lonely voice to suggest that individualistic Mississippians may not select the court decisions they will observe. The Dean of the Ole Miss Law School has repeatedly declared in public that lawyers in the state were acting irresponsibly when they permitted by their silence the Citizens Council and irreconcilable politicians to interpret the law for them. Not that anyone had to agree with the decisions of the Supreme Court, - the dereliction came in allowing the people of Mississippi to believe that they could get away with an outright defiance of the courts.

Mississippi's lawyers are not necessarily contemptuous of the Supreme

Court but they are members of a closed social order. Queried by a University of Michigan law professor, a number of them "without exception, repudiated the governor's right to defy the federal courts." They also blamed the newspapers as not being interested in "presenting the law behind the news," as if this might absolve them of their own duty. Though Governor Coleman in 1955 declared interposition to be "legal poppycock," as indeed it has ever been, he signed an interposition law a few months later. On the whole, though, Coleman's record is relatively clear of demagoguery. In 1955 he said that "Police power is worthless. The Supreme Court has said time and time again the state law must bow to federal law." (Not only was the use of police power "so much foolishness," but an attempt in 1958 to allow counties and cities to contribute funds to the Citizens Council, thwarted by threat of veto by Coleman, was termed by him a "first step to disaster," aimed at the governor for "refusing to set fire to everything in the state.") One of the "law day" speakers in Greenville in May, 1963, dared to say that the state leadership "took us outside the law in defiance of the Federal government" during the Ole Miss debacle. "We courted violence, some of our people advocated it, and we got it."

Such utterances have been the rare exceptions. Most of Mississippi's lawyers and judges who have spoken out, those who have constantly prattled about this being a nation of laws, not men, have by their own statements belied their declared belief in the law. The newest member of the state supreme court, Judge Brady, has long since set the legal pace. "We as Mississippians," he stated in 1959, "will not bow down to a court of nine old men whose hearts are as black as their robes." Brady labeled Coleman a moderate--by his definition, "a man who is going to let a little sewage under the door," -- and charged he was "in league with integrationists and has refused to oppose left-wing elements in the Democratic party in order to advance his chance for national office." To Brady, Sam Rayburn was "that egg-headed man from Texas who is arch-traitor to the South." It was in Black Monday that the Mississippi jurist waxed most eloquent. After disposing of the CIO and NAACP as communist fronts, and of a half dozen civilizations by infusions of Negro blood, Brady cried out in simulated frenzy:

> Oh, High Priests of Washington, blow again and stronger upon the dying embers of racial hate, distrust and envy. Pour a little coal oil of political expediency and hope of racial amalgamation upon the flickering blaze which you have created and you will start a conflagration in the South which all of Neptune's mighty ocean cannot quench. The decision which you have handed down on Black Monday has arrested and retarded the economic and political and, yes, the social status of the Negro in the South for at least one hundred years.

In like manner a former federal judge, J. C. Day, tore into the Supreme Court. Justice Frankfurter, he insisted, "did not even read the constitution of the United States until after he was appointed to the Supreme Court bench. He was not even native-born. We have turned our country over to a bunch of foreigners and minority groups."

Perhaps the classic statement regarding law and order came from one who should have known, Governor Barnett himself. Indignant over the "sickening" conduct of Negro parents and ministers in Birmingham in permitting boys and girls to "run afoul" of the law by "using these children for ignoble and loathesome ends and deliberately and contemptuously inciting them to become juvenile delinquents," Barnett lost his temper: "What do these degenerates know of freedom? True freedom consists of and is founded upon the observance of law and the power of law to make those who would break the law, conform to it. History tells us that freedom can exist only under the protection of constitutional law. These agitators seek to defy constitutional law under the name of freedom." Would that Ross Barnett had thought of these words in September, 1962! In any case, the situation deteriorated to the point that a federal judge is reputed to have called into his quarters several prominent Mississippi lawyers to admonish them that they were in danger of losing their federal practice if they continued to inform the public that the courts could be defied.

As Lenoir Chambers has written, "It is a serious matter under the American system to violate, systematically derogate, continually belittle, publicly defy, and thereby encourage wholesale disobedience to clearly established judicial rulings." Many Mississippi lawyers and judges had been engaged in a serious matter.

When the Association of American Law Schools decided to take a look at the accreditation of the University of Mississippi Law School, Judge McGowan had another field day in condemning the "new pressure group raised up and joined to the pack of those who seem determined to harass and debase the University." "Undoubtedly its inspiration could be traced back to Washington, D. C. and the political commissars who followed the army into Oxford. There they have since remained in complete and arrogant defiance of the wishes and sentiments of the people of Mississippi attempting to indoctrinate our students in theories repugnant to us. The roster of the association's committee which

is now breathing dire threats against Mississippi, is studded with theorists most if not all of whom never earned a dollar in the courtroom."

"It is time," he continued, "for the people of Mississippi to stop cringing shamelessly before these dictators, and assert their sovereign dignity and invite them to keep their meddling hands off our affairs. The vengeance of those who would destroy us seems insatiable."

In the 1963 Democratic primary a high school basketball coach ousted a Rhodes scholar from his seat in the legislature by a three to one vote. Mississippi has long been known for putting first things first and in its weird system of personality politics practically anyone who could scrape together a hundred thousand dollars can have a fair go at the governorship. Both Barnett and Johnson had no reluctance about starting at the top, Johnson's great stroke of fortune coming when, because of bad flying weather, Barnett got to Oxford too late to block Meredith. Thus Johnson, as a later opponent put it, "bellied up to McShane" and into the governor's mansion.

Mississippi politicians talk interminably about the sacred Constitution and spend a great deal of their time trying to find ways to twist it to meet the demands of their closed society. As admitted by Charles Sullivan, twice gubernatorial candidate in Mississippi, "We've trained our politicians to be hypocrites; we've trained them to be dishonest." Thus, when Barnett calls on Congress to "let the people decide" as to whether they want their schools under control of the federal government, or declares that "a state that loses the right to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its own local affairs loses its political soul," or prepares a "share the Negroes" plan for the country, or categorically states, "There is no hate in Mississippi," he is either parrotting the words of cunning advisers or verifying the description of a fellow Mississippian that he is "a simple, appallingly ignorant man who seems totally unaware of the ultimate implications of what he says or does." Asked at Harvard whether he believed all citizens should participate in the management of state affairs, Barnett answered: "I don't know what you are driving at. Let me say this about Negroes in Mississippi. There is harmony there, they work side by side with us, we're good to them." Needless to say, this last quotation came from the Harvard Crimson, not from the Jackson Daily News.

Some people may still wonder why eighteen year old freshmen charged through tear gas at United States marshals and later compared themselves to Hungarian freedom fighters. The answer may be found in what they had been hearing from Mississippi politicians from the time they were ten years old. Rubel Phillips, 1963 Republican candidate for governor, told them that "our government is to a great extent being run by incompetents and communist sympathizers." "That incompetent little juvenile," Bobby Kennedy, "has declared war on Mississippi and he will demand unconditional surrender." Barnett told the youngsters, "If you and I and all Mississippians had the courage of our old daddies and grand-daddies, we could perpetuate our ideals and way of life forever." Congressman Williams presented President Eisenhower as "the most contemptible liar since Ananias," and declared that Mississippians could not "afford the luxury of moderation, complacency or timidity." State Senator Billy Mitts, in one letter to the Clarion-Ledger, called for"a wholesale firing of members of the faculty at the University," the replacement of every member of the "Educational Board of Higher Learning," and the impeachment of both Kennedys "for openly defying the Constitution." Another State Senator, John McLaurin, spoke often of the "Kennedy conspiracy" to "crush the freedom-minded people of this once great nation," and of "the grisly gang that works its wicked will," and acts "in wanton disregard of the Constitution and rights of the people." As early as 1955 Senator Eastland must have impressed the youth of the state when he told them they were obligated to defy the Supreme Court. "The choice is between victory and defeat. Defeat means death, the death of Southern culture and our aspirations as an Anglo-Saxon people. We of the South have seen the tides rise before. We know what it is to fight. We will carry the fight to victory." As Chancellor John D. Williams so plaintively put it, the average Mississippian had heard little else than this sort of talk from his political leaders. "So Mississippians believed about integration in their State--'Folks just wouldn't stand for it.' - and I am convinced that much of the fury of our campus that black September night sprang from frustration, from a kind of intellectual outrage that comes when one is forced to believe what he could not believe was possible."

The new legislature convening in January, 1962 was met by a request from the governor to 1) outlaw the Communist party (years before, the FBI had found one Communist in Mississippi, 2) pass "an enforceable sedition act," and 3) compel state employees to take an oath of allegiance to the United States and Mississippi. (Barnett didn't explain whether this could be accomplished in

one oath.) In any case, when Mississippi legislators get together, their herd instinct drives them to resolving the fate of the world. If they hate Hodding Carter or the Kennedys, or love Elvis Presley, Dizzy Dean, the Mississippi State Basketball team, or South Africa, or feel that a former Miss America is a fine actress, they are not inhibited from saying so. Sometimes they think big. Senator Hugh Bailey, who had ridden a bull from Canton to Jackson to fulfill a campaign promise, offered a resolution urging the United States to substitute turnip seed for cash in the foreign aid program. Such action "would relieve pressure in this country's economy and give the world's population necessary vitamins, minerals, and bulk." A mere handful of seed would feed a hundred people and could be mailed overseas for planting. Senator Flavous Lambert was not amused. "We have," he said, "made big enough fools of ourselves already."

Somewhat more majestically, the legislature resolved "its complete, entire and utter contempt for the Kennedy administration and its puppet courts," and called on the country to rid itself of "the Kennedy family dynasty and to join our State in its defiance to all who would destroy our freedoms, heritage and constitutional rights." In November, 1962, the Senate passed a resolution calling for the impeachment of President Kennedy on four counts, including incitement to insurrection at Ole Miss and betrayal of his innaugural oath.

Legislators spend much of their time devising legal subterfuges to keep the Negro in his place. When it appeared that "smart alecks calling white ladies" on the telephone had reached "epidemic stages," the House voted a $10,000 fine and five years imprisonment for cursing into that instrument. Objection to such punishment brought the assurance that judges would know how to use the law. When the House had before it seven bills to restrict Negro voting, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee soberly announced, "I think everyone should be reading this bill and should avoid asking questions not absolutely necessary." The House unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a constitutional amendment barring from voting persons guilty of vagrancy, perjury, and child desertion, and concurred in the addition of adultery, fornication, larcency, gambling, and crimes committed with a deadly weapon. A still further addition of habitual drunkenness was defeated when a member suggested that "might even get some of us." There was some objection, also, to the inclusion of adultery.

Reprisal legislation is common. A Senate approved bill allowing a town with only one newspaper to publish its proceedings outside the municipality was amended so as to apply only to Holmes County. The committee chairman said the bill "concerned a woman editor who has been writing things which don't go along with the feelings in the county." The House passed a bill condemning land belonging to troublesome Campbell College for annexation to Jackson State College when Representative McClellan stated, "Jackson has had a cancer in its midst long enough." The cancer will be removed to Mound Bayou after this year.

When the constitutionality of a House bill permitting counties to donate funds to the Citizens Council was questioned, Representative Buddie Newman retorted that the measure had been prepared by the president of the American Bar Association, John Satterfield. Two months after the Mississippi riots, Speaker Walter Sillers presented for an address to the House, General Edwin Walker, then under federal indictment, as "a great military hero who upholds the principles of states' rights and constitutional government." Walker "has been making speeches advocating the same things you and I stand for" and had gone to Oxford "in an effort to be helpful."

Statements from two legislators illustrate the power of the Citizens Council:

> It's hard for us sometimes to consider a bill on its merits, if there is any way Bill Simmons can attach an integration tag. For instance, a resolution was introduced in the House to urge a boycott of Memphis stores because some of them have desegregated. I knew it was ridiculous and would merely amuse North Mississippians who habitually shop in Memphis. The resolution came in the same week that four Negroes were fined in court for boycotting Clarksdale stores. Yet the hot eyes of Bill Simmons were watching. If we had voted against the resolution he would have branded us. So there we were, approving a boycott while a Mississippi court was convicting Negroes for doing what we lawmakers were advocating. It just didn't make sense.
>
> When the bill came up in the House to give cities and counties authority to make donations to the Citizens Councils, I thought it was unconstitutional. But I voted for it because if I had voted against the Councils, Bill Simmons would brand me as an integrationist.

To perpetuate itself the closed society must keep a firm control over what goes into the minds of its young people. Not that the alien influence of the national news media disturbs the mentality of tens of thousands of youngsters whose aspirations at an early age are focused on football stardom and beauty crowns, with baton twirling championships and band scholarships

for the less talented. The intellectually curious, on the other hand, may need to be persuaded to accept the virtues of the Mississippi way of life.

Having been brought up in the system, most teachers are either sympathetic with it or are adjusted to the healthy wisdom of not rocking the boat. Surprisingly enough, the State Department of Education has, over the years, retained a remarkable degree of sanity despite constant outside pressure, although in 1963 a veteran superintendent of education barely missed being ousted because of his professional relationship with the integrated National Education Association. In classroom teaching, at the University at least, there has been very little interference. But woe to the professor who forgets, as Robert Patterson ever so faintly points out, that while "he has a right to say what he thinks, he also has a responsibility to accept the results of what he says." The plain fact is that no forthright challenge of the society is tolerated for long and the repercussions from such are quick and sure. After awhile the sensitive, able, dedicated college teacher either leaves the profession or the state or takes out his frustrations in bird watching or administration.

The merging of ambition and adaptability may be found in a 1963 address of a highly placed educational administrator with a doctorate in history. The speaker praised the early colonists who came to America because of a desire for liberty and freedom, "but the liberals would have us believe otherwise." Our greatest danger today, he said, is the "poisoning of the American mind." Communists are highly successful in their manipulation of the race problem. Federal fiscal policy is dangerous to liberty for, "No man or nation can continue to spend more than he makes indefinitely." The Kennedy administration has discarded the Monroe Doctrine and, he concluded, had acted in the Cuban crisis because of its unpopularity over the Oxford incident. Another educator with a Ph. D. in history sponsors a pre-law club which recently resolved a hearty commendation of Barnett for "acting resolutely and courageously" in opposing federal encroachment and defending the basic right of Mississippi [white] citizens. The resolution framers may well be on their way to legislative glory without benefit of legal training, though it should be added that their mentor, failing to make the grade, has gone back to calling down God's blessings on gatherings of the Citizens Council.

In the spring of 1963 the state faced what a Barnett appointee to the Board of Trustees called "the greatest challenge to our way of life since Reconstruction." Three times Mississippi State University had won the Southeastern basketball championship and had foregone the pleasures of the NCAA tornament because of the "unwritten law." Now, the team having triumphed once again, the new and untried university president said it might participate. Representative Russell Fox was fearful lest the decision be interpreted "as a sign of weakness in our stand for segregation." Representative Walter Hester bemoaned the lack of judgment involved, suggesting, "It is no safer to mix with Negroes on the ball courts than in the classroom. Mississippi State has capitulated and is willing for Negroes to move into that school en masse." As a former State cheerleader, Senator Billy Mitts found it difficult to recover from such "a low blow." "I advocate a substantial decrease in the financial appropriations for every university of this great state that encourages integration." He added that only native sons should be trusted to occupy the college presidencies so as never again to risk "a similar tragedy of this sort." The Meridian Star sadly predicted integrated athletics and mixed "after game social affairs," -- "dear as the athletic prestige may be, our Southern way of life is infinitely more precious."

To meet the challenge Mississippians came out of the huddle with a pressure defense. The Jackson papers kept up a barrage of slanted news stories and editorials urging the Board to overrule President Colvard. A wire photograph of State's opponents, Loyola of Chicago, was blown up for the front page as the editor apologized with tongue in cheek to the University: "A study of the photo indicates strongly that only four of the five starters are Negroes." In its spellbound wrath the Daily News was somehow reduced to quoting the Clarion-Ledger. A temporary injunction was secured from Chancellor L. B. Porter against the Board whose vote (9-3 to send the team) was considered "contrary to public policy." In the meantime a cloak and dagger farce was begun and carried on for days with the coaches, athletic director, university president, trainer, first and second teams "disappearing," setting up decoy airplane flights, and dodging subpoenas from deputy sheriffs until, finally, a supreme court justice stayed the temporary injunction. In any case, the game was played, the low blow was struck, and whether Mississippi will recover only the future can tell.

Recover or not, Mississippi's honor was retrieved a couple of months later. Ole Miss band director Lyle Babcock announced the selection of new, non-Confederate uniforms and the decision to abandon the world's largest Confederate flag. A horrified student wrote Tom Ethridge, "I'm not ashamed but proud of the rebel nickname. It is one of the reasons I came to Ole Miss." In his Clarion-Ledger column, Ethridge capitalized his topic for the day: IS THE REBEL IMAGE EMBARRASSING? Evidently the governor did not think so, for he leaped into the fray with the assurance, "We're the Rebels and I don't think it can be over-emphasized. I had a pleasant talk with Mr. Babcock and understand there will no change in the color of the uniform. I think that the people would hate to see a change." The Ole Miss Mississippian headlined its story, "Ross Against Change." Successfully, it might have added.

The day will inevitably come when a handful of colored children, with a court order for admission in their hands, will walk into a grammar school somewhere in Mississippi. With every legal subterfuge out of the way, Mississippi will be faced with the alternative of complying with the will of the court or of closing the school. (Physical violence in such a moment of crisis will not alter the dilemma.) Although the legislature has the power to shut down the public schools (now delegated to the governor) and this has been advocated from one end of the state to the other by the likes of Commissioner of Public Welfare Fred Ross, it is doubtful that such an extreme course will be followed. Regardless, the time for decision is not far away, Mississippi being the last state left with complete public school segregation.

The anonymous publication of a pamphlet, distributed by the Citizens Council, which according to script pleaded neutrality, proposing the closing of the University and its reopening as a private school, raised a considerable outcry. "It is not necessary," said Representative Joe Wroten, "for the Legislature to dance the fiddlers' tune every time the Citizens Council calls for the next foolish medley of legislation." (In liberal Washington County Mr. Wroten was retired from office at the next election.) About the same time Vice-Chancellor Alton Bryant charged "nameless individuals" with creating incidents to force the closing of the University. The Mississippi Economic Council then and later urged that all schools be kept open, regardless of integration, and that their integrity, quality instruction standards, and full accreditation be maintained.

Aside from the fact that the Mississippi classroom teacher's salary is $2125 less than the national average, the greatest impetus to mediocre teaching, especially in the social sciences, may be the phrenetic concern with instructional materials by the Citizens Council, the American Legion and the patriotic ladies. A case in point was the withdrawal of a film called "The High Wall," donated to the state by the Anti-Defamation League and shown in Mississippi schools for more than six years. The Citizens Council interpreted the film as teaching "children to pity their prejudiced parents who did not enjoy the enriching experience of intermingling with persons of different racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds." At the end of the film, the Council was scandalized to find, "Americans and Poles walk arm-in-arm into the setting sun." An "alert state senator" sounded the alarm, a private showing was given Council and Sovereignty Commission officials who agreed "The High Wall" was "unfit for showing to Mississippi school children," and the menace was removed.

Since 1942 grammar and high school texts have been furnished by the state of Mississippi. According to law, the rating committees "shall be of competent, professionally trained educators in the fields in which text books are considered for adoption." In more than twenty years there has been no scandal attached to the selection of books in the state. But the casual observer, listening to the oratorical outbursts and reading the fuming reports of certain eccentric females of the Daughters of the American Revolution, might easily think otherwise. In 1962 the Mississippi Farm Bureau supported the good ladies by snorting that some texts did not teach "states' rights, racial integrity, free enterprise and Americanism."

The DAR works round the clock at rooting out undesirable books. Its bible is Brainwashing in the Schools and its high priest, E. Merrill Root, contributor to American Opinion, American Mercury, and Human Events. A professor of English, able to identify Jefferson with the Birch Society, fluoridation with communism, book-burning with Americanism, and to condemn out of hand Commager, Nevins, Lippmann, Curti, Bowers, Schlesinger, Sandburg and Stuart Chase, Root is no slouch at brainwashing himself. According to this "unimpeachable source as an expert in the field of subversion writing," U. S. history books were responsible for the disaffection in Communist prison camps, when as a matter of fact a high percentage of the American traitors never went to high school and 18 of 21 did not graduate. Root has the unique

distinction among those who see a fellow traveler in front of every history classroom that he has been hired by both the legislature and DAR in Mississippi.

The state DAR, somewhat frustrated in its efforts to purge about forty books from the school lists, went directly to the legislature. Predictably, the patriots were encouraged by the governor who came down hard for cleaning up the books "so that children can be truly informed of the southern way of life." The Daily News was concerned not only with the lack of attention given in the books to labor union "coercion upon management," but was sorely disturbed by the "oblique propaganda as 'gives evidence that Negro people have done much to develop themselves.'" Joe Wroten sadly acknowledged that "Mississippi is going down the road to thought control," but when the wholesale book-burning failed to materialize, a lady communist-and integrationist-hunter wailed that, "Patriotic Americans seem to have no voice. Our side is never heard." How strange for these zealots to complain about the increasing loss of personal freedoms because of dictatorship in Washington when they do their level best to circumscribe freedom of speech, thought and inquiry in their home communities.

The Daughters of the American Revolution are understandably unhappy when first graders are no longer exposed to "the story of the squirrel storing nuts [which] helped to make America a great nation populated by men and women steadfast in their ability to put into effect their early training for adult life." All but the headiest followers of Lord Keynes may look upon such a lamentwith a bit of sympathy. But listen to what the Citizens Council officially recommends for the third and fourth grades:

> God wanted the white people to live alone. And He wanted colored people to live alone. The white men built America for you. White men built the United States so they could make their rules. George Washington was a brave and honest white man. It is not easy to build a new country. The white men cut away big forests. The white man has always been kind to the Negro. We must keep things as God made them. We do not believe that God wants us to live together. Negro people like to live by themselves. They like to go to Negro doctors. They like to go to Negro schools. Negroes use their own bathrooms. They do not use the white people's bathroom. The Negro has his own part of town to live in. This is called our Southern Way of Life. Do you know that some people want the Negroes to live with the white people? These people want us to be unhappy. They say we must go to school together. They say we must swim together and use the bathrooms together. God has made us different. And God knows best. They want to make our country weak. Did you know that our country will grow weak if we mix the races? It will. White men worked hard to build our country. We want to keep it strong and free.

From the manual for the fifth and sixth grades:

> Our forefathers were willing to stand up to the enemy because their freedom meant very much to them. Our Constitution is a contract. The states gave the federal government in Washington, D. C. some powers. But they kept most of the power for themselves. No other part of the United States is more American than the South. America was built by white men. King George wanted his merchants to make money. So the Americans were made to buy the Negro slaves. Americans did not want slaves. Americans never did like slavery. They would like to have helped the Negro build his own country. The Negro is happy among his own race, but two races feel strange around each other. Russia has white slaves today.
>
> The Southern white man has always helped the Negro whenever he could. Sotherners were always their best friends. The South went to war to prevent the races from race-mixing. If God had wanted all men to be one color and to be alike, He would not have made the different races. One of the main lessons in the Old Testament of our Bible is that your race should be kept pure. God made different races and put them in different lands. He knew that races must live apart so they won't mix. He was satisfied with pure races so man should keep the races pure and be satisfied. BIRDS DO NOT MIX. CHICKENS DO NOT MIX. A friend had 100 white chickens and 100 reds. All the white chickens got to one side of the house, and all the red chickens got on the other side of the house. You probably feel the same way these chickens did whenever you are with people of a different race. God meant it to be that way.
>
> After the Civil War the Negroes moved off to themselves and the white people did the same thing. We knew every one would be happier just with his own race. Both Negro and white have been satisfied living apart from each other. The Negro is not just a sun-burned white man. You are probably surprised to learn a Negro is really different from a white man. Famous scientists say races are very different. The white man is very civilized, while the pure Negro in Africa is still living as a savage. Race-mixers want to change the Southern Way of Life. They do not let the truth about race be printed in the papers or in your books. Instead of telling you the truth, they tell you pretty stories about how much fun it would be to live together. Our government is forcing us to do things we know are not right. Who wants to dance with a boy or girl of another race? Could you enjoy a party where black and white children are mixed? The race-mixers even want Negroes and whites to date each other. White children can learn faster than Negroes can. When the races are mixed in school, the white children do not get as much education as they usually get. The whites have to wait for the Negroes to catch up.

Additional sections of the manual are introduced with such captions: YOU CAN'T BELIEVE RACE-MIXERS - GEORGE WASHINGTON WOULDN'T LIKE RACE-MIXERS - RACE-MIXERS HELP COMMUNISTS - MIXING THE RACES WILL MAKE AMERICA WEAK - GOD SEPARATED THE RACES - SEGREGATION IS CHRISTIAN - RACE-MIXERS DON'T WANT YOU TO KNOW ANYTHING - RACE-MIXERS MADE INDIA WEAK - WHITE PEOPLE BUILT GREECE - SOUTHERNERS WON'T LET RACE-MIXERS RUIN THEIR COUNTRY. With these tidbits for the tots in print, the Council discontinued its efforts in historical indoctrination, whether from the thought that the child must be saved before junior high school or because the writer of the new history had died from laughing at his own jokes, has never been disclosed.

Not that such shenanigans fail to pay off. In winning a Citizens Council

essay contest, a young high school student came up with these sentiments: "We in the South do not intend to obey men, however exalted their seats or black their robes and hearts. We intend to obey the laws of God and the laws of this country which are made in accordance with the Constitution. As long as we live, so long shall we be segregated." Where, oh where was our wandering scholar on the night of September 30?

Refresher courses for historically minded senior citizens were not neglected either. In the fall of 1957 the Council paper announced "The New Federalist," a Birch-like column designed to help the faltering return to the nationalism of Hamilton and Madison. Its message was that since World War I the country had been tricked into "doing something" for the world, surely a dilution of patriotism which had taken the United States "from one debauch of international participation to another."

> Modern political leaders have taken to feeding our people on the apertifs and aphrodisiacs of human greed. The wisdom that flows from truly representative government is too often replaced by political auctioneering. Personal freedoms of enterprise and individualism are traded away for what is now disgustingly called "security." It is an imposter-word which stands for the creature comforts and bodily desires supplied by the government - the full belly, the cozy quarters, the certified medicine, the loose credit for looser living, the license that turns into lawlessness.

The evidence seems to bear out the failure of "The New Federalist" to induce many Mississippians to embrace bodily austerity in place of the full belly, cozy quarters, or even loose living.

The big siege guns of the closed society were brought to bear on the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools when it placed the University of Mississippi on a kind of academic probation. Judge McGowan recommended that the "self-annointed" accrediting group be abolished by law and replaced by a state agency which "will more nearly meet the needs of the people and the students. Are we to be beaten to our knees by this so-called 'powerful' organization that vaulted up from nowhere and has thrown its weight with the equality cultists?" SACS had overlooked the fact that neither the governor nor the legislature, nor any other official "has ever interfered in any wise" with the University and should realize that all the trouble had been stirred up by the communists and the chieftains in the Democratic party. Association members "as well as the socialist professors they so zealously seek to protect,

are all living in cloistered ease in the cultural surroundings furnished by the taxpayers," and, surely, had never met a payroll.

Senator Eastland assailed SACS as a "group of little Caesars, a labor union to protect professors" who were "covering up Marxism in the colleges." The blackmailing organization was "lined up with liberals and Reds." A Clarksdale superintendent of schools took the occasion to charge college professors with being left-wing, off center, malajusted individuals who were undermining family, school and church. Governor-elect Wallace gave little indication of his later prowess with invection when he addressed the Mississippi legislature to denounce SACS as a "petty dictatorship" and the federals as scalawags and liars. But a Senate resolution, drawn up by McGowan, declaring its intent to ignore SACS' "bold, arrogant and unbecoming" threats was returned to committee by a close vote after Senator Jolly had pleaded, "Let's keep two-bit politics out of our schools." Sheriff Jonathan Edwards of Rankin County struck a wholesome note when he wondered what all the hubbub was about. The sometime school teacher and principal reminisced: "I was at Mississippi State College when Bilbo took charge of the schools and accreditation was withdrawn. But I never was refused a job nor have I lost a job because I graduated from Mississippi State."

In varying degrees of enthusiasm, the makers of the orthodoxy - the press, the clergy, businessmen, labor leaders, lawyers, judges, politicians, educators and patriots - had in critical moments rushed to the successful defense of their closed society.

The society of Mississippi has been almost absolute for too long, the orthodoxy too completely accepted, for any internal readjustment of significance to have taken place. On the other hand, large numbers of each generation, black and white, have protested with their feet, by leaving the state. Since 1940 Mississippi has lost two Congressmen (and would lose at least a couple more if the 14th amendment were enforced). In fact, ex-Mississippians today play a role similar to that once performed by migrants from poverty-stricken Scotland - to a surprising degree they have achieved positions of great eminence in all phases of American life. The only native to reach the pinnacle of

renown while remaining in the state was William Faulkner and he would have been gone if he had lived another year.

The primary motive for the exodus of the young people is unquestionably economic. A survey now being made at Mississippi State University indicates that while over a five year period only from 21% to 35% of the engineering graduates were able to find their first jobs within the state, 97% said they would have remained if job opportunities had been equal. Ninety-three percent denoted a desire to return, although that figure may have been influenced by potential employment with NASA. In any case a high degree of loyalty to the way of life is shown among engineers. During the same year 57.8% of the state's education graduates found first jobs in Mississippi. Negro teachers have a tendency to remain where they monopolize segregated positions even though the average Negro salary remains about $500 less than the white.

With economic opportunity elsewhere pulling young people from the state, it seems pertinent that the exiles are among the most ambitious, ablest, and most adaptable to change. Such constant attrition of potential leadership is generally regarded as one of Mississippi's great unsolved problems and must be a major cause for the state's unwillingness to give up her ancient folkways. Among the membership of the Southern Historical Association at least twenty-five native Mississippians, most of whom have done well and profess great affection for the state, are quite unwilling to go back under any circumstance. After the Ole Miss integration last fall the author received at least a hundred communications from former students living outside the state and their common sentiment was a willingness to do whatever was necessary to help - except return. It is my considered belief that for whatever reason Mississippi has been driving from its borders for more than a hundred years a substantial proportion of its brightest young people who might otherwise have played a leading part in bringing the state abreast of the times. The professor who sorrowfully departed from the University in the past year as his protest against the workings of the closed society was in effect banished from the community as surely as the sensitive youngster who, having had his eyes opened to the outside world by an inspiring teacher, decides that he too would prefer to live in that world. A tragic loss was Mississippi's most effective Congressman for twelve years who for reasons of his own, has not returned to his native Delta since his defeat seventeen months ago.

Though it is idle speculation, one can't help wondering to what degree

Mississippi's story would have been different if a sizeable number of those thousands of bright, perceptive natural leaders among the men and women who have been forced from the state had in some miraculous way found it possible to remain.

It doesn't take a genius to learn that while life in Mississippi can be languid and pleasant, certain hazards confront the dissenter who would disparage the local customs. Mississippi is deservedly famous for some aspects of its justice in and out of the courts, for an incredible past of police brutality, and for the sure harassment, even to death, of those who defy the code. The state still retains some of the frontier abandon and recklessness toward human life found by William Howard Russell who observed that casual Mississippi conversations had "a smack of manslaughter about them." Today the press has learned to be even less bothered about reporting brutality than shown by an unimportant news story in the Raymond Gazette on July 18, 1885: "Four negroes were lynched at Grenada last week; also one at Oxford."

Because segregation is the cornerstone of the society, the victim of the perverted use of legal processes is likely to be the Negro whose "lot did not change throughout the period" from Reconstruction to the New Deal. "No one thought of him save to hold him down. No one sought to improve him. Whether race baiters like Vardaman were in power, or whether 'respectable' politicians governed, he fared the same - no better, no worse. He was and is the neglected man in Mississippi, though not the forgotten man," said Professor Kirwan in 1951.

Twenty-two thousand Negro voters in the state in 1952 had dwindled in number to eight thousand by 1958. According to the president of the National Agricultural Workers Union, hundreds of Negroes had been forced to leave their jobs and homes due to threats of violence. On August 13, 1955 Negro Lemar Smith, who had been "messing around" in politics," was shot to death at mid day in front of a courthouse. Three whites, indicted for murder, were never brought to trial. Judge Brady gave the reason: no white man would testify against another for murder of a black man. Dr. T. R. M. Howard, founder of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, sold out his holdings in Mound Bayou and left the state, he said because of Citizens Council pressure. A young Negro doctor was run out of Indianola in 1957. Gus Courts, colored grocer in Belzoni, refusing to withdraw his name from voter registration rolls, was told by the local bank president that if he didn't back down, "we'll force you out of

business." Courts led twenty-two Negroes to the polls that fall (their votes were voided) and a couple of weeks later he was critically wounded. The sheriff professed irritation because the injured man had impeded his investigation by allowing himself to be driven 75 miles to a Mound Bayou hospital, but must have born up well when Courts moved to Chicago. In 1955 four Negroes were killed in Mississippi, with no conviction for murder.

In federal court Sheriff Edwards testified that he had indeed beaten D. M. Grim, Negro voter registration worker, in the Rankin County courthouse. He contended that Grim refused to move outside, impudently saying, "I got just as much right in there as you." "I hit him as many times as I could," admitted Edwards. "If he hadn't have run, I'd have kept on hitting him." As Grim recalled the scene, Edwards "came in and started hittin' me. Only think I did was try to get out of there. They grabbed me. The sheriff pulled me from behind, on my sweater. He backed me against the building. He was hitting me" There is no disagreement about the beating, and not a great deal about the cause and severity.

Stories of alleged brutality to those who risk their lives in voter registration drives must come as a surprise to Senator Eastland, who says, "All who are qualified to vote, both black and white, exercise the right of suffrage." On the contrary, Wiley Branton charged that Mississippi has thrown down the gauntlet to would-be Negro voters by "discriminatory practices of the registrars - by economic pressures, threats, coercion, physical violence and death." Branton began the LeFlore County drive in the summer of 1962. In September the supervisors abandoned their distribution of federal surplus foods. Three registration workers were fired on, one hit in the neck. Their headquarters were burned and the records destroyed. Another worker was wounded with a .45 caliber slug (thirteen bullet holes in his car), and two shotgun blasts were fired into the bedrooms of the home of a Negro whose son had applied for admission to the University. Barnett put the finger of blame on "hired outside agitators, as dangerous to the community as a loaded bomb resting in the street in the heart of a city. I am a strong advocate of local self government," he added. By this time the mayor of Greenwood was sure Negroes had set fire to their own headquarters. Anyway, he shrugged, the injury to the wounded man was minor, - "he was just in the hospital for a few days." People in the North should come "to see the wonderful race relations that

white and colored have" in Greenwood. (They saw some of it on televison.) Finally, the mayor and commissioners officially charged the Negro registration workers with shooting themselves.

On March 31, 1963 the Voter Registration Project of the Southern Regional Council released a chronological list of sixty-four acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes in Mississippi since January, 1961. The thirty page indictment of man's inhumanity to man, with its accusations of brutal whippings, shootings, murder, and outrageous debasement of the courts admittedly comes from an interested party (with a reputation for reliability) but is characterized by understatement rather than by flamboyance.

Some fifteen years ago a colored skilled craftsman, employed by the University of Mississippi, was indicted for attempted rape. For months he maintained his innocence but, with the court already in session, he dramatically changed his plea to guilty. The writer was present at a conference where the accused was told in positive terms that his family would be placed in great physical danger if he went to trial but that if he admitted his guilt he would be given a two year sentence and pardoned in twelve months. He <u>was</u> sentenced to the state penitentiary for three years, all of which he served, and when released he left the state. The author was also present at an informal hearing in mayor's court of a former University professor accused of drunken driving. The city attorney began the inquiry with these words: "Mr. Mayor, before we proceed with this trial, I think we ought to clear up the rumor that Professor _____ intends to sell his house to a nigger."

On the night of September 30, 1962 more than 150 marshals were wounded at the University and while hundreds of alleged rioters were captured, not one was ever convicted of any crime. Some were seen throwing Molotov cocktails at federal troops, one man was caught in possession of a .38 caliber rifle which the FBI testified had been used to fire repeatedly in the vicinity of the marshals, another was seen to hand a high-powered rifle to a hooligan who said he was going to use it against the federals, and still another was picked up by two campus policemen who told a grand jury that he was shooting out campus lights at one o'clock in the morning. During the eight hour seesaw battle, students from various colleges were rounded up by the scores but not more than a half dozen were even put on probation.

There is no desire here to recount the Emmett Till, Mack Parker or other Mississippi outrages against justice which have been so publicized throughout the world. But the author would like to examine in extremely brief compass a few cases he has looked into with some thoroughness.

For twelve years Eugene Cox and Dr. David Minter, both southerners, had worked closely together as manager and physician for some two hundred white and black families making up the Providence Cooperative 2700 acre farm near Tchula in Holmes County. On February 27, 1955 at a mass meeting called by leading members of the Citizens Council, Cox and Minter were ordered out of the community, mainly on the basis of evidence recorded in two hours of questioning by Council and county officials of four Negro boys accused of making obscene remarks about a white girl. Allegations of intermingling of the races at the farm were denied, though it was conceded freely that white and Negro patrons did attend together meetings of the credit union. Threats of violence were made against both men and their families and, his patients having been intimidated, Cox's medical practice fell off about fifty percent. An economic boycott was less effective. Professional segregationist Edwin White, who had helped make the original tape, said: "We just can't afford to have them up there teaching what they are teaching - which will lead to violence unless it is stopped." At a September meeting, Cox admitted his belief that segregation is un-Christian. A planter whose father had been a minister, spoke out, "This isn't a Christian meeting." Cox and Minter continued to deny all accusations and offered to make their records available for investigation. White commented: "I do not say these men are Communists, but I do say they are following the Communist line." With threats increasing, particularly to aged parents of the two men, Cox sat up, a rifle across his knees, from midnight to dawn for ten straight nights. Minter stuck it out until July, 1956. Cox left for Memphis a month later. They issued a joint farewell statement: "Only two members of our church wrote to us. A few others have voiced their faith in us, but above these small voices is the frightening SILENCE. It is frightening - not only for us, but for any Christian and American who may wake up some morning to find himself persecuted because of his beliefs, or for unfounded rumors and 'guilt by association.'"

Reverend Marsh Calloway, a segregationist who tried to face down the first mass meeting with its undemocratic procedure, was ousted eight days later by unanimous vote of his Presbyterian church in Durant.

In late 1954 Hazel Brannon Smith, Mississippi newspaperwoman for a quarter of a century, was found guilty of libel against the Holmes County sheriff for her account of his shooting a Negro. The $10,000 county court award was thrown out by the state supreme court. But trouble was just beginning for the crusading editor whose sins piled up to include a refusal to attack Eisenhower for his conduct in the Little Rock imbroglio, to condemn Coleman for his moderation, and to go along with the powerful local Citizens Council. Accused by Council workers of favoring integration and criticized for taking national awards from "communist-infiltrated" organizations, Hazel Smith had to fight for her economic existence and in 1958 saw a rival paper started by the same crowd that had persecuted Cox and Minter. Since then she has outscratched three editors in Lexington while publishing three other papers but her dogged struggle for survival has been grim indeed. Her magnificent courage may be found in a thousand editorials, such as: "Today we live in fear in Holmes County and in Mississippi. It hangs like a dark cloud over us, dominating every facet of public and private life. None speaks freely without being afraid of being misunderstood. Almost every man and woman is afraid to try to do anything to promote good will and harmony between the races, afraid he or she will be taken as a mixer, as an integrationist or worse, if there is anything worse by southern standards." The Advertiser had "recorded your triumphs and sorrows, the good and evil for 121 years and it will still be around to carry your obituary." In October, 1962 the editor of the rival sheet called on all citizens to refuse acceptance of the Smith paper which he considered a menace "dedicated to the destruction of those high principles which have motivated our state's resistance at Oxford." For once in his career, Jack Shearer was probably right.

In the somber Smith story there is occasional merriment. The director of the State Sovereignty Commission and one of his trusted investigators swore before the secretary of state that at 8:20 on the night of December 15, 1961, they had observed a meeting at 1072 Lynch Street, Jackson, the home of the Mississippi Free Press. In attendance were William L. Higgs, Hazel B. Smith, Mr. Smith, Medgar Evers and two or three other Negroes. Mrs. Smith was seen through a window in conversation with a Negro. The Smith car was parked nearby but "affiants were unable to verify the ownership due to the fact that a green tree, apparently a cedar Christmas tree, was in the trunk thereof

and was tied to the rear bumper over the tag, making identification difficult." The truth about all this super-sleuthing was that the Smiths printed the Free Press and were delivering that week's apapers on the night they were spied upon. In any case, the Citizens Councils mailed the Sovereignty Commission affadavit to the news media, all legislators, and the white citizens of Holmes County. Somewhat later Senator T. M. Williams of Lexington rose in all his dignity in the Mississippi upper chamber to announce that while Hazel Brannon Smith, once respected, was now "shrewd and scheming," neither he nor the Sovereignty Commission intended to prosecute. For what, he did not say.

One of the white men present in the Free Press office was the controversial Mr. Higgs. Native Mississippian and avowed integrationist, after graduation from Ole Miss and the Harvard Law School, where he specialized in federal procedure, Higgs had returned to Mississippi to engage in politics and the civil rights movement. He had originated a suit against the Sovereignty Commission, had represented several out-of-state ministers in legal action against the Jackson police, and had assisted in the Meredith case. Just before the New Year, 1963 and three hours after he had asked the federal court to force the enrollment of another Negro at the University, Higgs was arrested and charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Detective Chief M. B. Pierce emphatically denied that the arrest was connected with Higgs' civil rights activities. "Nobody can claim we framed him, because this was a Northern boy instead of a Southern boy," said Pierce. In February Higgs left Mississippi to receive an award from the New York Civil Liberties Union. He failed to return (saying that he feared for his life), was convicted in absentia by an all-white jury and was given the maximum sentence. In July, 1963, William L. Higgs was disbarred from further practice in the state of Mississippi because of his lack "of good moral character."

This is not quite the end of the story. Higgs is now in possession of a signed, sworn affadavit taken at the Juvenile Detention Home, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania on March 20, 1963 in the presence of Peter J. Franscino, chief juvenile probation officer, and his assistant, Charles H. Hitman. In the statement William McKinley Daywalt, the young boy in question, swears that during the whole time he knew Higgs there was nothing unnatural in their relations. Here is the pertinent part of the testimony:

Q. What else did the detective ask?
A. Did you ever have unnatural relations with him. He asked me if Mr. Higgs ever messed around me or used me as a girl. The first two times I said NO. Then they said they could put me up in reform school for four or five years on different charges. Then the detective asked me again what went on at night and about unnatural relations. THAT IS WHEN I TOLD THEM THAT HE HAD UNNATURAL RELATIONS.

Q. Why did you tell him that?
A. They kept saying that they would put me in reform school and that stuff.

Q. Why did you think if you said this they wouldn't put you in reform school?
A. For me living with Mr. Higgs I knew the police were trying to get him on something.

Q. Did they suggest to you in any way if you told this story things would go easier with you?
A. YES and again NO. They didn't come right out and say it. I had an idea and as it went on they starting feeding me good, chicken and all that stuff and taking me out for rides and stuff like that there. Then I started putting two and two together and found out they were using me to get something against Mr. Higgs.

When Meredith made his painful entry into Ole Miss, the "forgotten man" who had tried to break down the Mississippi education racial barrier without federal aid, was languishing in the state penitentiary, having been sentenced to a seven year term for stealing by proxy $25 worth of chicken feed. Much of the evidence points to the conclusion that Clyde Kennard was "framed" into Parchman, though no one seems to know who did it. Born in Hattiesburg, moved to Chicago at twelve, discharged from paratroop service in Korea and Germany in 1952, Kennard attended meritoriously the University of Chicago for three years. Upon the death of his step-father, he returned to Mississippi to help his mother run a chicken farm in Forrest County. For years he discussed with the president of Mississippi Southern University his possible admission on a voluntary basis. In 1958 he turned down Governor Coleman's offer of education outside the state but agreed to delay his formal application until after the 1959 Democratic primary. On September 15, he was officially refused admission in a fifteen minute interview witnessed by the chief investigator for the Sovereignty Commission. Within minutes Kennard was arrested for speeding, then fined for possession of liquor (probably planted) in his car. By 1961 when the Mississippi Supreme Court disposed of this summary justice, Kennard had been convicted as an accessory in the theft of three bags of chicken feed and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for each $3.57 worth of feed allegedly stolen. At most the penalty, assuming guilt, should have been ninety days. The illiterate colored boy who made the theft, if

there was one, continued in his job with the feed cooperative.

Though President McCain refused Kennard's application on specious claims of irregularities and questionable moral character and is alleged to have said that he could do more to "develop honesty, culture, and individual integrity as president of Mississippi Southern than he can in a silly martyrdom for one Negro," Kennard himself refused to believe that McCain "had anything to do with what happened to me," no doubt having in mind his various bouts with Mississippi justice. The subsequent career of Clyde Kennard is a sad one, including surgery for cancer at the University Hospital in Jackson in June, 1962, unconscionable treatment at Parchman where he was refused periodic check-ups recommended by University doctors, a rapid development of his malignancy, an eight hour operation in the Billings Hospital at the University of Chicago, and death in the early summer of 1963. Not long before he died, Kennard was planning to return to his chicken farm and to help, as he saw it, Mississippi coordinate her race relations. One of his last statements: "I still think there are a few white people of good will in the state and we have to do something to bring this out."

Of all the hypocrisy indulged in by those who help to perpetuate the closed society in connection with the gentle Kennard, some of the most insidious appeared in the January 28, 1963 column of Charles Hills: "Gov. Ross Barnett hastened admission of a negro convict suffering from cancer, into University Hospital here the other day. At the time, he reported he didn't know the man was in serious condition. That is true. Now, the case of Clyde Kennard, the negro who once tried to enter Mississippi Southern University, we understand that the man has not been neglected. Hugh Boren [assistant to Barnett] tells me that Supt. C. E. Breazeale and doctors at Parchman have been fully aware of and have been closely watching the Kennard case. Apparently, outsiders were more worried about Kennard than the authorities who actually knew the man's illness and were attending to it as appeared necessary. Boren says that the negro is not nearly so bad off, prison doctors think, as news stories have pictured."

Early in May, 1963 the home of Hartman Turnbow, voter registration leader in Holmes County, was fire-bombed with three Molotov cocktails (quart beer cans filled with gasoline) thrown into the living room and kitchen while the family slept. Turnbow asserted that some thirty shots were exchanged with the white assailants after which the fire was put out. While taking pictures

of the damage next morning, Robert Moses was arrested for "impeding an official investigation of the fire." Later Turnbow and Moses were bound to the Holmes County grand jury, charged with setting fire to the house in hopes of increasing racial tension in the Delta. Deputy Sheriff Andrew Smith said his investigation showed the fire was designed "to get the colored population excited," that it was unlikely no one would be wounded in the alleged exchange of shots and that the house would have burned more severly "if Turnbow had fought a gun-battle before extinguishing the blaze." The Clarion-Ledger's headline for the day: NEGRO SAYS HIS HOUSE WAS BOMBED.

The focal point of the furore enveloping the Reverend Edward Harrison, self-admitted "racial moderate" rector of Jackson's St. Andrews Episcopal Church, was a telegram he supposedly sent requesting a Texas clergyman not to speak before the "bigots" and "religious renegades" of the local Citizens Council. Before the Texas minister talked on "Why Integration is Anti-Christian," the forged telegram was read over a local television station and the whipped-up Council audience as well as all members of the legislature received photostatic copies of the message which included: "I urge you not to besmirch the good name of our beloved church by linking your name with the dying cause of white supremacy." A St. Andrews vestryman was promised but later denied time at the meeting for a brief statement from Harrison. President John Wright said he had changed his mind, having no reason to doubt the authenticity of the telegram. Though never publicly announced by the church, which obviously has different moral standards than the Council, the fake message had been concocted and sent by Elmore D. Greaves, unabashed intellectual and author of a noxious pamphlet called The Blackamoor of Oxford, as well as a chief planner for the last ditch resistance at the University. After four years in Mississippi, Mr. Harrison, winner of the Distinguished Service Cross in World War II, moved to another pastorate, out of the state. Later he wrote that while there never had been a lack of real support from many friends, "I felt that the very things I held dear for the future would be more readily accomplished by another Rector. The great disappointment was that persons of prominence who would give you to understand they never paid dues to the Citizens Council gave all the support the CC could hope for by their silence. When the pressure was on, there were the not-so-prominent, who could have been hurt economically and otherwise, who stood firm and courageous."

Another man of the cloth, The Reverend J. H. Germany, set aside a hundred and fifty of his five hundred acres near Philadelphia for the campus of Bay Ridge Christian College, an institution intended to train Negro ministers for the Church of God. The school was to have a two-story classroom building, an integrated faculty of five and thirty colored students. In the summer of 1960trouble began. A county grand jury investigated but "did not consider it advisable to set out the findings." Germany claimed the Citizens Council had put pressure on Attorney General Patterson, who refused a charter on the basis that it "would not be in the best interest of the state." Germany was beaten up several times. A UPI correspondent interviewed a businessman of Union, designated as the opposition leader. He knew nothing about the beatings. "But somebody down at the barbershop told me this afternoon that a brick wall fell on Germany." The chief of police added: "I don't have any news for you. I did not see anything." On August 22 a thousand people gathered in a Baptist church to resolve that the founders of the college were stirring up racial trouble for their own personal gain. One participant wanted "it definitely understood that this is no mob." Other groups at various times marched on Germany's home and demanded that "out-of-state Negro people" be sent away within forty-eight hours and the college disbanded. Unable to defend his people, Germany stated that "it has been made clear the Citizens Council will be free to act with violence and annihilate me." Shortly before the abandonment of the project, he was reported "resting comfortably under police protection" in the Meridian hospital.

When Negro Robert L. T. Smith announced his availability for Congress, his candidacy was treated as a joke. WJTV in Jackson offered him time for six television appearances but after his first program the others were cancelled. Neither station would do business with the minister who protested to the Federal Communications Commission. After some prodding, Fred Beard offered Smith time on WLBT, suggesting however that if he took it, "they" would blow up the station, shatter the plate glass and topple the broadcasting tower, and if the Negro actually appeared, the bodies of both Beard and Smith would be found floating in the Pearl River. Smith didn't scare easily, made speeches on both stations and no one got hurt. Mr. Smith didn't go to Washington but he did win the right to run.

The son of the Congressional aspirant owns a prosperous super-market. When asked for proof of harassment, he tossed on the desk a letter from his

insurance agency showing the actual cost($298.22) of replacing plate glass windows broken "by pistol shots" on the night of February 9-10, 1963, and paid by the American Insurance Company. The communication was addressed to "Robert L. T. Smith, 1253 Valley Street, Jackson, Miss." There was no "mister," in fact, there was no salutation at all. Smith hadn't noticed.

The most likely candidate in Mississippi for the next Medgar Evers treatment is the personable president of the state NAACP, Aaron Henry, one-time shoe-shine boy in the old Alcazar Hotel in Clarksdale and now owner of a drug store on Fourth Street. He walks the earth with the sure step and upright carriage of a younger edition of another Mississippian, Archie Moore, and he is not likely to be run out of Coahoma County. He doesn't know how many times the windows in his place of business have been smashed, but the last time, in March, 1963, he left for all to see the bricks, the broken glass, and the displays - one of the Declaration of Independence and the other of the Emancipation Proclamation. Obviously such a subversive citizen requires bold treatment and Henry has been the recipient of a fair amount of attention from his neighbors. In 1962 he was convicted of leading a boycott of Clarksdale stores (at the same moment the Mississippi House was calling for identical treatment of Memphis business houses) after it had been determined there would be no Negro float in the Christmas parade.

In March Henry was fined $500 and sentenced to six months in jail by an eighty-year-old justice of the peace for allegedly molesting a white hitch-hiker. According to the Daily News reporter, the Bolivar County attorney "during the final arguments, took the Mississippi statute and read to Judge Rowe the disturbing the peace law, explained it to him and told him the maximum sentence and fine." Before defining the sentence, the judge said, "The evidence shows this young man could not have described the interior of the defendant's car unless he was in it." There was no other witness.

When Henry accused the county attorney and police chief of plotting the charge against him, they countered with a libel suit in the Coahoma Circuit Court where the jury awarded them damages of $25,000 and $15,000. All of these cases are still in the higher courts. On March 13, 1963, Henry's living room picture window was demolished and his home set afire at two in the morning by gasoline bombs thrown by two young thugs who said they were "just having fun" and were not aware of being in the Negro section of town.

Not only did they admit the bombing but were heard by a filling station attendant planning the attack and commenting afterwards that Henry "was lucky to be alive." The first man tried was acquitted of arson by an all-white jury which deliberated for fifteen minutes and an identical charge against the other was dropped.

In May, 1963 the Henry drugstore was rocked by an explosion which ripped a hole in the roof. Sheriff Ross and Deputy State Fire Marshall Hopkins investigated and found that the blast "was caused by a bolt of lightning." Henry wrote, "I am not really sure as to the cause. The hole on top of the roof is much smaller than the rupture in the ceiling. The experts I have talked with contend that lightning does not act that way." It would appear that Henry is not only courageous but literate.

Thomas E. Johnson, ordained as a minister by the Southern Baptist Convention and later employed by the American Sunday School Union, moved to Canton, Mississippi in 1956 as a missionary among rural Negroes. His special project was starting Sunday Schools but he and his wife also distributed much free, used clothing (which they collected) and some food, as well as aiding in charity medical work. Johnson reported: "Some families have such low incomes that the smallest emergency would unbalance their budgets completely. Hungry children are no novelty. 'It's hard to hear a hungry baby cry hisself to sleep,' young mothers would often tell us." Marcella Johnson took a job as secretary to the dean at Tougaloo College. The three children were before long ostracized and when the oldest girl (11) required psychiatric treatment the family moved to Jackson.

In the meantime the missionary had joined the Mississippi Advisory Committee on Civil Rights. After an unduly heavy barrage of stones and eggs on Halloween night, 1962, Johnson took a neighbor into court for breaking the peace and upon his acquittal was himself convicted of perjury. As shown in the justice of peace trial record, Johnson interrogated ten witnesses who by their testimony indicated the climate of neighborhood feeling: "We don't want any nigger lovers." "Go back to Tougaloo." "Johnson should live with the blacks if he works with them." "We were all talking about getting the Johnsons out of the neighborhood." "Like to blow his house up. We can't do that." "We would like to do it without violence." "He had some niggers in his house Saturday." "Your white children went to church with colored people." "You belong to the NAACP." All of these rumors were demonstrably false (the

Johnsons had entertained two East Indians, at the request of the federal government) but the testimony also brought out that the unlettered conspirators had attended Citizens Council meetings, had met with President Wright, and had been trying "to get a fellow from the Citizens Council out here." They were enraged with investigations of violations of civil rights. Throughout the hearing, Johnson protested that he had come into the community as a missionary, had acted within the segregation pattern, and had not tried to change the rules.

In January, 1963 District Attorney William Waller dismissed the charges against Johnson, convinced that he had been unduly persecuted and that, in any case, a federal court would enjoin further prosecution. An eminent Mississippi attorney who went exhaustively into the record, wrote with some emotion: "If an instance such as this occurred to an American citizen in one of the Iron Curtain countries, all of us would rise up in righteous indignation. When it occurs right at our front door, we blithely turn our backs because the racial problem is involved."

In 1957 it was impossible to find a suitable person to serve as president of the newly-formed Mississippi Council on Human Relations. A highly respected woman consented to take the post but changed her mind when a bullet was put through her front door. The Council was inactive for more than four years. In the fall of 1961 it was reactivated by more than fifty people who appointed a committee to select a slate of officers, a president and three vice-presidents. In May, 1962 plans again went awry upon the discovery that three of the four prospective officials (all of whom had accepted) - a bishop, a rabbi, and a retired businessman - had been pressured into backing down. A. D. Beittel of Tougaloo College was then talked into assuming the presidency of the revived organization notwithstanding the assurance of the Jackson Citizens Council that it would "know how to deal with this threat to our community," which "could serve only to create undermining from within our peacefully segregated social structure." Despite enormous opposition, the Mississippi Council on Human Relations is still alive and functioning.

The Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights made, in January, 1963 a report on the administration of justice within the state. In a period of fourteen months it had held six open meetings in which a hundred or so Mississippians had testified, though "actively opposed by agents and instrumentalities of the State Government." The legislature in 1960 "passed an act," the Committee believed, "to intimidate persons

who might wish to assert their rights as citizens by altering the requirements of proof for prosecution of perjury solely in cases where the defendant has testified before this Committee."

In its published findings, the Committee declared that "in all important areas of citizenship, a Negro in Mississippi receives substantially less than his due consideration as an American and as a Mississippian. This denial extends from the time he is denied the right to be born in a non-segregated hospital, through his segregated and inferior school years and his productive years when jobs for which he can qualify are refused, to the day he dies and is laid to rest in a cemetery for Negroes only."

"We do believe that a pattern exists in our State that leads to the denial of Constitutional rights and, in some instances, to brutality and terror. From the moment a Negro adult is hailed as "boy" or "girl" by a police officer, through his arrest, detention, trial -- during which his Negro lawyer is treated with contemptuous familiarity by the judge and other officers of the court -- and eventual imprisonment, he is treated with a pernicious difference. This difference is incompatible with Christian ideals about the dignity of man and with principles of Anglo-Saxon criminal law." "Justice under law is not guaranteed for the Negro in Mississippi in the way that it is for the white man" "42.3% of the citizens of this State must either accept an inferior station in life and an attitude of servility or endanger themselves and their families by protesting. We find that terror hangs over the Negro in Mississippi and is an expectancy for those who refuse to accept their color as a badge of inferiority; and terrorism has no proper place in the American form of government." "In general the press is failing to meet its obligation to our society. The people of Mississippi are largely unaware of the extent of illegal official violence and the press is partly to blame." "When a State disregards a large segment of its population, the Federal Government is compelled to intervene in behalf of the victims."

Feeling that they had "a particular obligation to speak," twenty-eight young Methodist ministers issued by way of The Mississippi Methodist Advocate of January, 1963 a "Born of Conviction" statement which still has the state and the church in an uproar. They affirmed their belief in the freedom of the pulpit, the brotherhood of man, an unalterable opposition to the closing of the public schools, and an unflinching antagonism toward Communism. Within two weeks the Mississippi Association of Methodist Ministers and Laymen,

displaying more churchmanship than religion, had repudiated the "Born of Conviction" pastors, submitted their own "declaration of conscience on racial matters" (drawn up by Medford Evans and published in the January issue of The Citizen), and called for a secret referendum on whether or not Methodists wanted their church integrated. Later these conservatives declared integration a "crime against God." The lament of one of the young ministers, that "The power clique which dominates the conference has aligned itself with the Methodist Ministers and Laymen and with the Citizens Council," was corroborated by subsequent events.

With the inspired aid of the Satterfield-Wright-Evans sledge, the closed society battered the outspoken young preachers upon the anvil of public opinion. By summer ten had left the state, and at least half a dozen more were shifted to urban pulpits. A few reported only slight harassment but the vast majority was made to feel the displeasure of congregations and community. At least half volunteered the feeling that they were not sufficiently backed by their superintendents and their bishop. Methodists in general, with professional assistance, were reflecting an opinion that had driven from Mississippi sixty-eight seminary trained men since 1954. By a close vote, the conference "discontinued its connection" with Edwin King, crusading integrationist chaplain at Tougaloo College. Dr. W. B. Selah, for 18 years pastor of the largest Methodist congregation in the state, who had supported the "Born of Conviction" statement and had declared "there can be no color bar in a Christian church," resigned in protest when five Negroes were refused admission to his church.

Here is a fair sample of quotations from letters received from nineteen of the twenty-eight ministers: "It is tragic that hate, not love, ignorance not reason, insanity not sanity, both rule and populate our state." "I see many reasons for optimism in 1963." "A few 'quiet' meetings and some hurt feelings comprise the extent of our situation." "A CC member strode into my office, newspaper in hand, and said, "You've messed yourself up good, boy." "In Mississippi a Christian minister is free only as long as he is willing to run and bay with the pack." "The only pressures have been very subtle, intangible ones that are not subject to measurement." "I never had freedom of the pulpit except in so far as I avoided mention of Race." "The main expressions were that if everyone would leave these problems alone they would soon die away." "I do not think it will hurt my church." "The boycott against

the church was used as to attendance and support." "Today the church is stronger than ever." One minister, writing in June, had not answered a January inquiry because "at that time I was trying to stay in Mississippi and I knew that any correspondence with you would not enhance my position." Perhaps most revealing of all:

> Pressure was begun in my case when I taught for a week in a local school before the riot. I denounced the numerous intentions toward Mr. Meredith and nearly lost my parish then. It blew over but when the statement was signed it caught me by surprise that people could react so violently. A meeting was held but I got to the leaders first and thought I had it squashed and no action was taken. During my absence one Sunday a man dropped by the parsonage and was so vocally abusive to my wife that it resulted in her being hospitalized and if that was not enough, another "gentleman of the old south" went to the hospital and took fiendish delight in doing the same, resulting in her continuation in the hospital unable to retain food on her stomach from sheer terror (she is from another southern state, not deep South, but free.)
>
> Even still I felt that the thing would blow over but the following Friday night due to the hard work of several hate spreaders a secret meeting was held, called by the immediate superior of the church but I found out and went anyway, much to all's consternation. I have never been in such a vicious group in my life. First they tried heaping vile on me - nigger lover, your wife and a nigger, taunts of "get him a nigger church" and "bet his son marries a nigger," etc. I smiled, then followed the - you were probably duped phase of the meeting. "We know that all the rest of the men are nuts and you were innocently dragged in." Then I was offered the opportunity of a public, later to be published, recantation, with strong emphasis on the fact that I would lose my home and job if I did not follow. I looked them in the eye and flatly refused. Then a vote was allowed by the church official contrary to the policy of the church and I was fired and strongly urged never to show my face in that pulpit again. At present I am living at home and have a very uncertain future in this state, which does not bother me in the least as 53 young men have left the Mississippi conference in the last three years and so can I.

The University of Mississippi has had its moments of greatness, its faculty and administrators of integrity and virtue, and a long history of genteel poverty. In the presidency of Alfred B. Butts (1935-1946) Ole Miss began a precarious climb from the depths of depression despair and the shame of the Bilbo spoliation. For at least a decade after World War II, under the leadership of Chancellor John D. Williams, the University seemed on the verge of living up to the dreams and hopes of its founders and directors of exactly a century before. A tremendous building program on the already beautiful, wooded campus, an expansion of libraries and laboratories, the addition of new departments, and, most exciting of all, the gathering together of an excellent faculty dedicated to good teaching and fruitful research, all of these developments and more were taking place. The new chancellor was adept not only at

selling the University to the people but in making it an integral part of many schemes designed to raise the horizons of a long submerged society. It was good to be alive in those days and if some croaker mentioned the abnormal concern of the chairman of the Board of Trustees for the expansion of Hemingway Stadium, the answer quickly came that he was equally solicitous for the new library. The dean discussed calmly with the Board the possibility of seeking out a couple of likely Negro prospective law students in order to avoid court costs and setting up a separate school. Thurman Arnold, Jacob Potofsky, Hodding Carter, and Felix Frankfurter appeared on the campus without any great hue and cry. When a few professors were charged in the legislature with communist leanings, only the McCarthyites paid much attention.

It was increasingly evident in the middle fifties, however, that changes were taking place in the state that would adversely effect the University. In a series of crises from Kershaw (1955) to Kerciu (1963), the administration became more and more appeasement minded, more and more involved, like a woman constantly professing her virtue, in presenting to the state the Ole Miss image as if it were a bar of soap. "Quality, Integrity, and Progress" somehow became the motto of the University, to be stamped on all official mail, captive audiences at football games were saturated with saccharine reports on the greatness of the various colleges, and as late as the spring of 1963 an appeal to alumni for gifts still harped on the University's "academic greatness. . . an outstanding faculty which possesses a much higher percentage of Ph. D.'s than the national average." The national average of what was left up to the imagination of the reader while the alumni were praised for their "desire to enhance the Ole Miss image as a truly great University."

More serious was a 1955 edict of the Board of Trustees requiring the screening of all speakers brought to the campus, a ruling steadfastly opposed by the chancellor at its inception but stoutly defended some years later when he refused even to pass along to the Board a petition of the AAUP calling for an end to the screening. A clergyman was turned away from Religious Emphasis Week when it became known that he had contributed to the NAACP, and the incoming president of the Southern Historical Association was paid his full fee for not delivering a history lecture because his wife had written in the Saturday Evening Post of her experiences with Negro students in Atlanta.

It may be argued, with considerable reason, that the handling of absurd charges of apostasy and subversion against fourteen members of the University community was brought off expeditiously and with a flair for public relations. (Historians may be amused at the formal accusations leveled at a professor of history by an alumnus whose college training included a total of six hours in history, with grades of C and D: The teacher (1) chaired a meeting where Faulkner denounced the South for its stand on segregation; (2) stated that Mississippi was a backward state; (3) "loves labor unions and curses the South for the War of Independence," (4) asserted that southern generals were "mumsculls" and the "scum of the earth," (5) stated in class, "I am a socialist and don't give a damn who knows it." (6) admitted he was an integrationist; and (7) went to Vanderbilt, "well known for its integration sentiments." Faculty members involved in this tempest which was kept going in the press for almost a year, were asked to remain silent (which most of them did) while the chancellor affirmed his belief in the Bible, an omnipotent God, immortality of the soul, state sovereignty, segregation, and the rights of private property. In August, 1959, the Board dismissed the allegations against the chancellor and the faculty and stated its policy that "there should prevail at our universities and colleges an atmosphere of freedom in their research, teaching programs and services and that there should be no political or subversive propagandizing in the academic program." No attempt had been made to educate the general public in the basic necessity for freedom of inquiry and expression in the public schools. University officials and enlightened members of the Board of Trustees well knew that such would not be received tolerantly in the closed society.

In the past year or so the University of Mississippi has desperately needed the help of all those interested in its welfare but these friends have been constantly told that things were under control, the situation was returning to normal, enrollment was holding up in great style, just a few professors were pulling out. The resignation of Dean Farley was to be announced at the most propitious public relations moment, when it might also be asserted that the Law School and many departmental faculties for the next year would be stronger than ever, etc., etc. In a state where higher education is expendable, this bowing before and in fact anticipating every wind may have had a soothing effect on the legislature but it also indicated a chronic inability to face reality. After all, General Ulysses S. Grant has been the only man in history to make a definite decision <u>not</u> to destroy the University.

In March, 1961, Billy Barton charged that the Sovereignty Commission and the governor had tried to block his election as editor of the Mississippian by sending to the University a "confidential" report that Barton had participated in Atlanta sit-ins, was a "left-winger" integrationist who was "very dangerous," and that he had been planted on the campus by the NAACP. The director of the commission had indeed been responsible for the "confidential report" which, it appeared, had come to him on Citizens Council stationery signed "Bill." Governor Barnett advised Barton that the rumors had originated on the campus, not in his office, and when confronted with documentary evidence, lapsed into silence. The Jackson Daily News acknowledged that "the Sovereignty Commission and the Citizens Council have pulled a boo-boo."

The case of William P. Murphy, professor of law (1953-62) shows what the closed society can do to an able and innocent man. Within six weeks of the Brown decision, Murphy proposed to the Mississippi Legal Educational Advisory Committee, through Dean Farley, a plan under which implementation of the decision would be left initially to the states. He asserted, however, that "it will and should be effectuated," and stated that "the adoption of legal subterfuges in the long run will be of no avail." (About the same time Farley told the Municipal Association that Mississippi could not "outsmart the Supreme Court.") In rebuttal to the Murphy proposal, which was highly commended by most southern senators, William J. Simmons wrote the Clarion-Ledger that the 14th amendment was illegal, that "nine New Deal partisans" had perverted the Constitution, and that the federal government had been captured by the NAACP, New Dealers, Fellow Travelers and other left wingers." Murphy and Farley were "racial amalgamationists." So the battle line was drawn.

In a 1957 book review for the Mississippi Law Journal Murphy declared interposition to be nonsense and state sovereignty a "baseless cause." Then in 1958 came the Hooker-White charges of atheism, apostasy, communism, integration, and subversion. It would seem that Murphy had not been objective in his teaching of constitutional law, that he had not presented "the view and arguments of the South and the majority in Mississippi." In the meantime Murphy had joined the American Civil Liberties Union, clearing it, he said, with the chancellor's closest adviser who subsequently advised certain Board members that the ACLU had been listed by the House Unamerican Activities Committee, which in fact it never had. In any case, in 1960 the state senate adopted a rider to an appropriation bill prohibiting the payment of funds to members

of the ACLU, the NAACP, and the Communist party. Senator Lee asked the legislature to "respectfully and militantly" request that Murphy be fired. The law professor replied (an unpardonable but to some of the shackled at the University, a heroic act) in a statement to the press that he would not "tailor my teaching to satisfy any cult of crackpots, fanatics and wilful ignoramuses."

In 1960-61 the controversial Murphy taught at the University of Kentucky, in 1961-62 at the University of Missouri; his first leave of absence had nothing to do with the Mississippi excitement, the second came because of it. In February, 1961 the Barnett appointees on the Board made an effort to end Murphy's contract, and when Farley recommended Murphy for summer teaching, certain alumni suggested they both resign "for the good of the school." The law faculty backed Murphy solidly and the chancellor and the provost initially advised him "that no clearer case of an attempted denial of academic freedom was likely ever to arise and that they were prepared to marshal support and fight for my appointment." By March the chancellor thought it might be in Murphy's best interest to resign. In May the provost telephoned him that the Board (whose action he called "unprincipled") had approved the summer contract with the proviso that Murphy not be allowed to teach. No action had been taken on his appointment for the following year. Murphy had become a symbol to a small but powerful group of segregationists including six members of the Board now committed "beyond persuasion by facts and arguments."

In July, 1961 the chairman refused to present a law faculty petition to the Board protesting the ugly situation. According to a Murphy memorandum, the provost "said that Dugas Shands is reported to be upset over the possibility that the Board might fire me for being an integrationist on the theory it would prejudice his legal claim that Meredith's application was not rejected because of race." In the meantime, Farley had talked with his old classmate. He "reported that Governor Barnett apparently had never heard of academic tenure and that he seemed surprised that the law school might be disaccredited if I was fired. He was also surprised that Dean Farley would report the matter to the accrediting agencies."

While at Missouri that fall, Murphy inquired as to his tenure inasmuch as all other law professors had received letters confirming theirs. Six weeks later he wrote the provost again. On December 1, 1961 the chancellor answered: "Dean Farley's recommendation has not been endorsed by the Provost. Moreover, I wish to make it clear that even if the Provost should decide to add his

endorsement at this time and forward the recommendation to me, I would not approve it. In brief, your appointment has not been and will not be established on a tenure basis." On December 9, Murphy wrote the chancellor, "Your present denial is at complete variance with the position you took at our meeting last April." He would like to have an explanation of the change and to know about his appointment for 1962-63. There was no further correspondence and Murphy resigned in March, 1962 to accept a permanent appointment at Missouri. In slight anticlimax he did teach in the summer of 1962 because the Board feared disaccreditation. The Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure of the American Association of Law Schools stated in December, 1962 that "the University of Mississippi administration and its governing board persisted in violating Professor Murphy's rights."

Robert J. Farley would reach the retirement age of sixty-five in December, 1963. Assuming good health, a retiring dean normally continues on the faculty until seventy, on a year-by-year arrangement. In the spring of 1963 the chancellor advised Farley that in his opinion appointment by the Board on any basis after his retirement was unlikely. Gentleman that he was, Farley went quietly. About the first of June he resigned because, as he told a friend, he didn't want the law school involved in further controversy and because of the need for "my own economic self-preservation."

Farley had enriched the Law School academically and physically, had by the force of his own remarkable personality saved its accreditation. Of pioneer Mississippi stock, with a grandfather in the first law class of 1854 and two grandfathers killed in action in the Civil War, with his own father a former dean of the Law School, this giant of a man had given up a career of distinction at Tulane University to return to Mississippi at a sacrifice of several thousand dollars in yearly salary. Largely because he had insisted that even Mississippi could not forever defy the Supreme Court, he had been brought down by a snarling pack of jackals who abound in the land of orthodoxy. His departure clearly demonstrated that the call of the chancellor in the Kershaw case to discover the right ditch to die in (a cause worthy enough to sacrifice one's life for) was no more than a whimsical illusion. The chancellor too was the victim, though a less honorable one, of the closed society.

Almost exactly eighteen months after he had first written to the registrar, James Howard Meredith, the "man with a mission and with a nervous stomach," was on June 26, 1962, ordered admitted to the University of Mississippi. Speaking for the Fifth Circuit Court in New Orleans Judge John Minor Wisdom announced that "A full review of the record leads the Court inescapably to the conclusion that from the moment the defendants discovered Meredith was a Negro they engaged in a carefully calculated campaign of delay, harassment, and masterly inactivity. It was a defense designed to discourage and defeat by evasion tactics which would have been a credit to Quintus Fabius Maximus."

Tartly reprimanding Judge Sidney Mize of the U. S. District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi for "continuances of doubtful propriety and unreasonably long delays," Judge Wisdom viewed the case as one "tried below and argued here in the eerie atmosphere of never-never land." He might have added, "of the closed society." The contention of the Board of Trustees and of University officials, accepted as fact by Judge Mize, "that the University is not a racially segregated institution," and that "the state has no policy of segregation" "defies history and common knowledge." There was nothing in the case "reaching the dignity of proof" to make the court think otherwise.

The University refusal to accept credits from Jackson State College "demonstrates a conscious pattern of unlawful discrimination." In any case, it was indefensible to ignore Meredith's credits from Maryland, Kansas, and Washburn which would have entitled him to admission as a sophomore. (One evidence of professed bad faith was Meredith's failure to mention Wayne University in the list of all colleges attended. He had gone to Wayne for two weeks.) Judge Wisdom noted that the assertion of Meredith's alleged "false swearing" in making application to vote in Hinds County was not only frivolous but had been thrown out by Judge Mize "since these facts were not known to the Registrar at the time the application was made." "The defendants are scraping the bottom of the barrel in asserting that the University should not now admit Meredith because he is a bad character risk. The defendants fail the test. There are none so blind as those that will not see. We find that James Meredith's application for transfer to the University of Mississippi was turned down solely because he was a Negro."

Members of the Board of Trustees of the Institutions of Higher Learning are political appointees and may at times be expected to act as such.

University administrators, on the other hand, are professional educators who in matters of high policy concerning non-academic affairs act only as agents of the Board. Many members of the faculty expressed dismay when Ole Miss officials made uncalled for affirmations which the court deemed frivolous and "in the teeth of statutes," followed "a determined policy of discrimination by harassment," and assigned as a reason for rejecting Meredith "a trumped-up excuse without any basis except to discriminate." They were hard put to comprehend why an administrator would deny that "he understands and interprets the policy of the State of Mississippi as being that negroes and whites are educated in separate institutions of higher learning." More than a hundred years ago Chancellor Barnard declared that the University's destiny was "to stamp upon the intellectual character of Mississippi the impress it is to wear. . ."

The pertinent Meredith chronology after the June 25, 1962 5th Court decision is as follows:

July 17, 27, August 4: 5th Court orders District Court to issue injunction requested by Meredith. (4 successive stays by Judge Ben Cameron)

September 4: Board reserves decision on Meredith to itself.

September 10: Justice Hugo Black issues injunction against interference with mandate of 5th Court.

September 13: Judge Mize issues sweeping injunction against Board and University officials.

September 13: Governor Barnett reads interposition proclamation.

September 19: Chancellor L. B. Porter, Jones County, issues injunction prohibiting admission of Meredith.

September 20: Registration of new students at University.

September 20: Meredith found guilty in absentia in Justice of Peace Court, Hinds County, of false registration, fined $100 and costs, sentenced to one year in Hinds County jail.

September 20: Senate Bill 1501 passes legislature, prohibiting person guilty of criminal offense or charged with moral turpitude from enrolling in state institution of higher learning.

September 20: Barnett appointed registrar. Rejects Meredith at University.

September 20: 5th Court restrains arrest of Meredith and any person enrolling Meredith.

September 21: University officials cleared of civil contempt by Judge Mize.

September 22: In 5th Court, Board and University officials agree to register Meredith.

September 25: Board rescinds appointment of Barnett as registrar, orders Meredith registered.

September 25: Barnett stops Meredith in Jackson.

September 26: Lt. Governor Johnson stops Meredith in Oxford.

September 28: Meredith turns back from within 30 miles of Oxford.

September 29: Ole Miss versus Kentucky in Jackson

September 30: Meredith arrives on campus. Insurrection.

October 1: Meredith registered at University.

October 1: U. S. Supreme Court formally refuses to review June 25 decision of 5th Court.

From September 13 when Mississippi's long court battle against Meredith reached "the end of the road" in Judge Mize's sweeping injunction and Governor Barnett read his antiquarian interposition proclamation, it was evident to all that the showdown was imminent. In those last hectic days the "power structure" of the state made a rather impressive attempt to control the Barnett juggernaut but it was too late and the people were largely unaware of the effort. Moderate statements by Oxford ministers appeared in the Memphis but not the Jackson papers which thundered about taking note "of those who stand with courage in an hour of crisis." The closed society was operating efficiently and almost automatically, as it does in times of great stress, as if directed by some Frankenstein on a rampage.

On the Ole Miss campus was circulated a broadside, The Liberty Bulletin, urging students to "Place yourself under the direction of Gov. Barnett. Do not engage yourself in force or violence unless he calls for it. . . do not permit yourself to be intimidated by any leftist school administrator." Hills reported that "the governor will watch with a jaundiced eye any attempt to apply punitive action against Mississippi's patriots. College presidents are standing ready to fight alongside the governor, or else." "The match is in the Kennedys hands. We have been convicted without trial and punished without justification. The state of Mississippi is wholly blamed by the very oppressors who stir up our problems in the hope of creating a negro nation."

In the upper house on September 25, Senator E. K. Collins arose to remark: "We must win this fight regardless of the cost in time, effort, money and in human lives." Senator Hayden Campbell thought "they would have to open the doors to murder and rape." Senator Hilbun barked that "these are the same people who won't let our children pray in school." The Clarion-Ledger joked uneasily: "You can get a law passed in the halls of the New Capitol at the drop of a hat. Of course, the federal courts can nullify them and will, at coffee break." In Washington, Eastland was sure that the next few days would "determine whether a judicial tyranny as black and hideous as any in history exists in the United States."

On Thursday, the 27th, the Clarion-Ledger took an unusual glance at history. David had "interposed" himself between his people and Goliath. Horatius had "interposed" himself between his people and Xerxes. "And Ross Barnett has 'interposed' himself between his people and the cheap effort of the Kennedy crowd to force the deep South to pay his political debts to the Northern Negro." Music for Mississippi's new battle cry, the "Never, No Never Song," was printed in the Daily News with the suggestion that it be clipped and taken to the Ole Miss-Kentucky football game.

> Never, Never, Never, Never, No-o-o Never Never Never
> We will not yield an inch of any field
> Fix us another toddy, ain't yieldin' to no-body
> Ross's standin' like Gibraltar, he shall never falter
> Ask us what we say, it's to hell with Bobby K
> Never shall our emblem go from Colonel Reb to Old Black Jo.

That same day the Clarion-Ledger carried a sensational headline to the effect that a "gunbattle" was possible at the University. Representative Walter Hester told the UPI it was "likely" that state officials would attempt to fight off the marshals if they tried to enroll Meredith but he did not prophesy an all-out insurrection. The situation was "extremely tense and there are some people who don't mind dying for an honorable cause." Either Senator McLaurin or Senator Yarbrough told Senator Flavous Lambert that "they were going to provoke the Kennedys into sending troops into Mississippi." Months later, Attorney General Patterson called McLaurin, the "CC & Co." "a little band of would-be ruthless dictators seeking to promote all-out riot and bloodshed on the campus by encouraging the people of Mississippi to pick up their rifles, shotguns and slingshots and go to fight it out with the armed forces of the United States." This could result only "in bloodshed, death, destruction and heartaches."

Barnett talked about jailing any federal officer attempting to arrest a state official. The Daily News was accused by the campus paper, the Mississippian, of distortion, fabrication, "screaming and sensational stories." On the day of the football game the hysteria whipped up in Jackson was unbelievable. The press and radio added their bluster to the normal uproar of a conference game. At the half-time ceremonies that night when he still might have turned the populace aside from its madness, the governor achieved his greatest triumph of oratorical lunacy: "I love Mississippi! I love her people! I love her customs!" Understandably, the man was overcome by his own hoarse

eloquence and the reasonless, incoherent, delirious response. He could not go on. The people were bewildered. Television carried the infection statewide and General Walker was on his way to Oxford.

The propaganda machine never faltered. The next day, the Sunday that began so peacefully, a joint legislative committee pronounced nine frivolous reasons for denying Meredith admission and cunningly announced that his registration would jeapordize the accreditation of the University to the point of expulsion from the Southern Association. In the afternoon and early evening, weary students were driving back to the campus, listening to their blaring radios tuned to the appeals of the Citizens Council to "form a human wall around the mansion" to protect the governor from arrest by federal marshals. Thousand of citizens swarmed the streets of Jackson. Few knew that the governor, the "living symbol of lawlessness," had already sold out his closest advisers. Word came that plane loads of marshals had been flown out of Memphis. For some time their destination was in doubt. Unknown to most Mississippians, Meredith was, before supper, unpacking his bag in his room in Baxter Hall.

The candid observer must conclude that while President Kennedy may have made incidental errors in his effort to get Mississippians to abide by federal court decisions, his overall approach to a delicate problem was one of great understanding, patience and calm perseverance. When Mississippi officials blocked by physical might on four separate occasions the court-ordered enrollment of James Meredith in the University and the Fifth Circuit Court wearily acknowledged it had come to the end of its resources, the President was faced with the alternative of the acceptance of the breakdown of law or the employment of force. The admission of Meredith was not negotiable. Kennedy performed his constitutional obligation in the spirit George Washington had exhibited in the Whiskey Rebellion. Having learned the apparent lesson of Little Rock, he insisted upon the use of civilian federal marshals rather than the bayonet-wielding paratroopers called up by former President Eisenhower. Certainly there had been no stated objection to marshals accompanying Meredith on those expeditions when they had been overawed with superior state power. Whatever deals he may have made with the governor behind the scenes, the President gently and eloquently appealed to the patriotism and sense of sportsmanship of Mississippi citizens to help them see the necessity of their obeying unpopular court decrees. But General Walker having called for ten thousand volunteers to go to the aid of Barnett and it being known that hundreds and

perhaps untold thousands were converging on Oxford, it would have been a serious evasion of responsibility for the Army high command not to have prepared for real emergency. Thousands of troops were moved to Memphis. The President earnestly hoped that the job could be done by civilians and the United States Army was not ordered in until it became evident that the marshals were fighting for their very lives, and its first contingent arrived just in time to prevent a major disaster.

From the arrival of the marshals at the Lyceum Building shortly before five o'clock until the firing of the tear gas at eight, it became increasingly apparent that there was a serious lack of liaison between federal and state officials on the scene. At six the chancellor (at this time not much more than a spectator himself) believed the game had been arranged and would have to be played out and the gathering students and faculty were so informed. By seven all observers knew that for whatever reason the Mississippi Highway Patrol had abandoned its enforcement of law and order and was, in fact, in some cases, encouraging the restless crowd to demonstrate against the marshals. Between seven-thirty and eight one professor noted eleven acts of violence against new photographers, faculty, army personnel and equipment, and of course the marshals. Twice these agents of the federal government donned their masks as the crowd closed in. The campus chief of police and four highway patrolmen had moved back a portion of the surly crowd (which promptly surged forward again when the officers left that part of the scene) and were achieving some little success in front of the Lyceum Building when the marshals opened fire with gas and drove what almost instantly became a howling mob back to the Confederate monument. Whether Chief Marshal McShane was justified in giving the order, "Fire," at precisely the moment he did is a question for the professionals to determine. It is relevant, however, that between forty and fifty faculty members and their wives later testified that the marshals had undergone for at least an hour a constant harassment of obscene language and a minute-by-minute heavier barrage of lighted cigarette butts, stones, bottles, pieces of pipe, and even acid. It is really a small matter whether the gas should have come fifteen minutes earlier or later, but rather ironic that a full scale insurrection should get underway at the exact moment the President was appealing to Mississippians for fair play in the name of Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar.

It has been called the most explosive federal-state clash since the Civil War, a tragic insurrection against the forces of the United States on the night of September 30, 1962. Before the work was done the Army brought more troops to Mississippi than General Washington had ever commanded at one time and almost as many as General Sherman had in the environs of Oxford exactly one hundred years before. Several hundred reporters from all news and interpretative media concentrated on the Mississippi campus to ferret out the facts about what actually had taken place and to inquire into the background for the state's turmoil. By and large the reportage was accurate and the interpretation sound and temperate. Those who have wished to know have had spread before them a reasonably trustworthy record of events.

This is true for all the world except Mississippi. With its long history of being on the defensive against outside criticism and a predisposition to believe their own leaders could do no wrong, the people have been almost completely sold on what may prove to them the most gigantic hoax of the decade. For anyone with an interest in history and also a deep concern for Mississippi and the United States, it was a great privilege to watch and study the approach, the event, and the aftermath. To put it simply, the closed society almost intuitively and immediately projected (in fact, it had foreshadowed) the orthodox version that the riot came as the inevitable result of federal encroachment, deliberately planned by the Kennedys and callously incited by McShane when he called for the tear gas. What did happen in front of the Lyceum Building in that crucial hour before eight o'clock on the night of September 30? Truth cries out that the orthodox view is false, that cleverness in shifting the culpability for defiance of law from those creating the violence to those enforcing the law could only succeed among a people suffering from a touch of paranoia.

The genesis of the deception which shifted the blame for the insurrection from Mississippians to federal officials came from the University administration attempting, perhaps, to justify its own conduct and still trying to appease the political powers in Jackson and Washington. Regardless of motivation, a singularly inaccurate story blaming the "trigger-happy, amateurish, incompetent" marshals and suggesting examples of diabolical brutality toward male and female students was in the hands of Barnett and Eastland within an hour or so of the firing of the gas. These opportunists took up and grossly exaggerated the cry and called for state and federal investigations. Within thirty hours

David Lawrence was to devote his whole column to the "official" view of the University. Long after it was made abundantly clear that a large minority of the faculty and their wives had witnessed the inception of the riot and knew for a certainty about the fraud against the federal government, the administration, as far as can be determined, did not deviate from its original position but, on the contrary, continued to dig up evidence condemning the marshals.

On the morning of October 1st, shortly after the mayor of Oxford turned to U. S. soldiers to save the town from rioters once he had been refused help by the Highway Patrol, Governor Barnett ordered the Mississippi flag at half mast because "there had been an invasion of our state resulting in blood." The riot, he said, had been touched off by those "inexperienced, nervous and trigger-happy" marshals who had "deliberately inflamed" the people "in order that the resulting resistance can be cited as justification for military force against a sovereign state." Next day the Clarion-Ledger headline, "EASTLAND, OTHERS CHARGE [3/8 inch] Marshals Set Off Ole Miss Rioting [7/8 inch]", was serenity itself compared to featured columns which elaborated the official view: "Our state is labeled insurrectionist because it does not care to be negroid in totality," and "The grapevine has it that the NAACP paid Meredith a flat sum between $20,000 and $50,000 to serve as guinea pig in this experiment." Hills did admit a temporary defeat: "So watch the peace-lovers come to the fore, grab a nigger-neck and start bellowing brother love." There was more comic relief, by the bushel. The Commercial-Appeal complained of Mississippi demagoguery, Walter Bailey announced the disbanding of the state Ku Klux Klan because nobody showed up for a council of war, and Representative Tom Gibson berated Oxford's mayor for not supporting Barnett: "Sending to Kennedy, your enemy who would mongrelize the Anglo-Saxons of the Southland, to police your town, brings to the fore that you are a most undesirable citizen." For the moment the citizens had been more afraid of physical destruction than mongrelization. Judge McGowan underwent a spasm of joy because Barnett, he was now sure, had electrified the nation, had broken through the glacial complacency of the masses who would rally around the saviour of the country from communism, bureaucracy, bankruptcy, atheism, and the United Nations.

For more than a year politicians, editors, judges, lawyers, educators, church - all the makers of public opinion - have been sounding forth the same

old hypocritical tirade. It does impress people who are attuned to hearing nothing else and want to hear nothing else. In the 1963 campaign every candidate began with a deep hatred for the Kennedys and the man who screamed the loudest will be Mississippi's next governor. While warming up in Florida for the main event, Paul Johnson spoke to the subject, "The Cause of Freedom Won at Oxford and We Have Just Begun to Fight." The President, it would seem, had tried "to subvert the foundation pillars of this great government," backed by a "kept segment" of national press, television, and radio grinding out "its slanted story, half truths and prejudiced propaganda."

> "Shall the people be subject to search and seizure by spies and inquisitors who haunt the land?
> "Shall men speak of public affairs only in whispers?
> "Is the right of criticism denied?
> "Shall a man go to jail or an asylum for voicing honest opinions?
> "Shall the safeguards of justice in trial or imprisonment be set aside?
> "Is there no right in one's own home which our government respects?"

The Mississippi Junior Chamber of Commerce distributed almost a half-million copies of a 24 page pamphlet entitled: Oxford: A Warning for Americans, which put the blame for the insurrection squarely on the shoulders of Robert and John Kennedy. By the following summer the JC's claimed to have received 16,000 letters, all but 200 praising the work which won a second prize in national competition. The most specious implication of the pamphlet was that Meredith would have been allowed to enroll peacefully if only the Attorney General had awaited "the completion of the judicial processes," a most unlikely result in a state which had already indulged in so much legal quackery and whose governor had made it so evident that he would never accept the desegregation of the University. John Satterfield, probable author of the JC Warning and certainly an intimate counsellor of Barnett, was now defending his own bad advice which in part came straight from John Calhoun. The President did not use "unauthorized and illegal armed force," but, on the contrary, had specific authorization in the U. S. Code for its use. In any case, Kennedy did not call the troops into action to enforce the registration of Meredith but to protect the marshals from extinction. Whether Barnett was bound by the Meredith suit was not at issue; the governor committed a crime when he prevented the marshals from carrying out a court order. The President had no alternative than superior force when the execution of the order was prevented by force. All in all, it would seem that Satterfield has been trying to place a mantle of respectability on Barnett's unlawful conduct and to cast doubt on the legality

and propriety of the government's actions by suggesting that it had used force without exhausting legal processes. He threw his weight as past president of the American Bar Association and organizer of the Citizens Council into the intellectual propaganda barrage directed at Mississippians who were unlikely to pay any attention to the statement made on October 2 by the incumbent president of the ABA: "The paramount issue was whether or not the judgment of the court was to be upheld. The executive branch had a clear duty to see that the courts were sustained."

Mr. Satterfield maintained an Olympian judicial composure compared to Judge W. M. O'Barr who in his charge to the LaFayette County grand jury investigating the death of two persons the night of the insurrection, spoke of the Attorney General as "stupid little brother," and described the U. S. Supreme Court as made up of "political greedy old men" who "together with the hungry, mad, ruthless, ungodly, power-mad men [in Washington] would change this government from a democracy to a totalitarian dictatorship." The grand jury appropriately responded with an indictment of McShane for precipitating the riot, and for good measure, castigated University professors (who had previously defended the marshals) for talking too much.

Exactly one month after the insurrection the "Women for Constitutional Government" were assembled in Jackson by the sister of the speaker of the House of Representatives to adopt a "bill of grievances" against the "unwarranted and unlawful use of military force" and the alleged violation of (white) Mississippians' civil rights resulting from "the collusion of the President of the United States, the Justice Department, and the Federal courts." The highflown language of "the thousand angry women" obscured, for Mississippians at least, their exquisitely imaginative account of what had taken place at the University.

Politically minded educators swarmed into the breach, one ambitious college president rendering for the Mississippi Educational Advance the historical justification for the state's orthodox position, pointing out that recent roubles had begun with Franklin Roosevelt and concluding that with the assistance of the Supreme Court, "the time is near when there will be little to choose between our system and communism." This little treasury of historical demagoguery, a veritable patriotic primer, was, of course, reprinted in The Citizen, about the time that its creator was telling a college audience: "We must not stand still. Beware of little men with little minds in little ruts, men who resist change and progress."

In the months after the insurrection, sidewalk engineers engaged in the pleasant pastime of guessing whether the governor was at the moment taking instructions from the "resistance to the death" counsellors (The White Muslim clique in the Citizens Council) or from the more cautious who, as one observer put it, had planned only a little riot, who didn't really want to see anybody killed. In any case, the Council sent up trial balloons suggesting the closing ofthe University, called upon faculty moderates (to Simmons, "gutless liberals") to accept segregation or resign, and conducted a postcard campaign directing the Board to fire "quislings and scalawags [who] betray our state and our people in the time of crisis." An Oxford minister declared in public that preachers who refuse to go along with the Council "were pressured out of office." Whether the Council was more than covertly responsible for open defiance of University authorities by extremist students who returned from week ends at home with suitcases filled with cherry bombs and minds filled with rebellion is still an open question. The Oxford council, whose leaders possessed dedication if not brilliance, distributed a mimeographed list of faculty members who were to be harassed with anonymous telephone calls - which did cause some little inconvenience because the sleeping habits of the daring dialers did not mesh with those of their victims.

Mississippi requires only one license plate and for many years frugal extroverts have used the empty front space for metal signs carrying such messages of cheer as: MISSISSIPPI: THE LAND OF BEAUTIFUL WOMEN and MISSISSIPPI: THE MOST LIED ABOUT STATE IN THE UNION (which was probably true). So it was natural for thousands of cars to blossom forth with bumper stickers shouting the new belligerency: I'M WITH ROSS, BEAT LIL BROTHER, FEDERALLY OCCUPIED MISSISSIPPI, KENNEDY'S HUNGARY, BROTHERHOOD BY BAYONET, and BROTHERS CASTRO. A traffic hazard may have been created in Mendenhall where citizens, the chief of police, and state troopers stopped cars on Highway 49 to offer stickers to the drivers. Negroes were not excepted. In Jackson a state senator sacrificed hours from his legislative duties to paste the emblems of defiance on other people's bumpers. One Oxford friend of freedom did a landoffice business - he bought stickers for $15.00 a thousand and sold them for a quarter each.

The Mississippi Municipal Association, whose members are apparently not too agile mentally when on their feet, prepared a model speech to be used in winning friends and thwarting enemies. After touching lightly on the notion

that, after all, court decisions are not the law of the land, and warning of the dangers of centralization, the orator would with eloquence rise to the defense of Mississippi's official conduct: "This action is not a defiance of the law or the courts. Such action is an exercise of the heritage of freedom and liberty under the law preserved for us by our fathers." Although it was not suggested, the more gifted ambassadors of double-talk might also have been prompted to sing the "Ballad of the Ole Miss Invasion." One verse read:

> They came rolling down from Memphis and dropping from the skies
> With bayonets for our bellies and tear gas for our eyes
> Some resisted them with brickbats, while others ran and hid,
> Some tangled with the marshals - who can blame them ifthey did?

With a few clergymen in modest rebellion against the status quo, the Citizens Council eagerly grasped to its bosom a strange new reinforcement in the person of Rabbi Benjamin Schultz. Not long after his arrival from New York, the Clarksdale pastor laid down the "principles" which could save America:

> If Mississippi had its way, Castro would not be in Cuba now. Washington would not have installed him there.
> If Mississippi had prevailed, the Berlin Wall would have been torn down as soon as it went up. But then, the Russians would not have been there in the first place.
> If Mississippi had prevailed, pro-Communists would be off American college faculties. Corruption of our youth would stop.
> If Mississippi with its States' Rights philosophy had its way, big government, provocative dictatorship and eventual national bankruptcy would be thrown out the window.
> If Mississippi had its way, 'red-baiter' would not be a dirty word. Traditional patriotism would sweep the land to strengthen our people inwardly, and insure victory in the international crisis. As it is, America is losing, mostly because of decay among its own intellectuals.

The Mississippi Society, Sons of the American Revolution, vigorously protested the enforced enrollment of Meredith and called on every citizen to intensify his efforts to bring a halt to federal interference. The man who had faked the telegram to the Texas Episcopal minister devised from his study of Reconstruction a plan by which "complete segregation will again by the law of the land." Faculty and chancellor, Elmore Greaves told Ole Miss students, were left-wing but "weak--contemptably weak," and could be overcome with ostracism, indoctrination, and obstructionism. "We know from Jefferson that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."

For months it was believed by the innocent-minded University professors of social science that the General Legislative Investigating Committee would

quietly abandon its inquiry into the insurrection as it ran into more and more unpalatable facts. Senator Stennis made no report and Senator Eastland shifted his effort to the collection of tall tales by disgruntled students against their instructors. The Mississippi Senate of course didn't need facts to resolve its contempt for the Kennedys nor to plead with the country to "join our State in defiance of all who would destroy our freedoms, heritage and constitutional rights." Just one senator called for secession, a few more demanded Kennedy's impeachment, while others galloped up and down the land to warn their countrymen of the coming of the orange-jackets, those federal fiends whose savage brutalities at Oxford had "stopped short of Nazi atrocities only in that there were no deaths." In all this bombast the real casualty was truth, as in the fabrications of a senator who led an audience in New Orleans to believe that because Paul Guihard "was on our side," (which he wasn't) he had been liquidated by the marshals.

The legislative committee took more than six months to put together from the sworn statements of more than ninety witnesses its masterpiece of sententious fiction. For reasons never explained, faculty witnesses by the score and even legislators who had been at Ole Miss with the federalized national guard had not been called upon to testify. There was no minority report. How scores upon scores of the world's crack reports had been kept from seeing the blundering and the repeated brutalities and "planned physical torture" of the marshals, the women students hit by projectiles fired at point-blank range, the deliberate gassing of seven dormitories, the "torture slab," the army truck set on fire by "a folded paper airplane," and dozens of other Alice-in-Wonderland concoctions will remain one of the mysteries of 20th century journalism. It was the sad commentary of an eye-witness that the "young gentlemen of the New Confederacy" who were able to glorify insurrectionist conduct in the "Brick and Bottle Brigade" - attacking the armed forces of their own county - would have small compunction about lying to a legislative investigating committee, especially one that made perfectly clear what it wanted to hear.

The legislative report was "verified" in advance by a documentary film, "Oxford, U.S.A." depicting "how the federal government violated the constitution in the invasion of Mississippi last fall." Just before he sold three copies to the Sovereignty Commission for almost $7,000, the producer asserted the picture was "based strictly on the Constitution," and had been endorsed by Governors Barnett and Wallace. According to billboard advertising it

EXPOSES FEDERAL ATROCITIES. Actually, about half of the fifty-minute extravaganza is taken up with poorly filmed statements from Barnett, Johnson, Patterson, Birdsong, and a legislator who makes some disparaging and untrue remarks about the University and Meredith. The opening action shot shows motorized troops moving into Oxford, which they did, - about eight hours after the beginning of the insurrection. By implication the viewer gets the impression that marshals had fired shotguns (which they didn't have) at innocent students and even that they had killed the French reporter. Altogether the film is a shabbily put together conglomeration of falsehood, distortion and political dissemblance unlikely to convince the fair-minded who may be left in the membership of the Citizens Council.

The people of Mississippi have thus once again been victimized, this time by a gigantic hoax perpetrated on them by their own time-serving leaders whose sense of loyalty is only to the false orthodoxy of the closed society.

The closed society is never the absolute society. There always have been and there always will be the dissenters, the doubters who point to the road not taken. They are the hope of the present and the future and even if they are wrong their stimulating presence is required to keep today's and tomorrow's leaders on their toes. A major weakness of democracy is the lack of assurance that the majority can come up with the right answers. The majority in Mississippi was wrong in 1861 and the thirty percent minority was right. The majority has been wrong many times since, due in part to ignorance, lack of good leadership, and to the exclusion of the non-conformist. For Mississippi to make correct decisions, it must have an enlightened electorate and an intelligent leadership. Neither of these has been possible in Mississippi for more than a century, for the simple reason that freedom of inquiry has not been present, freedom of expression has not been tolerated. Criticism of the orthodoxy has resulted in expulsion for the critic and the dead hand of conformity for the society. As long as this remains true Mississippi will be left in her intellectual poverty and her social stagnation.

In the past year more than fifty professors have departed from the University of Mississippi, many of them literally driven from the state. The best of them, particularly the native Mississippians, would have remained if

there had been any prospect of an atmosphere of freedom or a decent chance to fight for one. The ousting of a few professors from time to time does have a salutary effect on faculty conduct. As one of them was forced to leave a southern university in 1857, he fired a parting salvo that bears repeating now: "You may eliminate all the suspicious men from your institutions of learning, you may establish any number of new colleges which will relieve you of sending your sons to free institutions. But as long as people study, and read, and think among you, the absurdity of your system will be discovered and there will always be found some courageous intelligence to protest against your hateful tyranny." True enough, but as long as the next "intelligence" and the next after him are carefully eliminated, the tyranny remains and the society stays closed.

One hundred and six years later, a professor (no longer on the faculty) at the University of Mississippi wrote a letter to an editor who chose not to publish it. Perhaps it was too long; in any case it deserves quotation:

> Men of good will content to sit on their hands silently hoping that nothing will rock the boat, seemingly unaware that the use of their oars might stay the foundering craft, these men are not leaders, nor are they followers.
>
> Leadership nurtures on controversy, it matures on intellectual dissension, it mellows on the free exchange of provocative ideas. A controversial, dissenting, and provocative faculty is therefore essential in developing a university-trained leader. Muzzle the faculty, restrict them to the "areas of competency," keep from the classrooms discussions of problems which are "out of our hands," don't talk of subjects offensive to people in Jackson. Follow these directions and students with no leaders of their own will find leaders as they found them on the night of September 30.
>
> But don't stop here for leadership nurtures on controversy. And this controversy has stiffened a few faculty backbones. Previously quiescent souls are speaking out, implanting ideas alien to the plantocratic dogma. A few open-minded students are listening and realizing that perhaps daddy's "Never" view is extreme. These students are the nascent leaders. Silence them! Ostracize those who seek to know more of their first Negro classmate. Censure those who question the existing order. Vandalize their living quarters. Make them shape up or ship out. Then get to the heart of the problem. Harass the faculty members who inspire this sort of thinking. Work assiduously to be rid of them, to move them and their ideas away from here. Have no fear - the University will not lose its teaching staff. The inactive and the inept will still be around. Offers of employment elsewhere are made only to the competent, so only they will leave. A few good teachers unconcerned with the integration issue will leave solely because of the side effects of the harassment campaign and the pathetic gestures of a feeble administration which fears both the legislature and the "men of good will."
>
> These measures will go far, but not far enough in ridding the University of controversy, breeding ground for leadership. For there is a small faculty group that genuinely concerns itself with making this university a fountainhead of leadership. They will remain not for money and not for notoriety, but through an unappreciated sense of loyalty to the University and the state. And they will not be silenced. They will continue to probe for explanations of September 30. More important, they will continue to search for the reasons leading to the development of the September 30 society. As long as this group is here, there can be no tranquility, no peace. There will be controversy.

> Use fair measures and foul and all forms of harassment to rid the campus of these elements. For only then are we assured that our sons will enjoy September 30ths yet to come. Only in this way have we guaranteed that our leaderless sons will be just as ignorant as we.

No, the closed society is not absolute. In Mississippi there are legislators, editors, lawyers, labor leaders, educators and ordinary citizens who sometimes protest against the prevailing orthodoxy. The day that Barnett let loose his interposition blast, Ira Harkey pointed out in the Pasagoula Chronicle that it wasn't the Kennedys but "the United States of America, democracy itself, the whole of humanity" that was making demands upon Mississippi. In a series of five short, magnificently logical articles, Representative Karl Wiesenburg demonstrated conclusively that Barnett's course was "the road to riot," that the governor had violated his oath of office, that the bloodshed on September 30 was the "price of defiance," and that states have responsibilities as well as rights. The Mississippi Methodist Advocate accepted part of the guilt for the riot: "We have known for eight years that there were pressure groups who boasted that if the people did not conform and cooperate with them, they would use social, political, and economic pressures. In the name of patriotism, the groups thrived until they had control of our social, political, and law-making forces. Yes, the church is partly responsible. By choosing to do nothing, we have permitted political pressure groups to chart our course and have allowed the voice of moderation and goodwill to be completely ignored."

Three days after the insurrection the Ole Miss chapter of the American Association of University Professors adopted a ringing statement protesting the fraud against the marshals. Without a campaign in its favor more than seventy faculty members signed the document as their way of "standing up to be counted." A professor of anthropology made his protest by putting into writing the conclusions of those in his profession concerning the validity of Putnam's Race and Reason and this was serialized in the Pasagoula Chronicle. The exemplary conduct of more than three thousand federalized Mississippi national guardsmen is worth the scrutiny and praise of all Americans. General Wilson said: "There were absolutely no incidents of any individual wilfully refusing to report for mobilization." George Fielding Eliot paid high tribute to the state guard, "In its ranks are men who, as citizens, share some of the views and even the prejudices of their fellow Mississippians. But when the

call to duty came, they laid all else aside. After that they were soldiers of the United States, summoned by the President to aid in enforcing the laws of the Union, as the Constitution provides." One guardsman who had suffered rough treatment at the hands of the hoodlums, went right to the heart of the matter: "It was just the matter of an oath I took."

There are many thousands of "men of good will" in Mississippi, mild-mannered people for the most part, who in their day-to-day affairs do what they can to ameliorate the more difficult conditions imposed upon their fellow men by the closed society. But because of a strong desire to live in peace or because of one kind of fear or another, these men will not openly protest what they know in their hearts are gross evils all about them. These are the individuals who, when one of their own number speaks out or in some little way defies the orthodoxy and is maliciously pilloried as a result, shrug their shoulders and say, "Well, he asked for it."

Men of good will are not enough. In his article in the Saturday Evening Post after the riot, John Faulkner professed surprise at a plea to return to law and order, "this to us, the responsible people of Oxford, who raised no finger against any man." In high indignation he refused to see the need for penitence: "If all the sin I have to answer for is my part in bringing on what happened here Sunday and Monday, then I relinquish my place to someone more needful of forgiveness than I." Perhaps Mr. Faulkner said more than he intended, perhaps he was speaking for all the good men who to whatever degree had abandoned any feeling of accountibility for the condition of things in Mississippi. These same men were shocked to learn, probably at Leslie's drug store, the price of defiance as well as the fact that some of their neighbors were throwing rocks at other neighbors in the uniform of the United States government. But they were not moved by the riot - they were solidified. They had forgotten, if they had ever known, that it was not Gavin Stevens who had prevented the lynching of Lucas Beauchamp but Miss Habersham, Chuck Mallison, and Aleck Sander.

Of all the tirades James Meredith had to endure the most unreasonable and harsh came from a well-intentioned columnist writing for the Commercial-Appeal. Displaying vast ignorance of fact this man of good will, professing mild sympathy, at least in the proper quarters, with Meredith in his troubles, had

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waited patiently with a restless but controlled anger to pounce upon the first false step of a much beleagured and maligned individual. Meredith, an "ignoble failure," had betrayed his race, had damaged its cause beyond calculation, had set it back at least a generation. When it became apparent that a University administrator was ready to send out thousands of reprints of this mighty effort (until stopped by the chancellor), an Ole Miss professor wrote the columnist to point out his errors in equating federal stupidity with state demagoguery, in neglecting Meredith's blast at the NAACP while criticizing his denunciation of the Army, and in castigating Meredith for having invited "the die-hard opposition to bracket him with all other Negroes who ask for equality of opportunity." Beyond these injustices, the canting columnist had falsely accused Meredith of using "inflammatory scripts prepared by the NAACP," for making reckless and unfounded charges of harassment and persecution, "a weak and cowardly effort to shift responsibility for his academic failure," (Meredith was a good student) and for "wild tirades against the University administration." The Commercial-Appeal refused to permit the publication of the letter which might have rectified in some small degree the character assassination of an innocent man by another who laid claim to an "overload of grief, compassion and charity."

The more embattled the closed society becomes, the more monolithic, the more corrupt, and the more willing to engage in double-think and double-talk. There is little to choose between Mississippi's institutionalized hypocrisy that the Negro can freely vote and freely attend the university of his choice and the professed belief of Governor Barnett that he is preserving law and order and upholding the Constitution by physically obstructing the execution of an explicit directive of the Supreme Court of the United States. Or, for that matter, of the legislature passing laws which the judges "will know how to handle," or for the purpose of "getting" certain individuals. The idea that this is a nation of laws and not of men has a hollow ring in the state of Mississippi. How few of its leaders can come into court with clean hands!

Hostility to authority and disrespect for law are commonplace in Mississippi. How could it be otherwise in a state which tolerates the cynical disregard of prohibition while collecting the black market tax? How can anything else be expected when the state itself brazenly tells the world it has achieved "separate but equal" school facilities when in 1959-60 local school expenditures

were $81.86 for the white child as against $21.77 for the colored? What respect can there be for the legal process when one standard of justice prevails when a Negro commits a crime against a Negro, another when a Negro commits a crime against a white, still another when a white commits a crime against a white, and a fourth when a white commits a crime against a Negro?

What about the morality of a social order that sends a teen-age colored girl to a long sentence in an institution for delinquents because she disobeys a court order forbidding her to walk to the courthouse? And, when questioned, justified the exhorbitant penalty on the basis of two previous abortions - which up to the time of her sentence the society had ignored? Which is immoral, the girl or society? Was Clyde Kennard corrupt or the social order?

Although there have been moments of enlightenment the spiritual secession of Mississippi from history has never ended. For more than a century Mississippians have refused to be bound by the national will. Perhaps this recalcitrance could be born with in the past, as have many other excesses of democracy. But with the sanctuary provided by the great oceans gone and the country now locked in death embrace, the national interest demands discipline. It demands also that attitudes or "principles" growing out of racial situations not be allowed to intrude themselves into the country's policy making decisions. Since Reconstruction Mississippians have had no real reason to believe they could not handle the race question as they wished, without meaningful interference from the federal government, and when they now discover that all their bluster and subterfuge and instransigence will avail them nothing, they erupt into a condition of traumatism.

Mississippi has long been a hyperorthodox social order in which the individual has no option except to be loyal to the white majority. And the white majority subscribed to an inflexible philosophy which is not based on fact, logic, or reason. Non-white Mississippians and all others are outlanders. Close contiguity with a large repressed population kept from membership and fear of what these "inferior" people might do have held the society near the point of unanimity. Especially in times of distress the orthodoxy becomes more rigid, more removed from reality, and the conformity demanded to it more extreme. Today the advocacy or even the recognition of the inevitability of change becomes a social felony, or worse. Mississippi is the way it is not because of its views on the Negro - here it is simply "the South exaggerated" - but because of its closed society, its refusal to allow freedom of inquiry or to tolerate "error of opinion." The social order that refuses to conform to national standards insists upon strict conformity at home.

In the closed community there is no way for dissenters to make their views known. Mississippi has for some time allowed freedom in vocational and professional education - in these areas it may even be said that the social order has been moving in the same direction as western civilization - but in the province of ideas there is sublime distrust of and if possible elimination of any finding that clashes with the prevailing wisdom. Members of the power elite too must conform for although "provincial myopia may cause the cook to bake a smaller pie, if one is to get pie at all he must not eliminate himself from the group that is doing the cutting."

Perhaps the greatest tragedy of the closed society is the refusal of its citizens to believe that there is any view other than the orthodox. In recent years there has been a hardening attitude among college students who don't want to hear the other side. In such a twilight of non-discussion, minds do not grow tough, they don't grow at all. Intelligent men with ideas are isolated from the rest of the community and what little interracial communication existed in the past is now destroyed. One reason the Ole Miss faculty failed to protest an ugly situation before the insurrection was that through one means or another freedom of speech had long since been curtailed. This was at least a partial cause of ten members of the history department pulling out in the two years <u>before</u> the troubles of last year. The jolt of the violence on the campus and the obvious fraud against the federal government initiated a spurt of resistance to ignorance and stupidity and conformity. For the moment a considerable proportion of the faculty developed a healthy scorn for expediency and security. This might have developed into an important pocket of real leadership if the administration and the Board of Trustees had not succembed to pressures from the closed social order. In the light of Mississippi's history it was probably already too late to expect anything more than an occasional stand, such as that put up by the twenty-eight ministers who were willing to count the cost and pay the price. With the great silence from the men of good will and the disposition of the good people to let things run their course, there can be little hope for anything constructive in Mississippi in the next decade.

The strongest weapon of the closed society is the closed mind. It has been argued that in the history of the United States in great crises democracy has produced great leaders. Sad as it may be, the opposite has been true in Mississippi. As yet there is little evidence that the society of the closed mind will ever possess the moral resources to reform itself, or the capacity for self-examination, or even the tolerance of self-examination. Inasmuch as a nation marching rapidly in the direction of fulfillment of the promise of the Declaration of Independence is at the same time fighting for survival, it will not much longer indulge the frustration of its will. Therefore, it would seem that for the forseeable future the state of Mississippi will march along the troubled road of violence, anguish, and agony.

In spite of all that has been written in this paper, it is equally as predictable that Mississippians will one day drop the mockery of the Confederate flag and pick up the banner of the United States of America.

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August 31, 1956

TO: ~~Mr. John A. Griffin, Director of Racial Political Study in Georgia for the~~ Mr. Harold Fleming, executive director, Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Peach County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern for Negroes: Peach County, with Fort Valley as its county-seat, is located in ~~the~~ central ~~area of~~ Georgia and has a population of 10,378. Negroes in this county out-number whites by a ratio of approximately six to four and this factor has played an historical part in the formulation of the present pattern of race relations. Actually, the pattern has been and is one of comprehensive suppression of Negroes within the narrow confines of a rigid system of racial segregation. More will be said about this in another section of this report. In 1955, there were approximately 1,150 Negroes registered in Peach County. During this same year, 338 voted in the city elections. (Persons living in the county ~~even within close range of the city limits of the town - Fort Valley~~ are not permitted to vote in city elections.) In 1954 there were 552 Negro registrants out of a registration total of 3,056. The percentage of Negro registrants was only 18.1% although Negroes comprise 61.3% of the total population of this county ~~which numbered 11,[illegible] in 1950~~. In this same year ~~the total number of potentially~~ THE COUNTY HAD ~~eligible voters was~~ PERSONS OF VOTING AGE 7,290 ~~of which~~ WHOM 3,020 were white and 4,270 were Negro. This population pattern has resulted in the whites resorting to subtle and overt methods of maintaining political control by methods which have not always been political in nature. On the other hand, Negro residents in this county, because of their dominant numbers, have felt compelled to reassure the white people that they do not expect to "take over" in a political sense. As I checked the list of "Registered Voters 1954 Colored" with the President of the Civic League, he pointed out that several reasonably prominent Negro residents, as well as others, had failed to vote. He expressed dissatisfaction about the total number of Negroes who are

registered and he and his colleagues in the Civic League are considering plans for increasing the number. Here, again, Negroes depreciate the value of their votes. Many say that their "votes don't count". Further, they are reluctant to have ~~themselves~~ get in too close a competitive political relationship with the white man "who is going to run things anyway". Negro and white voters are segregated from each other ~~when they go to the polling places~~ AT THE POLLS. Negro voters have to go to the rear of the City Hall ~~and they must~~ TO deposit their ballots in a box which is painted black. White voters go through the front door of the City Hall and place their ballots in unpainted boxes. ~~or boxes that are not painted black.~~

No overt legal efforts are made now to keep Negroes from registering and voting in Peach County. In 1946 a number of efforts were made to intimidate Negroes so as to discourage their registering and voting. "Negroes by the hundreds were subpoenaed" to report to the registrar's office to justify their names remaining on the qualified voters lists. Many were asked to read something to the satisfaction of the registrars and as a result were purged from the qualified voters' lists. Now, Negroes who seek to register are asked only to copy some passage from the United States Constitution. In some instances, Negroes have been asked if they were registered when they were near or in the registrar's office. Furthermore, they were advised as to how they could get on the permanent registration list and told to "tell others (meaning Negroes) to come on down".

II. <u>Socio-Economic Factors</u>: With a state college for Negroes - Fort Valley State College - ~~being located in Fort Valley,~~ LOCATED IN THE COUNTY SEAT, one would expect to find ~~have~~ a reasonably ~~representative~~ number of Negro business and professional people. But he does not find them here. For ~~a long number of~~ MANY years, Peach County did not provide any appreciable educational outlets for its Negro residents. They had to depend upon a small Episcopal Church high school and junior college which were headed for years by a distinguished American, Dr. Henry A. Hunt. Then, after the city and state took over (approximately fifteen years ago) there was little growth in these school facilities until Negroes through N.A.A.C.P. suits and otherwise

agitated for additional expansion. To date, the institution's physical growth has outdistanced its growth in the realm of a rational racial ideological militancy. ~~Considering the climate of political opinion in Georgia's State Capitol, this College is doing well to survive.~~

There are a few small, relatively new businesses conducted by Negroes. There is only one Negro physician who located in Fort Valley about two years age. He also serves as College physician. There are no Negro dentists or lawyers. Except for teachers in the College and public school system, a few ministers and business people, most of the Negroes in Peach County have to depend on menial, domestic, factory and farming jobs. Some are employed at Warner-Robins Air Base.

Here, again, is an example of the lack of leadership being partially due to an absence of ~~a reasonable degree of~~ economic independence on the part of MOST Negro residents. The few Negroes who are most active in a political sense are those four or five who ARE MINISTERS OR run a filling station, grocery store, OR undertaking establishment, ~~and about two ministers.~~ The principal of the high school for Negroes is more active politically, through his work with the Civic League, than is usually the case. High school Negro pupils are encouraged and assisted in registering as they reach the legal age for doing so.

In the case of Fort Valley State College, ~~there is~~ "a representative number" of faculty and staff members ~~who~~ register and vote. They are "quietly" urged to do so. ~~register and vote.~~ However, they give no "active leadership in political affairs". The last Fort Valley State College faculty member to be active in political affairs through the instrumentality of the Civic League was the late Dr. William Madison Boyd who continued his active interest in better citizenship affairs after he became Professor and Chairman of the Political Science Department of Atlanta University. Some of his former colleagues and friends at Fort Valley State College are still amazed that he was able to "get away with what he did". ~~Whereas~~ Some of his former ~~co-workers~~ in the Civic League proudly refer to his pioneering work and lament the fact ~~that~~ THERE isn't another "Professor" who will work with them "like

Dr. Boyd". The present newly elected president of the Civic League is an alert, progressive young business man and he has plans for organizing citizenship schools in various churches with the help of the Parent Teachers' Association, which already urges political participation.

Negroes in Peach County have not had any political rallies in the last five years, largely because "there has not been the leadership". Personal ~~individual~~ contacts are relied on. "Some individual Negro citizens of long standing who are known by whites have been the contact people during political campaigns." There are occasional meetings of local Negro and white ministers who "discuss local issues and the spirit with which they should be met". This is the extent of any interracial cooperation in Peach County.

There is no N.A.A.C.P. chapter in Peach County to help spur political activity by Negroes. There was once an N.A.A.C.P. unit here but it ceased to function about four years ago largely ~~because of~~ due to internal reasons. ~~The president, who was not thought too well of in the community, "divorced his wife and left town". Later, the secretary (who was employed by the College) died. Following this, a College staff member was elected president of the N.A.A.C.P. by those who "represented the people of the soil" who in their "humble way" felt the need for this sort of organization. However, the newly elected president "was advised" by several friends and colleagues that he should not serve as president of the N.A.A.C.P. because he (and the College) would be too vulnerable in view of the political climate in State politics. Accepting this advice, the N.A.A.C.P. president resigned and he has not yet been replaced.~~ Staff and faculty members at the College are secretive about their membership and support of the N.A.A.C.P. Although they do not seem to be subservient in the traditional manner they are practical enough to realize that support of the N.A.A.C.P. in their community involves risks. ~~was one of the basic reasons that led to the dismissal of Dr. Aaron Brown as president of Albany State College about two years ago.~~

Some Negroes feel that some community improvements will take place under the

city administration because "the mayor is not too hide-bound". There is much room for community improvement in that Negroes do not have play grounds (despite the density of their population), a swimming pool, recreational center, golf course, paved streets, adequate indoor toilets, sewage and running water. Housing for Negroes in Fort Valley is grossly inadequate and is ~~jammed up~~ crowded largely between the College, the railroad tracks and the town itself.

III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: This phase has already been dealt with to some extent. The Civic League has been reorganized and is laying plans for an intensive citizenship and registration campaign beginning in the fall of 1956. Representatives of the masses of Negro people have begun to see the necessity of increased political participation. Having cautiously felt their way politically without suffering reprisals, they now believe they can extend their activity in this area. They also think that as time goes on, more political candidates, other than the mayor, will seek more votes of Negro residents of Peach County.

IV. Prospects: For the time being very little political leadership will emanate from the STATE SUPPORTED College. ~~An attempt on the part of anyone connected with the College to furnish political leadership in Peach County will in all probability be counteracted by the Governor, the Attorney General and the State Board of Education.~~ Very limited political leadership among Negroes ~~will continue to exist~~ IS THE PROSPECT until ~~there develops~~ THE DEVELOPMENT OF a larger number of relatively independent business, religious and professional Negro people - and keener competition among candidates for votes ~~by~~ OF Negroes.

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August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Early County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern For Negroes in Early County: Early County, with Blakely as its county-seat, is located in the extreme southwest portion of Goergia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties which may well be listed among those which are called the "hard-core" counties of the state. In such southwest counties as Early, Miller, Seminole and Decatur, the Negro population is from 30% to 50% of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster and Stewart the Negro percentage in the total population is over 50%. The pattern of excluding Negroes as registrants and voters in these counties, except Decatur and Dougherty, seems virtually the same in each. There is the ever-present threat of racial violence which has erupted on occasions, especially following elections. Police brutality as directed mainly against Negroes indicates to them that they cannot depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer a normal amount of protection if they seek to enjoy their constituted civil liberties. In recent years economic pressures or reprisals have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and political rights for their racial group. There has been an almost complete denial to Negroes of the right to register and vote. In some instances, the sheriffs, who in these counties are the chief law enforcement officers, asked prospective Negro registrants questions about the Constitution of the United States. Why did these sheriffs purge potential Negro voters instead of letting it be done by the Board of Registrars? The sheriffs were white and also "the law" so the would-be Negro registrants received two warnings at one time.

The counties to which reference has been made are about ten and one-half years behind time in complying with the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals which on March 6, 1946, upheld Judge Hoyt T. Davis' decision in the Primus E. King case. Potential contempt of court charges have not deterred those who are in authority to any appreciable extent. In some instances, where they have considered it expedient, they have permitted token registration and voting. However, in the main they have resorted to stalling, threatening and harrassing tactics. These techniques, plus economic reprisals, have kept most of the Negroes from bringing legal action against the Boards of Registrars. However, some Negroes in Randolph County, which is in the midst of this "hard-core" cluster of counties, did bring legal action against the Board of Registrars. The registrars were found guilty of conspiring to deprive Negroes in Randolph County of the right to register and were fined as individuals. This legal procedure opened the registration books to qualified Negro registrants but the story does not stop here. During the last election many of the Negro registrants were harrassed as they attempted to vote. They were required to have three signatures of character witnesses on their slips (though this was not required of white voters). These Negro registrants could find one or two of the

persons whose signatures they were required to get but not all three. The next course of legal action must be against illegal tactics which are designed to interfere with the Negro registrants' right to vote after they have duly qualified as registrants.

Now - this report will deal specifically with Early County. Negores are denied the right to register beyond a token number. When they go to the Court House to register they are permitted to sign up or list their names. Later, they are sent summons to appear at the Court House to answer questions before the Board of Registrars, "all of whom are farmers", with the chairman being barely "able to read his name". They are asked various questions and most are disqualified. Those who do not report are automatically disqualified. This is an effective technique of disqualifying Negroes because they usually think of going to the Court House for any reason with some degree of misgiving. Further, some feel that by appearing in the Court House to press their right to register they might cause "some of the white folks" to take it out on them later if they appear as defendents. This situation is further complicated because it is asserted that Negroes in Early County, by and large, are not expected to park their cars on the Court House Square. Although this allegation was denied by others, it was conceded that some "Uncle Tom" Negroes do not park at the Court House Square. However, in considering the alleged parking restrictions, Negroes have additional reasons to question the kind of treatment they will be accorded at the Early County Court House as they seek to register.

What are a few reasons given for disqualification of some Negroes who do appear before the Board of Registrars? In one case, after registrars questioned a prominent Negro citizen, they stated that he had not lived in the town long enough to register and vote. Later, he went again to register. This time they said, "you are the one who teach the people" about registering and voting and his reply was, "no, I don't teach the people". Next, he was asked how many times he had been married. The answer was twice, and he explained that his first wife had divorced him legally. "No, you can't register", said one of the registrars. "You are living in adultery - you are a criminal". The reply was, "My wife has divorced me. I am legally divorced. How am I to be considered a criminal?" Nevertheless, he was not permitted to register.

A Negro landowner who had lived in Early County all his life was turned down because he did not have a clear title to his land. Aveteran went to register. He was given a pencil and asked to copy something. This was done. Later, during an election he went to vote and it was then that he was told that he was not registered. He was never told why. This veteran has not been back to try again to register but he plans to do so. The registrars insisted that a Negro resident of Early County who has a B.S. degree from an accredited college would have to make a trip from Atlanta to Blakely to answer questions before they would consider further his efforts to register. Before he returned he was inducted in the United States Army and qualified as a member of the Army Intelligence Corps and thus he was authorized to carry a gun and did not have to wear his uniform to any appreciable extent. When he did return to Blakely he was married. He was asked how many times he had been married. His answer was "once". "Are you in the Army?" "Yes". "Then, why do you have on civilian clothes?" "You must ask 'Uncle Sam' about that." "Do you have a gun?" "Yes." (and he pulled it out of his pocket.) "What are you doing with it?" "You must also ask 'Uncle Sam' about this," was the reply. At this point he was declared to be registered.

These techniques of disqualifying "Qualified" Negro registrants are typical. Further, they are backed up by threats of violence and intimidation. A veteran in describing his experiences when he attempted unsuccessfully to register and vote concluded by saying: "The sheriff doesn't care what happens to Negroes". He also revealed instances of police brutality against Negroes. During the last election

the sheriff about whom the remarks were made was defeated, and only three Negroes voted for him. He knows that Negroes did not vote for him because their votes were kept separate from the whites. Two or three Negroes are planning to go before the County Commissioners to ask them to do away with separate ballot boxes which were used for the first time in the last election. "You know we got to live here with these people after elections!" one of them said.

These and other factors account for the fact that only approximately 300 Negroes are registered in Early County. About 75% of this number vote and these votes are sought by some candidates "even if they have to do so by night". The potential number of registered Negro voters in this county is estimated at between 3,000 and 5,000 out of a total population of 18,679.

II. Socio-Economic Factors: When I stated to a person who once lived and taught school in Early County that I was going to make a trip there, he appeared somewhat amazed. He told me about going to a local filling station in Blakely to get some gas. A white man who was driving a delapidated car looked "enviously" at him and his rather nice looking car. Later, the white man drove across the lane and blocked the Negro's car so that it could not be driven out of the filling station. Sensing that the white man wanted to start something, the Negro spoke to the white proprietor of the filling station about having the car moved so that he could get out. The proprietor would not say a word. Finally, the white man whose car was blocking the Negro's car said: "Back on out down that alley, where all niggers belong". I was told also about the Grinnison Goolsby incident involving racial violence which will be dealt with later. These matters are mentioned because they deal with reactions which have a symbolic and realistic role in the socio-economic pattern of this community.

Economic reprisals in Early County did not at first revolve around Negroes' efforts to register and vote. They developed as a result of their efforts to get better school facilities. Despite the fact that the white school was a modern one, the Negro school was a make-shift one and did not contain a single water toilet. Thirty-nine Negroes - sharecroppers, farm laborers, renters and owners, along with common laborers and two or three small business men - signed a petition for better school facilities. When members of the Board of Education tried to argue that the Negroes' school facilities were good enough, the petitioners produced data from the State Department of Education in Atlanta to support their charges as they prepared to file suit. This angered the members of the Early County Board of Education and some of them began to "talk rough". Other white people said that the local Negroes who signed the petition were being made fools of "by the niggers from Atlanta". A Negro woman who seems to be heartily disliked and suspected of "racial treason", and other Negroes reported to the "white folks" on what was going on. They said some of the 39 signers were not interested in getting better school facilities but wanted integration. One or two "Uncle Tom" Negroes in their efforts to get the petitioners to back-up said that "we don't want another Goolsby case". (In 1916 a Negro named Grannison Goolsby killed a white man who had whipped his son. Many whites went on a rampage and burned a Negro lodge hall and churches and shot down Negroes as they happened to come upon them. Goolsby shot several white men before this gruesome incident ended with Goolsby's death.) The 39 petitioners did not back down and they got a new school. Whites, who did not want this school built, still take it out on two or three of the Negroes who signed the petition by continually applying economic pressure against them.

Except for two undertakers, a few small shopkeepers and 92 teachers, there are no Negro whitecollar workers in Early County. Farm labor and manual jobs form the employment pattern. There are no doctors, dentists, lawyers or Negro post office

clerks or carriers. (No Negroes have applied to take the Civil Service Examinations for these jobs.) Negroes in Early County do not have a representative number with the degree of economic independence which would leave them reasonably free to give political leadership.

Early County Negroes do not have an active N.A.A.C.P. They have a branch "but we are kind of taking it easy now". This policy was "self-imposed". No one asked that this be done. (Perhaps this is an example of the flexibility which William Faulkner has written about.)

III. Efforts to Increase Registering and Voting Among Negroes: At the present time there is no political organization among Early County Negroes. They once had units of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs and Georgia Voters League. These "units closed up because of lack of leadership". They do have a Citizens Education group as a unit of the Georgia Teachers Educational Association but its function is not political.

At the present time it does not seem likely that a suit will be brought against the Board of Registrars to have them open the books to qualified Negro registrants. The few Negro leaders have been harrassed enough for the time-being and they seem content to continue to build up their registration and voting strength patiently by getting one or two more Negroes registered from time to time.

One possible outlet appears feasible after the recently elected sheriff takes office. He has put out the word that he is grateful for the limited number of Negro votes which were a formidable factor in the new sheriff's victory. Negro leaders are going to see if he and the Tax Commissioner will agree to an easing of restrictions since additional Negro registrants are likely to vote for those making the concessions. This should be a logical move since it appears that the sheriff who was voted out of office will run again when his opponent's term is up. It is felt that this technique of negotiation can be worked quietly and will not stir up bitter reactions such as court action is likely to do.

IV. Prospects: Unless negotiations with the sheriff-elect and the Tax Commissioner prove fruitful there seems to be little likelihood that restrictions on Negro registration and voting will be lifted anytime soon in Early County. The other alternative will be a suit in Federal Courts against the Board of Registrars. This is not likely to take place soon because the initiators would be some of the 39 who signed the school petition, and some of them are still trying to recover from the ill-effects of economic reprisals directed against them.

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NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR QUOTATION WITHOUT PERMISSION.

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. Harold Fleming, executive director, Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Floyd County Interviews and Findings about Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: Dean B. R. Brazeal, Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern for Negroes: Floyd County, of which Rome is the county-seat, is located in the northwest section of Georgia. There are approximately 56,141 persons in Floyd County with whites outnumbering Negroes about 3 to 1. Of this number 41,330 are eighteen years or over, with 6,046 or 14.6% being Negro and 35,284 or 85.4% white. In 1956, 31,071 persons in Floyd County were registered. Of this number 2,730 or 9% were Negro and 28,341 or 91% were white. On a percentage basis 45% of the eligible Negro persons are registered and 72% of the eligible whites. This relatively high percentage of Negro registrants is an interesting phenomenon and corresponds with the finding that Negroes are likely to become more articulate politically as the industralized population increases.

It was in 1946 that Negroes began registering in appreciable numbers in Floyd County. This action followed the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals on March 6, 1946 which upheld Judge Hoyt T. Davis' decision in the Chapman V. King case (more familiarly known as the Primus E. King case) in which the white primary was legally outlawed. Incidentally, any legal hope the supporters of the white primary had to the effect that it would be legally sustained in Georgia was shattered on April 1, 1946 when the United States Supreme Court refused to review the case. As Negroes in Floyd County continued to increase their number of registrants some were challenged and attempts were made to purge their names from the registration list. A prominent, elderly white lawyer voluntarily came to their defense and in view of the threatened contempt proceeding the registrars ended their purge efforts.

Now, the registrars welcome potential Negro registrants and even let it be known that more should register. At the request of Negro leaders in the Floyd County Civic and Political League (now inactive) the registrars arranged at one time to decentralize the registration places by "carrying the books" around to different schools for Negroes, thus making it more convenient for them to register. Recently a Non-Partisan Voters League was organized to supplant the Floyd County Civic and Political League whose effectiveness had been diluted by strife, charges and counter charges of dishonesty on the part of two or three of its leaders. Although the Non-Partisan Voters League is trying to increase Negro registration, its main problem is to get Negro registrants to vote in representative numbers. For some reason "they won't vote in large numbers like we desire" said one of the leaders. Another said, after commenting on the ease with which Negroes in Floyd County may register, "the trouble comes in trying to get them to vote". It is estimated that only about 700 Negroes voted in the last election. In an effort to offset this apathy the Non-Partisan Voters League is sponsoring rotating citizenship meetings every two weeks in churches for Negroes. About 30 to 40 persons hear talks on the value and benefits of registering and voting. It is thought that the attendance at these meetings will increase as the fall elections draw near.

Negro voters have to use a segregated ballot box and entrance to the Court House. Ballots were counted on a racial basis during the first one or two elections in which Negroes voted. Now, when the ballots are being counted they are mixed with others and not counted on a racial basis. Some Negroes help man the polls where Negroes vote.

In 1952, a year before Dr. Rufus E. Clement successfully ran for election as a member of the Atlanta Board of Education, an elderly Negro qualified to run for a similar post in Rome, Georgia. He was about 72 years of age and had formerly taught school when the requirements were not rigid (it was thought that he had not gone beyond the 7th or 8th grade in school). He was the operator of a hand laundry when he qualified as a candidate. Some of the Negro political leaders thought he was not qualified for the post and thus refused to support him. As a matter of fact, he was spoken against in open mass meetings by some Negroes who also contended that the time was not ripe for a Negro to seek such a position in Floyd County. They thought that the "whites should appoint a liaison person" who could present their views to the City Board of Education. Some Negro voters contended that there was no need to vote for the Negro candidate "because the white folks are going to run things anyway". If Negro voters had supported him on a comparable percentage basis as the white voters did he probably would have been elected.

II. Socio-Economic Factors: Floyd County is becoming increasingly industralized. Rome, its county-seat, is a bristling, expanding city, with only a few vestiges of its former dominant agricultural background. Negroes and whites continue to migrate to Rome in search of employment and the comforts which are usually afforded in an industralized community. Employment for Negroes conforms to the stereotype pattern which is characteristic of a segregated economy. Nevertheless, they still find relatively better employment outlets than they had in the predominantly agricultural areas. Their economic position would be much more secure if they could find semi-skilled and skilled employment in the factories and textile mills. Basically, this keeps them out of labor unions which have gained a sizeable footing in this county, in spite of some vigorous support for anti-union measures. A few Negroes in menial factory jobs have membership in unions, but not many. In some instances white skilled unionists in the building trades have walked off their jobs when skilled Negro building tradesmen appeared to do the work they had contracted to do. These Negro tradesmen work largely on an individual basis "and never get into any of the big jobs". In one case some white painters actually started boycotting a white painting firm because it was using Negro painters. They cancelled an order for paint with a demand that the Negro painters be discharged. The owner of the concern is alleged to have said "to hell with them, I am running my business". There are no Negro clerks or carriers in the United States Post Office in Rome,

In spite of these factors, Negro workers within the range of their restrictive employment are making some progress. They are helping to create the economic basis for the growth of a Negro middle-class which will be able to offer more political and civic leadership for the masses. Already this trend is evident. Four insurance companies have branch offices in Rome. Except for the teaching profession, they offer more white collar employment for Negroes than any other area. There are two Negro dentists and one physician in Floyd County. There are no Negro lawyers. The physician has access to the city hospital and meets regularly with the staff as a participating member. He hopes that his experience in this respect will result in attracting other Negro physicians to Rome.

Most of the Negro ministers who have churches in Rome live there. This

enables them to give leadership during the week as well as on Sunday. Some take advantage of this opportunity although "the training of the ministers is somewhat limited". A few have been criticized because they have solicited support for their churches from persons in politics, thus obligating themselves. In Rome, Negro and white ministers meet together without any distinction on the first Monday in each month as the Interdenominational-Interracial Ministers' Alliance. A Negro minister is the vice-president. Sometime they discuss political issues. However, one critic of the group asserted that less than one-third of the city's white ministers belong to the organization and "Negro members are largely onlookers". The members will "touch" on political matters; oppose having a representative of the United States at the Vatican; move against the sale of beer in Floyd County which is dry, "but they will politely stay off interracial situations". Despite these reactions this is the only direct, organizational line of communication I have discovered among white and Negro ministers in Georgia. There are those who feel that as they get to know each other better the areas of interracial cooperation will widen.

Since Negroes have been voting in Floyd County, police brutality (which was once intense and rampant) has subsided. Earlier, one of the Negro leaders appeared before the City Council to make complaints about police brutality. In commenting on his activities in this regard he said: "I just mean business, I don't have but one time to die". Two Negro policemen have been appointed since Negroes began voting. Others are expected to be appointed before the fall elections. The sheriff of Floyd County is regarded as being a fine person "and a Mason". He and other office holders have attended meetings and talked to Negro voters.

The N.A.A.C.P. has been inactive for several years. This seems to be due more to a lack of leadership and interest than to any type of pressure. This inactivity was a factor before the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision on public schools.

Negro residents in Rome are pressing for more school facilities. This is one of their areas of need, although some progress has been made along this line. Rome surpasses most Georgia cities its size in paving its streets and laying sewage. Negroes (a large number as home owners) live in all areas of the city, and whites and Negroes live in block units on the same paved streets in all parts of the city. One or two Negro leaders contend that the present street paving program is "just a sign of growth". A few others contend that there is also a recognition of the political value in such a program of community development.

III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: Negro political leaders are seeking to create a unity through the instrumentality of the newly created Non-Partisan Voters League. They hope to offset the forces of disunity which virtually destroyed the Floyd County Civic and Political League and by this technique regain more of their followers. This is a vital step. Next, they are sponsoring rotating citizenship clinics in churches every two weeks on Friday night. During these meetings, talks are made on the value, benefits and responsibilities of registering and voting. Later, the current candidates for office will be invited to speak during these meetings and it is believed that this will generate more interest in voting in the fall elections. Plans also will be worked out to create an automobile pool to transport voters to and from the polls. Negro high school students are taken to register when they reach eighteen years of age.

IV. Prospects: As the Floyd County Negro becomes more urbanized he will develop a keener appreciation of the use of the ballot as a technique of survival.

With the continuous development of a substantial middle-class with a reasonable degree of economic independency, there should emerge a Negro political leadership which is more intelligently articulate and forthright. These factors will become more pronounced as the public educational base expands and reaches more of the Negro people. Later, it will probably occur to organized labor that it could have an ally in the Negro voter. Therefore, some labor leaders are likely to establish discreetly, yet effectively, a line of communication between these two important segments of the population. These two groups, aided by Church support, could more effectively help to curb police brutality which in Rome has been accused of being anti-union, as well as anti-racial. As this is done the Negro will be more willing to extend the frontiers of political action as a participant and will not be "too satisfied with things as they are".

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NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR QUOTATION WITHOUT PERMISSION

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Laurens County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern For Negroes: Laurens County with Dublin as the county-seat, is located near the center of the state. It is one of the largest counties in physical size and also with its population of 53,606 with 40.2% being Negroes. In 1954 there were 12,230 white persons registered as compared to 2,201 Negroes. Negro registration was 15.2% of the total Negro population. To have had this number of Negroes on the registration lists was a remarkable achievement considering the toll taken in the 1948 purge of Negro registrants. At that time the number of registered Negro voters in Laurens County was 2,250. After the purge only 785 Negroes were registered. The white registrants were not "bothered" at all. Negro registrants were sent notices to appear before the registrar, who struck many names for various reasons, mainly on alleged inability to interpret properly parts of the United States Constitution. Those who were sent notices but did not report were automatically disqualified without any further consideration.

This procedure lowered the morale of the registrants who were purged and those who were not. Yet, some were appreciative of the fact that they had broken the pattern of almost complete exclusion at the time of the United States Supreme Court's refusal to review the Primus E. King (Chapman v. King) case as ruled on by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals on March 6, 1946. These rulings supported Judge Hoyt T. Davis' decision against Georgia's white primary provided by the Neill Primary Law of 1917.

Bolstered by those court rulings, some prominent and well-educated Negroes in Dublin made an effort to register and were denied the right to do so. This refusal was backed by the complete authority of the sheriff. This sheriff was a controversial figure, particularly after rural Negro and white laborers were arrested when they met with C.I.O. organizers in an effort to form a union.

Eventually, some of the sheriff's fiscal and administrative policies alienated some of his white supporters, among whom was influential State Senator Hershel Lovett. This resulted in the creation of the Gay Faction (the sheriff was Carlus Gay) and the Lovett Faction in Laurens County politics. Both factions "eyed" the Negro registrants who, on April 23, 1956, numbered approximately 2,201. The leaders of both factions sought to work through a prominent Negro business man, H. H. Dudley, in their efforts to get to the Negro voters. Dudley finally decided to go with the Gay faction much to the dismay of the Lovett faction. This was a difficult decision for Dudley to make because he had been a fellow-member of Lovett's in the Dublin Chamber of Commerce for 20 years. Lovett told Dudley he was making a mistake in turning his back on some of the most prominent persons in

Laurens County. Dudley pointed out that Negroes had supported this group but had not gotten anything or any recognition in return. The incumbent mayor and sheriff, supported by the City Council, decided that $350,000 would be spent in running sewage and water mains in Negro neighborhoods and Jefferson Street, the main street for Negroes, was to be paved.

Plans were perfected to get more Negroes registered. "The sheriff knew that the best white people had turned against him" and he was advised to help get more Negroes registered. He was advised to talk with the Tax Commissioner "to get him to agree to slaken up everything" for prospective Negro registrants as he had for whites. As a matter of fact, a few Negroes were permitted to register who marked an X in signing their names. When criticism developed because of this practice the following answer was given: "If they make an X mark to get money out of the bank and if they give in their taxes by making a mark, then they should be permitted to register by making a mark." Later, facts will be given about how the number of Negro registrants increased by 1,550 in fourteen days.

All persons regardless of race go to the same places to register in Laurens County. With the election machinery in the county under the control of the sheriff there is no distinction in voting places or ballot boxes for Negro and white voters. In the city of Dublin the whites vote at the Court House while the Negroes are voting at the City Hall. Negroes work at the polls for their racial group, along with some white persons. Since separate ballot boxes are kept for Negroes they can be and are usually accused of bloc voting when the election returns are made known. One of the Negro political leaders answered this charge. "Why are Negroes bloc voters," said he, "and whites are not" although in this section whites consistently bloc vote, for the Democratic Party, against Civil Rights, and for most of their Congressmen?

Returns in the last general election in Laurens County reveal that Negro voters weilded the balance of power in the election of several important candidates. On the other hand, they divided their votes so as to reduce the strength of charges that they voted in a bloc. The Negro vote in Dublin, where a distinction was made in tabulating the votes on a racial basis, was split 552 as against 561 for the Clerk of Courts. The sheriff would have lost if 1,142 Negro votes in Dublin and 170 in Buckeye (where only Negroes live) had not been cast for him. There were other Negro voters in other sections of Laurens County but they were not racially differentiated. Only 62 Negro city votes went to the sheriff's opponent and he received 75 in Buckeye. The incumbent sheriff would have received 4,664 votes as against 4,742 for his opponent had it not been for Negro voters. His opponent received 1,987 votes from whites in Dublin as against his 1,702. White and Negro voters in Laurens County favored the incumbent tax commissioner by 1,853 and 961 votes respectively. Buckeye's voters favored the tax commissioner 140 to 93. Negro voters supported the City Court Solicitor candidate who lost with 829 votes in Dublin, 145 in Buckeye as against 283 votes for his opponent in Dublin and 93 in Buckeye. Votes by Negroes were divided among the candidates for coroner as follows in Dublin - 345, 67, 158, and 170 - with most of this support going to the successful candidate. In Buckeye the votes were divided as follows - 47, 108, 14 and 30. The candidate who receive a majority of Buckeye's votes ran third on the ticket. Negro and white voters did not seem to have much interest in the race for county school superintendent judging by the relatively few votes cast by each group for the competing candidates. Both racial groups voted heavily for the judge of City

Court, county-treasurer, and ordinary even though they were unopposed. The Mayor of Dublin, though not up for re-election, has never been elected by more than a plurality of 600 votes. Negro voters can more than off-set this one way or another.

II. Socio-Economic Factors: Except in a very few places Negroes in Dublin never have had sewage and running water. A few years back they did get electricity but still do not have any street lights to speak of. "Negroes have been paying taxes for sewage for years" but have had almost none. Very few Negroes in Laurens County ever have had bath tubs, indoor toilets or telephones. This situation is changing as they become albe to install these facilities. They appreciate the value of voting, which recently resulted in their getting sewage and water mains. Further, the entire community will benefit because sanitation standards can be raised.

They hope to get more paved streets to follow the paving of Jefferson Street, which is their main residential street. Also, they hope to get parks, playgrounds a swimming pool and other community improvements. "Negroes (in Dublin) have not been inclined to want Negro policemen." They have heard "about how hard Negro policemen have been on their rackets, et cetera" in Macon, Atlanta and Savannah and "this has not pleased them." Police brutality has decreased. The mayor has instructed policemen not to strike anyone they arrest unless necessary. As police brutality decreases as a result of political pressure by Negroes, they are inclined to feel more secure as they press for more citizenship rights.

Many Negroes in Laurens County have been land and property owners for years. Some affiliated with the Republican Party. Years ago they had drugstores, grocery stores, undertaking businesses, a farmers' cooperative store in downtown Dublin, and other forms of businesses. There were skilled building craftsmen and farm owners, a few school teachers and doctors. The first six letter carriers were all Negroes (now there are none) and they were among those few persons who sent their children off to high school and college. Thus, Negroes in Laurens County have a political and economic heritage - though somewhat limited - and were fairly well-prepared to heed the call of their present political leaders, who fortunately have some economic independence in that they do not work for white employers.

There is a reasonably active chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. in Laurens County. However, it did not appear to have any official connection with efforts to increase Negro registration last spring. One of the Negro political leaders said while being interviewed that the N.A.A.C.P. was necessary to prod the white man from time to time. On the other hand, he felt that in view of the white man's present antagonism toward the N.A.A.C.P. that some phases of racial progress could be fostered without its aid.

As more Negroes registered, two of their main leaders - H. H. Dudley and The Rev. C. H. Harris - were put on the county jury. There was much discussion among the Court House whites, as well as others, as to whether these two members would sit in the balcony where other Negroes sat or downstairs with the rest of their fellow jurors. These two Negro members agreed that they would go to jail rather than sit in the balcony. Once in jail they were not to seek bond. The minister was to work with the people in jail in a ministerial capacity. The other person was to make appeals to Negroes to register and vote. However, this type of

action did not prove to be necessary. Although the sheriff told them that "some people don't want you here" they understood that he did not object. However, a candidate for a judge's post tried to relieve them of jury duty but they did not want to be relieved. This man is now in the race for the post of judge and Negroes are not going to support him. There was an encouraging angle to these two Negroes' experiences as jurors. Dublin's most distinguished and oldest member of the bar came over to welcome them as jurors and congratulated them on being willing "to serve your county" in this capacity.

The Negro political leaders are aware of racial pressures that have been somewhat intensified because of and in spite of their increased registration and voting record. They understand that some white people resent being obligated to Negroes. Some "straws in the wind" are being watched by the Negroes. For instance, Dublin has no Negro ball players on its team this season although it had at least two last year. It is felt that racial pressure is accountable for this shift in policy as the attendance of Negroes at games when there were Negro players increased profits. This season when Negro attendance fell off, one or two white persons with an interest in the team seemed to resent the former Negro fans' attitude and accused their leaders of "leading a boycott" against the team. The next incident involved Negroes using a school which had been built for them in Brewton, which is not far from Dublin in Laurens County. After putting $90,000 into the school building it was decided that it would be used for Negroes when it was completed although it is in an area of more white than Negro homes. When nearby white landowners complained against Negro occupancy of the school building the chairman of the State Board of Education, and the State School Building Authority, George P. Whitman, Jr. a Gov. Marvin Griffin appointee, recommended that further funds be cut off. Incidentally, this situation remained unchanged until the chairman's actions were disclosed in the Atlanta Daily World after Whitman qualified as one of the candidates for a seat in the Georgia Legislature representing Fulton County. Since Whitman (as well as all other candidates in Fulton County) is seeking Negro votes he maneuvered to have the State Board of Education, and the State School Building Authority release the money to the Brewton School with the understanding that the Laurens County Board o Education has the power to determine the policy under which it will be spent. Negro political leaders in Laurens County are watching developments before entering the controversy in an active sense.

When Negroes in Laurens County were registering in larger numbers there were whites who talked about the development of trouble between the races. This did not deter the leaders - not even the venerable Rev. C. H. Harris who is 76 years old. Another distinguished leader said: "I have already overlived my time on earth and will meet whatever they bring." Still, another said, "If they assasinate me it would set off one of the finest race riots imaginable." All this is mentioned to indicate that Negro leaders who urge their racial bretheren to register and vote in many sections of Georgia (as well as in many of the other Southern states) are not performing routine functions. Quite often their lives may be at stake. Yet, knowing this they often forge ahead with their leadership. To be sure, these Laurens County Negro political leaders remembered how Isaiah Nixon, a Negro, was murdered by white men in nearby Montgomery County in 1948 because he dared to register and vote. They also remembered that the murderers were acquitted.

Anti-labor union sentiment is rampant in Laurens County. The sheriff has vigorously and successfully fought unionizing efforts. He knows now that many of

the people have turned against him on this issue. His political advisers, among whom are two or three Negroes, have advised him to switch to labor so as to gain their support. This would give him a "populist support" such as Tom Watson had in the early stages of his political career. If such a political pattern is created, it could well be the beginning of an alignment which will upset political control by county-unit minorities in Georgia.

III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: When it became more apparent that the Lovett vs. Gay political factions were going to be involved in another heated election, plans were laid by each faction to get more votes of Negroes. Already 2,201 Negroes were registered as compared to 12,230 whites, thus making a combined registration of 14,431 in a total population of 53,606. Each side eyed these votes and realized also that there was much potential untapped political strength among Negroes in Laurens County. Their registration at this time was only 15.2% of their 40.2% of the total population. The Negro leader who could help influence Negro voters was approached by representatives of both sides and he decided to align his forces with the Gay faction. He and a respected minister spearheaded the formation of the "All Citizens Voters League of Laurens County." This organization held public meetings every Monday night in one of the churches. All precincts with an appreciable Negro population were organized and door to door visits were made by these workers, who were mostly Negro housewives. They were paid 50 cents for each Negro registrant whom they took to the Court House and City Hall to register. Some of the workers made as much as $150.00 a week. These workers were also paid 50 cents for each person whom they carried to the polls to vote. Accurate records were kept of their earnings and they signed receipts when they received their pay. Nothing was paid to those persons who registered and voted. In 14 days 1,550 additional Negro registrants were listed in the registration records. This brought the total registration of Negroes to a total of 3,550 in Laurens County. This was unprecendented and generated some alarm and concern. Some influential white persons said, "we got to stop these niggers from registering." They attempted to do so and as a result some Negroes were challenged as they sought to register. H. H. Dudley, one of their influential leaders, sent The Rev. C. H. Harris, pastor of the Second African Baptist Church and president of the voters league to the registrars' offices. He was instructed not to say anything or do anything but sit down and observe what was being done to disqualify Negroes who sought to register. The purging efforts were stopped.

Candidates came to mass meetings which were sponsored by the All Citizens Voters League of Laurens County. As has been indicated, several candidates were elected by the margin of the votes which Negroes cast for them. Mass meetings are now being held as the September primary date approaches "and Congressman Vinson will be present at some of these meetings."

The Dublin Courier-Herald gave news and editorial coverage to the registration drive among the Negroes of Laurens County. On April 25, 1956, a double column head said: "Negroes Flocking to Register Here." The article reported that on the previous day 79 registered at the City Hall and 110 registered in the county "and 12 whites registered." An interview with H. H. Dudley was reported in the news article. He said that Negroes were after "a greater registration so they can help put people in office that will be fair to all. We are urging that our voters be independent voters and that there will be no bloc voting"...."Our organization, headed by the ministers of the town, will seek some laws by which to

prosecute both the vote-seller and the vote-buyer." The Reverend Harris was quoted as saying: "We are trying to get our people to understand that they have a part in the civic program, and as citizens we have no motive other than we are trying to get our people to participate in civic affairs." The article concluded by saying: "According to information from City Offices, many of those who apply for registration in the city, after having qualified in the county office, are unable to write their names for registration." It was at this point that a Negro stated that if some Negroes borrowed money and paid their taxes by marking an X then they should be allowed to register and vote in the same manner.

On April 28, 1956, the Dublin Courier-Herald reported that within the "past four days" a total of 382 Negroes registered in the county and 294 in the city as against 92 whites in the county and 19 in the city. The article added that although Laurens County Negro leaders said that their campaign was local, reports were being received to the effect that Negroes were having campaigns in other states and that a Negro speaker told an audience of Negroes in Mississippi to "get the ballot box at any cost."

On April 30, 1956, The Dublin Courier-Herald carried an editorial titled, "The Business of Registration." After referring to the increasing registration of Negroes it stated that "with an adequately large number registered it is not inconceivable that in the future a Negro candidate will offer for some office in the city or county." After insisting that some elections had gone by default it was then stated that this inaction had contributed to "bad government." "If the white people of Dublin and Laurens County remain apathetic toward the election of their public officials and continue the practice of ignoring the civic duty of registration and exercise of the franchise, the time may not be too far off when our Negro voters will name the officials who run our government." At this point they were exhorted to make use of "the exercise of the franchise."

On May 2, 1956, the paper had a two column front page caption to the effect that "Whites Out-registered Negroes Yesterday" but the sub-heading modified this somewhat stating: "Negro Registrants Topped in County, But Not in City." In the county the ratio was 84 to 74 in favor of white registrants whereas it was 49 to 16 in favor of Negro registrants in the city. Negro registrants since the drive began on Monday, April 23, numbered 650 as against 206 white registrants. This same issue of the Dublin Courier-Herald carried a front page editorial titled, "Who Is Interested In Government"...."Let's look at the evidence" said the editorial writer as he deplored the relative inactivity of whites who had not registered. "The Negroes generally in Dublin and Laurens County have become sufficiently interested to organize and promote registrations. Why aren't the whites of the city and county equally as interested." The news articles and editorials never did state that the total number of white registrants far-outnumbered that of Negroes when the drive began. Actually the ratio was approximately 6 to 1 in favor of the white registrants. However, these comparisons continued until the registration books closed. According to the Negro leaders a total of 1,550 Negroes registered during their registration campaign and "this helped the cause of democracy because it spurred many good white citizens (672) to register also."

IV. Prospects: The value and potency of the Negro vote in Dublin and Laurens County can't be easily discounted. It is not likely that serious efforts will be made to reduce this vote materially. On the contrary, candidates will have to

continue to seek it - and thus those who are elected to office are likely to pave more than one street in Negro neighborhoods; extend sewage and water mains; develop play-grounds, including a swimming pool, continue to reduce police brutality and make other community improvements which were never considered for the Negro residents before their votes became formidable.

Voting pressure by Negroes will result in an improvement in their schools, thus extending their educational opportunities. This, plus an increasing economic independence on the part of a larger group of Negro leaders, should mean more political participation for their racial group.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR QUOTATION WITHOUT PERMISSION

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of McIntosh County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern for Negroes: McIntosh County, with Darien as its county-seat, is in the coastal plains area of southeast Georgia and has a population of 5,292. Darien is reputed to be the second oldest town in Georgia and was once populated entirely by Negroes. The Negro population is 61.1 per cent of the total. According to the 1954 registration list there were 1,498 white persons registered and 1,287 Negroes. The Negro registration is 46.2% of the total and there are no restrictions to their registering and voting "except with themselves". Incidentally, Negroes also outnumber whites in two other coastal plains counties - Liberty and Camden, and they constitute from 30 to 50% of the population in Chatham, Bryan and Glynn Counties, all of which are on the coast. Yet in these counties there is a representative number of Negroes registered and they also vote without overt restrictions.

These data reveal that the phenomenon of an excess number of Negroes over whites in some counties in Georgia does not necessarily result in their being uniformly denied the right to register and vote. Hugh Carl Owen in his study titled "The Rise of Negro Voting in Georgia: 1944-1950" also recognized this variation (PP. 52-54).[1] However, he does state that: "Thus there is a tendancy for a high degree of Negro population to mean a low number of Negro registered voters. There are, of course, exceptions to this tendency, for it is not a rule." (Ibid. P. 52). Although it is not within the province of this study to deal generally with causes for this variation it may be stated that three fundamental factors enter into the equation. First, there is more of a trend toward urbanization (between Savannah and Brunswick) in some of the coastal plains counties than in most of those in southwest Georgia where Negroes outnumber whites. Next, the "character" and outlook of public officials play an important part in determining what the registration and voting policies will be for Negroes. (Ibid. P. 53). Finally, some appreciable degree of the registration and voting policies for Negroes may be determined in part by the attitude and reactions of Negroes themselves. (This would apply to a county like Hancock County where Negro ownership of land and interest in obtaining an education go back through the years).

Beginning at this point this study will deal more specifically with McIntosh County. In this county Negroes "put in the county school superintendent (although many whites were against her), the sheriff and clerk of the court." The sheriff "won't squeeze Negroes too hard because back in his mind is the Negro vote." A Negro business man with whom I talked stated that the sheriff wanted to have him appointed to the Board of Education. He will not

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[1] Owen, Hugh Carl. Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Emory University's Graduate School, 1951.

accept such an appointment because "his people will press him and so will the sheriff" and he does not want his hands tied. Recently, a white man talked with this person about supporting Talmadge. This Negro said: "I won't enslave my soul. What's the use of giving me a piece of bread," said he, "and then call me nigger." His theory is to vote for the person who will do the most good for the community and the Negro people.

Although Negroes ordinarily are somewhat lethargic in registering and voting in McIntosh County a recent increase in taxes by the City Council has intensified their interest in voting. A committee of Negroes went before the City Council to state their grievances about tax increases. When their requests were turned down, some of the Negroes began saying, "Well, they have only two years."

To some of the older Negroes in McIntosh County the Republican Party is the epitome of political action and organization. Negroes and a few white Republicans still function and a Negro is local party chairman. There are about 1,700 Republicans with Negroes outnumbering the whites. They hold their meetings in the Court House and "never have been refused the use of it." This county was the last one in Georgia to have a Negro in the state legislature. Negroes who are Republicans cross party lines in local elections. They somewhat deplore the fact that: "Some Negroes vote the Democratic ticket but they have no organization." Negro Republicans are nostalgic as they recall that about fifty years ago they also had a Negro sheriff and a deputy marshall who were appointed by white commissioners. "Now," said the persons being interviewed, "Negroes have nothing."

Negro political leadership is divided on a Republican and Democratic party basis - and also on a county-town basis. One Negro minister allegedly has organized the county against the city.

Negroes use separate ballot boxes. White and Negroes vote in the same building - the City Hall or Court House, depending on whether it is a city or county election. Yet, Negroes have to go upstairs while the whites vote downstairs. In presidential elections they all get in the same line. Negroes have protested against this separate ballot box policy to the sheriff and the local Democratic Committee because "it is illegal."

II. Socio-Economic Factors: In spite of assertions that race relations are good in McIntosh County, some Negro leaders who were interviewed asserted that they had logical, personal reasons for not taking part in politics. For instance, one said he wanted to be free to vote as he saw fit without any obligations to support any one side. Another, who had withdrawn from political leadership said: "I am a school teacher and I am not financially able to take a chance." However, most of the teachers are registered voters. Some of these teachers have become more cautious since they have had to swear they would not teach in mixed schools. Although no threats have been directed against any of them "you can never tell what's in their minds." Another person who was interviewed said: "If the Negro uses common sense and does not put himself in the white man's position, he will get along all right." He let it be known that he did not mean "kneeling to the white man or calling him 'cap'." He further stated that: "The Lord will fight my battles and those he doesn't fight I will fight." Although these statements are not conclusive they do seem to reveal

some "uneasiness" in the area of race relations in McIntosh County.

N.A.A.C.P. leaders in McIntosh county have "refused to function" since right after the Supreme Court's decision involving segregation in public schools. Some concern was expressed about efforts to deny employment to teachers who were members of the N.A.A.C.P. This concern is considered logical because white-collar employment for Negroes, except as teachers, and a very few business men and several ministers, is definitely at a premium. There are no Negro physicians, dentists or lawyers - and a very few skilled workmen.

Most of the Negro employees work in the fishing and pulpwood industries. Although Darien is 18 miles from Brunswick, it has had few urban industries to locate there. There are no labor unions. The town seems to be drying up generally and employment for Negroes is narrowing as time goes on, except as they commute to Savannah, Hinesville and Brunswick. Gradually, Negroes are leaving for the North. Some are even abandoning their property (mostly small, unpainted, sparsely furnished houses without running water) which is later sold at sheriff sales. Darien Negroes are proud of the fact that many of them own their homes, although most of them are modest ones. And even in the county there is very little share-cropping. Negroes live in all sections of the town. Gradually a few streets on which they live are being paved, and electric lights and water mains are being extended as the town grows. "As you know, the white man is going to fix up before his door before he fixes before the Negro's door." As a rule, young educated Negroes do not settle here because of limited employment opportunities. There is a drive on now by the Junior Chamber of Commerce to bring in some modern industries.

Two Negro ministers - a Presbyterian and a Baptist - live in the town. The others come in over the weekend and their leadership, religious and otherwise, is of necessity limited. Some Negro leaders feel that there are too many churches for Negroes in Darien. They feel that some of these churches should be combined so that they could afford to attract and pay able preachers who would live here and furnish much-needed leadership.

III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: Negroes in McIntosh County seem to have only a "lukewarm interest" in registering and voting. "The only thing they have to do is to go before the tax collector if they own property. They will have no trouble if they can read and write." Negroes here need a voters league to help stir up interest in registering and voting. They need to have "citizenship meetings" to which candidates will be invited (this has not been done up to the present time). As it stands, not much is being done in a formal, organizational way to have Negro registration and voting increased.

IV. Prospects: The prospects are somewhat bleak for the following reasons: lack of leadership and active interest in political action; lack of employment opportunities which would provide a reasonable degree of independence for those who would offer political leadership; and lack of any type of voters' league which would help inform potential Negro voters of the rights, benefits and responsibilities of citizenship as based on intelligent political action.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR QUOTATION WITHOUT PERMISSION

August 31, 1956

TO: Harold Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

RE: County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern For Negroes: Negroes in Spaulding County, with Griffin as its county-seat, have been registering and voting in increasing numbers since the Primus E. King decision by Judge Hoyt T. Davis on October 12, 1945, uprooted the White Primary in Georgia. A subsequent supporting decision by the Circuit Court of Appeals on March 6, 1946, which the United States Supreme Court sustained on April 1, 1946, by refusing to review, opened up the Democratic Party primaries to them for the election on July 17, 1946. A few had registered and voted before this time in Spaulding County, mainly as Republicans, in federal elections. When the purge of voters' lists took place in 1948, approximately 800 Spaulding County Negro voters' names were stricken from the registration list. Negro leaders from Spaulding, Marion, Lowndes, Schley, Laurens, Daugherty, Twiggs, Jeff Davis and Pierce Counties sought "mandatory action against registrars" involved before Judge Frank N. Scarlett in the Federal District Court in Brunswick, Georgia in August, 1948. Judge Scarlett ruled against the action of the registrars. (However, he did dismiss the complaints against Daugherty and Twiggs Counties.) Although information about this action was obtained in interviews by the investigator, it is covered more fully by Hugh Carl Owen in his Emory University Master of Arts thesis titled, "The Rise of Negro Voting in Georgia,1944-1950."*

In Spaulding County the registrars against whom action had been taken were dismissed by Judge Chester Byers and others appointed whose purging actions would not make them guilty of contempt of court. Following this action, approximately 1,500 registered votes, mainly Negroes, were subpoenaed to "prove their qualification." All were ordered to report on the same day. Few were questioned. Those remaining were ordered to report the following day when the same stalling tactic was used. Then, too, the registrars would jump the alphabet - so that "no one was certain which letters would be chosen for which day." On the fourth day 205 Negro registrants were striken from the list out of 592 whose names were called - with no whites involved. Among those whose names were stricken were Negro teachers and professional men. On the day before the primary 588 names were purged from the list. In October this action was denounced by the Spaulding County Grand Jury but Judge Byers "ordered the passage stricken from the jury's findings, and refused to allow any of the findings to be published."* Negro political leaders who were interviewed stated that a local white attorney was employed to help get Negro registrants' names back on the registration list. However, he wanted so much per capita for his services. Since this cost was to prove excessive, the Negroes resorted to registration drives to get the purged names restored to the registration list.

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*Pp. 37-38, Unpublished Thesis which was submitted to the faculty of Emory University's Graduate School in 1951.

*Ibid., Pp. 37-38.

Since this incident, Negroes have registered and voted without any undue hindrance. There are 9,624 Negroes in Spaulding County and they comprise one-third of the population. There are 1,377 Negroes registered with 1,048 being in Griffin and 329 in the county. During the last election 384 Negroes voted in the city and only 84 voted in the county to make atotal of 468. Negro voters don't like the idea of having separate voting places, with whites voting at the Court House and Negroes voting in the City Hall. Although their voting place is manned by Negroes they still feel that votes should be counted as such and not on a racial basis. Spaulding County Negro voters attach more importance to local elections, then come state and national elections in this order. For years some influential Negro leaders in Griffin have been voting for the Republican ticket in presidential elections. Efforts are now being mady by Negro political leaders to get more of their racial group to register and vote. They know from official statistics that Spaulding County is in a cluster of counties comprising Region II (so listed for organizational purposes) in which the Negro registration potential has not been fully tapped. (See attached sheet.) A circular distributed by the Spaulding County Civic and Citizens's Improvement League emphasizes that: "You will receive courteous treatment from the registrar." Since they do have to go to the Court House to register this assurance of "courteous treatment" is an important factor in causing them to be willing to go there.

II. Socio-Economic Factors: Although Griffin is growing and becoming more of an urbanized city it is still dominated by rural forces. It is still not large nor urban enough for unions and the N.A.A.C.P. to be reasonably well accepted. Personal matters can still become "community property" so to speak. For instance, a Negro contributor to the N.A.A.C.P. was "accused" of being a member of the N.A.A.C.P. because his cancelled check in clearing was spotted by some white persons who are against the N.A.A.C.P. Experiences of this kind cause Negro leaders to think that they are more vulnerable than they know. And yet they continue to forge ahead with their leadership although they are inclined to become somewhat more cautious and operate more fully within the pattern of segregation. There is no N.A.A.C.P. chapter in Spaulding County. There are Negro supporters but they are not members. "Local white people would like to keep the N.A.A.C.P. out and since this is the case" the Negro leaders have decided to push toward their goals by means of other organizations which are more generally accepted. For well-known reasons, Negro political leaders are usually diplomatic in openly granting or refusing political support to candidates since they have to get along with the winners and losers after the elections are over. For example, one Negro leader said to a potential candidate: "Come on into the race. I won't make an ironclad statement about supporting you, but I won't fight you." This leader must have had in mind the experience of a Negro veteran in adjoining Clayton County who was reported driven out of Jonesboro by the defeated candidate whom he did not support. Other than on an informal basis, there is no direct significant line of communication between Negro and white voters. The closest approach is between the white and Negro units of the Veterans of Foreign Wars whose representatives meet in unsegregated district meetings, but not in local meetings. There is definitely no line of communication between Negro and white ministers in Spaulding County.

Some benefits, including more paved streets, sewage and water mains, electric lights and use of the football stadium, have accrued to the Negro

community since their votes have increased. However, they can't use the city auditorium which, oddly enough, is attached to a "white school building." Negroes are striving to multiply these benefits and extend them to include a modern swimming pool, play-grounds and recreational centers. They are also seeking more police protection and less police brutality.

In Griffin there is a representative nucleus of business and professional people including some Negro ministers who live in the city and help to give political leadership. There are some Negro landowners and renters in the county who do the same. A number of Spaulding County Negroes had access to educational opportunities long before the city and county furnished any such opportunity beyond the elementary level. The Cabin Creek School which was operated by the Cabin Creek Association of the Georgia Baptist Convention made a vital contribution in helping some Negroes in Spaulding County get an education and the results are manifested in some of the leadership that the Negro group is receiving. This is in contrast to the situation in Walton County where Negroes have had a high school for only 13 years and there is a dearth of leadership. Although some Negro teachers are active with the political organizations their general "reluctance to speak out" was deplored. However, it was recognized that the "Negro principals are at the mercy of the superintendent." Thus, efforts are made by Negro political leaders "not to put a teacher on the spot." However, a struggle is now being waged for political power between the regularly established Negro political leaders and a Negro educator "who talks one way to Negroes and another way to the white folks." It is alleged that he claims he can stave off public school integration, whenever the issue arises in Spaulding County. Although the growth of this Negro educator's influence is possibly a straw in the wind, it is felt that there has been "no noticeable change" in the attitude of white people about Negroes registering and voting since the United States Supreme Court decision against segregation in public schools.

At times racial incidents which are not related at all to political activities have a tendency to slow them down. People in Spaulding County were shocked on June 27, 1956, when they read newspaper accounts of the death of Walter Man, Negro, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment for his part in the fatal shooting of his employer. He was in the Spaulding County jail at the time of his death, which occurred under questionable circumstances. The general conclusion reached by Negroes in Spaulding County was that: "A Negro's life is not safe here, even when he's in jail." Some Negro leaders are demanding a thorough investigation of this matter. They are also pointing out diplomatically that increased Negro registration and voting will help reduce the possibility of this kind of incident.

III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: During the time for registration, one or two influential Negro political leaders can call the Tax Commissioner and have him arrange to have Negroes register. Those who can read and write are registered without delay. Those who cannot read and write and "interpret the Constitution" go before the registrar and are assisted. It was stated to me in an interview that one influential Negro businessman and political leader can "nod his head in the direction" of potential Negro registrants and they will be registered. Three influential organizations among Negroes help push registration and voting. They are the Civic Improvement League which is about twenty years old and is composed mainly of business and

professional men. Its president is chairman of the Spaulding County Republican Club and was an alternate delegate to the recent Republican Convention in San Francisco. He was a delegate to the 1952 Republican Convention. Another political organization is the Citizens League, which is about five years old. It admits women and is headed by a highly trained Negro minister. He organized it because he wanted to help widen the area of political interest and participation. This organization also helps with such civic activities as the Community Chest, March-of-Dimes and Red Cross Drives.

These two organizations, the Civic Improvement League, controlled largely by Negro Republicans, and the Citizens League, controlled largely by Negro Democrats, sponsor joint registration drives. The third organized group is an active Republican Club composed mainly of Negroes, with a few white members. This group attempts to get more people, Negro and white, to register and vote as Republicans. A young Republican's Club was organized about three months ago to make contacts with potential young Republicans. In their joint meetings the Civic, and Citizens Improvement Leagues stress the fact that "a voteless people is a helpless people." Their meetings are held in churches and just before elections the candidates for political office are invited to speak. Most of them come. One of the leaders who was interviewed said: "It takes quite a bit of urging to get Negroes to participate politically." Among the reasons for this are a "lack of a sense of civic responsibility" and his feeling that "I don't count nor will my vote," and finally his being discouraged in some instances by his white employers, especially in the rural areas.

In a meeting with some Spaulding County Negro businessmen, taxi drivers, school teachers, a physician, and two farmers we discussed some techniques of getting Negroes to register and vote. The house to house campaign was considered most effective when backed by mass meetings (and radio announcements when feasible). The formation of car pools as spearheaded by the Negro owned taxi company was considered essential. It was agreed that young Negroes usually respond more intelligently and quickly to registration efforts. The teachers in the group emphasized that Negro high school students are taken to register when they become 18 years old. Some Negroes like for some precinct leaders to go to the Court House with them when they go to register. Some of these persons are afraid they won't know what to do. Others stand in awe of going to the Court House, which to them is a symbol of oppression rather than expression. Further, it was brought out that it is a good thing for precinct workers to be given lists of the registered Negro voters so that "some Negroes who should register but don't can be smoked out." This procedure also enables precinct leaders to check on some persons who think they are registered but are not.

When asked why they were interested in registering and voting, some Negro leaders said in substance: "If we don't register and vote, we can't get benefits which are comparable to those received by whites - or comprable to our needs. We want to be full-fledged citizens with a voice in local, state and national government. We want to protect our rights as citizens and be respected when we go down town."

IV. Prospects: As Griffin becomes more urbanized and the educational background of Negroes, as well as others, is enhanced, there is likely to be

an increase in registering and voting by Negroes in Spaulding County. Fortunately, there is a representative nucleus of Negro business and professional men for a town the size of Griffin, and as this group increases it should be able to afford more political leadership for its racial group. Then, too, white political candidates are beginning to realize that they can go more openly after Negro votes - and this also reassures the Negro voter that he is taking the right step in helping his community.

REGION 2

COUNTY	NEGRO POTENTIAL	NEGRO REGISTRATION	WHITE REGISTRATION
Butts	2,168	937	3,490
Carroll	3,578	713	15,118
Coweta	5,788	803	9,751
Douglas	1,050	586	5,572
Fayette	1,261	8	3,269
Heard	867	272	3,278
Henry	3,657	1,006	4,981
Meriwether	5,127	920	6,743
Pike	1,915	175	2,822
Spaulding	5,075	1,196	10,551
Troup	9,423	2,654	16,191

1953 REGISTRATION IN COUNTIES
COMPOSING THE 2ND REGION

INTERESTED GROUPS

American Legion
NAACP
Chamber of Commerce
CIO Unions
Democratic Organization
Republican Organization

League of Women Voters

NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR QUOTATION WITHOUT PERMISSION

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Walton County Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern for Negroes: Approximately forty-five miles from Atlanta in an easternly direction is located Walton County of which Monroe is the county-seat. There are about 20,777 persons living in Walton County with about 31% of these Negroes. Rural life is still a dominant characteristic of the community pattern - although definite aigns of change are evident. Out of about 3,000 Negroes in this community who are eligible to vote, close to 1,500 are registered. In the last election, approximately 500 Negroes voted. In 1954 the number of white registrants was 6,522 in contrast to 788 Negro registrants, thus making a total of 7,310 registrants. Negroes made up only 10.8% of the registrants although their percentage in the total population was 31.1.

Negroes register in Walton County without legal hindrance and have been doing so for several years. However, some of the registration records got mixed up in Walton County during the last election. Apologies were made and some of these irregularities, which appeared more of a bookkeeping than of a racial nature, were cleared up in time for the registrants to vote. At one time several years ago an effort was made to purge Negro registrants' names from the voters' list. One of the Negro leaders went to employ a lawyer to take legal steps to stop this. The lawyer was in with the "political clique" and he later said that there would be no purging of Negroes' names. Those in political authority must have thought the Negroes meant business. Then, too, they must have remembered that once before some Negroes in Walton County had taken legal action by employing Attorney Dan Duke of Atlanta to challenge Walton County's jury system. In a few instances some Negroes who were seeking to register were told by a registrar that "I don't want you to register to vote against me and my friends." Nevertheless, they were not denied the right to register. Negro high school students are advised to register as they reach 18 years of age, the legal voting age in Georgia. Provision is made by teachers for these students to go to the City Hall to register and this procedure has been "acceptable up until now."

Negroes voted for the mayor and councilmen this year for the first time. Some of the candidates for office, especially the mayor, invited Negroes to vote for them. They promised to do "whatever they could to improve the colored community." Negro voters use one ballot box and whites use a different one. Negro voters generally do not like this arrangement because they realize that their votes can be traced by the numbers they have on them when they are compared to the numbers on the stubs.

II. Socio-Economic Factors: It was asserted that many Negroes "don't want to vote." They say that there is "no need to vote, it won't amount to anything anyway. White folks are running things and will keep on doing so." Some Negroes who were registered would refuse free rides to the polls on

election day and some Negro women who promised that they would go down to the polls often "would get in bed to keep from doing so." Since Negro voters use separate voting booths, it was thought by some that their votes would be thrown out - and not counted. To help counteract this type of thinking, a slogan was worked out on placards - and reads - "Your vote is the one that counts - Register."

Considering the degree of disinterest in registering and voting by Negro residents of Walton County, the investigator asked if this were a part of the aftermath of an unsolved lynching which took place in this county on July 25, 1946. On this date four Negroes, two men and two women, one of whom was pregnant, were lynched in broad daylight. Seemingly, there was a lack of interest in registering and voting on the part of Negroes before the lynching. Therefore, it is contended that thought of the lynching is not necessarily a pervasive factor in causing Negroes not to register in larger numbers. According to those with whom I talked, there was more fear about lynching outside of Monroe than there was inside of it. Nevertheless, some persons, white and Negro, were quite concerned. For instance, one white woman is said to have implored a Negro woman whom she knew - "Don't say anything about it; they (the lynchers) are bloodthirsty." The Negro woman stated that she would talk if it would help because "Christ died and I am willing to help my people." Another person, a man, said that he did not think that Negroes were generally afraid to register and vote. He asserted that the "so-called leading Negroes are afraid" but the "Negro working by the day doesn't give a damn."---"The average street-roaming Negro isn't afraid of white men. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid of what they may lose, but what it is, I don't know."

No N.A.A.C.P. chapter exists in this county but some informal contacts are maintained with the Atlanta N.A.A.C.P. chapter. There is a definite lack of Negro leadership in Walton County in spite of efforts of a very few to provide much needed assistance. None of the Negro teachers participates vigorously in political affairs even though they do encourage Negro high school pupils to register and vote when they reach the legal age to do so. Some are criticized for not participating at all. Most of them are not residents of Walton County and they go to their homes whenever they can. Most of the Negro ministers come in to their churches once or twice a month. None of them live in Monroe, although a Methodist minister did live there for a while. The First Baptist Church (Negro) finally got a minister on a four-Sundays-a-month basis. He commutes from Atlanta. It is felt that a part of the leadership lag is due to the conditions described above and the thought is spreading to the effect that these Negro leaders ought to become an integral part of the Negro community by living in it.

There are no Negro doctors, dentists, or lawyers in Walton County. It is felt that they are kept out by fear of living in a place like Monroe. There are a very few independent Negro businessmen; thus, a relative degree of economic independence or security which is usually the basis of political leadership is definitely lacking. Most of the Negroes work in domestic service, as janitors, farm hands and a few have menial jobs in factories. There are some carpenters, brickmasons and cement finishers, but not many. An increasing number of Negro workers commute to Atlanta to their jobs. Although this investigator found no evidence of economic reprisals against Negroes because of their efforts to register and vote, it seems that the very nature of their

economic pattern of employment is a constant reminder that they must operate within the range of the white man's restricted area of consent. One person who was interviewed stated that the "best Negro voters are in the rurals" and they are landowners and renters. The sharecroppers don't vote to any extent. There is a small well-planned housing project for Negroes which was financed largely with federal funds.

Another restrictive citizenship handicap is the absence of educational facilities. Walton County is in dire need of additional school buildings, especially for its Negro residents. Recently, a school bond issue was favorably voted on and was supported by members of both racial groups. Some Negro school teachers were contacted and asked to use their influence to get Negro voters to help put over the bond issue. The present high school, which is definitely inadequate, was started only 13 years ago. Prior to this time, a Negro pupil in Walton County could go only through the elementary school. Not many of them even did this because often their parents kept them out of school to work in the cotton fields. Alert, sensitive Negro parents who wanted their children to go beyond elementary school had to finance their education elsewhere, mainly in Atlanta. This was often difficult to do because of the nature of their employment and their limited wages. Furthermore, up until the last school year of 1955-1956, Negro students went to school on what is called a split-session. They would start their studies early in July and then their school was closed for two months - September and October - while they worked in the fields. The white schools were not on a split-session. However, at rare times during the heaviest part of the farming season, white students would be dismissed for a half-day to help with harvesting the crops. When efforts were made to do away with the split-session, a Negro school trustee board was appointed to help determine the policies. It favored the split-session. Other Negroes who were not in favor of the split-session threatened to bring a court suit to have it done away with. Before this action was taken, the split-session was eliminated. "The white man is a specialist in dividing us," said one of the Negro opponents of the split-session. He also stated that: "The white man fears the press and is now very particular about how he miscarries justice."

Some Negroes in Monroe hope to use "political pressure" to get a park, a school building, paved streets, more sewage, running water, a swimming pool and other community improvements. However, as I was told, some are content to have their political support pay off by having some influential white person say to them: "All right, you boys have your liquor...and I won't bother you." Another person who was interviewed said; "Integration is here on a liquor selling and a liquor buying basis. Negroes go to some white homes and whites go to some Negro homes for it." Another phase of the political pay-off has to do with Negroes who run afoul of the law, getting lighter sentences than they ordinarily would get.

III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: There is no well-planned, consistent effort in Walton County on the part of Negro residents to increase their registration and voting. There is division in the ranks of the few leaders whom they have. At times whites have postponed doing something that some Negroes have requested because "You all are not together" and we will wait until "you all get togehter." Negroes do not have a civic or political league that they can depend on for leadership. The Negro could get

some political benefits if ten or twelve "would meet regularly and stand up for their rights." Occasionally, a political or citizenship speaker is brought in from Atlanta. Whereas white veterans are rather active politically, Negro veterans in their Amvets and American Legion branches are not encouraged to participate in politics. White and Negro veterans being in separate units do not have a clear-cut means of communicating with each other. The American Legion units are strictly segregated. The Amvets' units, Negro and white, do have delegates attending the same regional meeting. Occasionally, "some Christian white people, especially white church women," cross racial barriers to cooperate with Negroes in helping to lift community standards by supporting school bond issues, et cetera.

White and Negro ministers do not meet together even at times when the Negro ministers are in the town. Negro ministers are not in the town during the week when they could help sponsor voters' mass meetings. It is realized that such citizenship meetings are needed and there is a plan being formulated to get them started. Those who want to have this kind of meeting realize that for a while very few, if any candidates, will attend the meetings because they seem to prefer making their contacts with Negroes on an individual, personal basis, and through their employers when this approach is thought to be expedient. It is felt that political mass meetings which are attended by the candidates would generate more interest in political action by Negroes.

Finally, another indirect type of political deterrent should be mentioned. In recent months a white man was reported to have raped a Negro girl in Walton County. Two weeks after it occurred, it was uncovered by a Negro resident of Walton County who called Atlanta and gave the details to a newspaper. Now, the main Negro witness is missing and no one seems to know what happened to him. These experiences undoubtedly condition the thoughts and actions of Negroes, and although a few continue to exert their citizenship rights some deal realistically with the ever present potential danger and draw back more and more.

IV. Prospects: The outlook is somewhat gloomy until some of the factors discussed in the preceding pages are dealt with in a creative way. The present leadership, white and Negro, will have to become more vigorous and resolute. Then, too, educational and economic opportunities, especially for Negro residents, must be broadened.

May 27, 1959

To: Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: Some Facts Involved in the Political Status of Negro Residents in Baker County, Georgia.

From: Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Academic Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

A Few Background Facts: Baker County is located in southwest Georgia in an area which is often referred to as the "Blackbelt" because of its large Negro population. This county, the sixty-first in Georgia, was named after Colonel John Baker, a noted Revolutionary leader who was a member of the 1775 Provincial Congress in Savannah. Another Revolutionary War hero, Sergeant John Newton, who in 1779 rescued some prisoners of war in the outskirts of Savannah, was the person for whom the present county-seat, Newton, was named. This town is twenty-two miles southwest of Albany in Dougherty County, which was originally a part of Baker County. Its proximity to Albany is important in so far as this study is concerned, as developments will reveal.

Baker County is still one of the most highly agricultural areas in Georgia and depends upon peanuts, pecans and cotton for approximately two-thirds of its annual income. Three large plantations cover a large portion of Baker County. Pineland is owned by the Mellons of Pennsylvania. Ichaway is owned by Robert Woodruff of Atlanta. Blacketts, the third one, is owned by another northern family whose name it bears and who lives on it. These plantations are big businesses and have adapted themselves to the employment and racial mores of this section. Individually owned farms decreased

from 1,502 in 1920 to 751 in 1954. In 1957 the population of Baker County was estimated at 5,200 with four-fifths of these people living on farms. This population figure is about 700 less than it was in 1950. Divided on the basis of race, there are 1,900 whites and 3,300 Negroes.* This racially one-sided division of this county's population has generated "fears" on the part of the whites who have constructed their voting system so that Negroes "can't take over." Industrialization and urbanization, which tend to alter provincial customs, are largely absent. The dominant "mentality" of the county is rural, with a completely Old South motif.

Voter Registration: Baker County registration figures, which are available in Secretary of State Ben Fortson's office, reveal that eighty-eight per cent or 1,670 out of the white population of 1,900 are registered to vote. Only twelve per cent of the white population are not registered to vote. According to the simple mathematics which is involved, there can be only 230 white persons under the voting age of eighteen in Baker County. Yet, during the school year 1957-58 there were 137 white children enrolled in Baker County High School and 239 in elementary school for a total of 440. By the deductive process, after again considering the mathematics involved, it is logical to conclude that the white registration records of Baker County are padded.

Although Negroes comprise sixty-three per cent of the total population, not one of the 3,300 is registered to vote. A few years ago, following the

*Some of the historical facts about Baker County were obtained from an article "Know Your County" which appeared in The Atlanta Constitution, September 24, 1958.

Primus E. King decision in 1946, approximately 475 Negroes were registered. However, they were purged from the registration lists so that the political power-structure could be retained by the followers of Eugene Talmadge. Now, considering Georgia's county-unit system of voting, 836 white voters in Baker County as a simple majority, out of a total county population of 5,200, control the two county-unit votes. These two county-units votes, when added to those of the other 120 two-unit vote counties, are a formidable factor which forms the basic political strength for most of the successful Georgia politicians in State and federal elections. These 121 two-unit vote counties have a total of 242 unit votes, as compared to 120 unit votes for the 30 four-unit vote counties and 48 unit votes for 8 of the most populous counties.

Under the county-unit system, Baker County, with its padded roll of 836 voter controlled two-unit votes, has one-third as much political strength as Fulton County with its 133,291 registered voters and six-unit votes. Since a bare majority of voters in each county in Georgia controls its total number of unit-votes, it takes 418 voters in Baker County to build up one-unit vote as compared to 11,108 voters in Fulton County. This example, in principle, can be duplicated many times in Georgia's county-unit system of voting. Thus, Georgia's political ideology, being rural centered and controlled, is at variance with national and international political trends and interests. Isolationist and anti-racial sentiment is very strong in Georgia. This deadens the average Baker County white man's interest in how improved race relations will help gain allies for the United States among the uncommitted colored peoples of the world. Further, this attitude interferes with an extension of political, religious, cultural and racial tol-

erance which in its totality will help strengthen the position of the United States in a delicately balanced international cold war atmosphere. One of his chief interests is how to help keep political control in Georgia from shifting to the cities, and how to continue to disfranchise the Negro. Baker County, as well as others like it under the county-unit system, helps to perpetuate a dual system of political disfranchisement which is directed against the Negro per se and urban dwellers, most of whom are white.

More people are beginning to realize that there is a political bondage in Georgia that transcends race. Several months ago, Mayor William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta brought suit against the county-unit system in a federal court. On Wednesday, April 1, 1959 Senator Herman Talmadge stated that the county-unit system "probably" would be modified. Senator Richard Russell has given support to this statement. Both men believe that urban areas should be given more political representation in keeping with their population growth. At the moment, the motives of these long time supporters of the county-unit system are not fully known. However, there are some persons who say that these senators wish to reform the county-unit system before the United States Supreme Court can hand down a decision involving it. Whatever the reason is, it is logical to conclude that it is just as unconstitutional to reduce the effectiveness of a person's vote under the county-unit system as it is to deny him the right to register and vote.

When qualified voters are sealed off by racial, as well as county-unit restrictions, they should not be counted constitutionally as part of the population basis of political representation. Politically, they are not present anymore than if they had migrated out of the State, or had died or had

not been born. In the future, effective civil rights legislation should provide for a reduction in representation in the United States House of Representatives to the degree that qualified Negroes are not permitted to register and vote in all elections, state and federal. If the life of the Civil Rights Commission is continued, it could help unearth the numerical extent of racial disfranchisement in several Southern states as based on its authority "to investigate denials of voting."

In the meantime, the disfranchised Negroes in Baker County may seek relief under the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals which on March 6, 1946 upheld Judge Hoyt T. Davis' ruling in the Primus E. King "White Primary Case." Since this date, potential contempt of court charges have not caused the Board of Registrars in Baker County to relax their racial voting restrictions. If disfranchised Negro litigants do not bring suit, then the next logical step will be for the Department of Justice to intercede in their behalf. This would be done by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice which has the authority under the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1957 to file an injunctive petition in a Federal District Court. By initiating such action the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice would seek to bring the constituted Board of Registrars under contempt of court charges with orders not to continue to disfranchise qualified Negro residents.

The first such intervening action was initiated against the Terrell County, Georgia Board of Registrars on September 4, 1958 under the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 by W. Wilson White, the head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Five Negro college graduates

had been denied the privilege of registering. Only 48 Negroes were registered although there were 5,036 Negroes in Terrell County who were of voting age. On April 16, 1959, United States District Judge T. Hoyt Davis dismissed the suit against the Terrell County Board of Registrars, most of whom are an integral part of the real political power structure in the State of Georgia, by declaring unconstitutional the section of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 under which the suit was filed. This decision has been appealed by the Department of Justice directly to the United States Supreme Court.

Socio-Economic Factors: In the processes of social change there are always areas of resistance that are created by forces which cling to the past. For instance, peonage was substituted for slavery by some of those persons who were opposed to freeing the slaves. Then, racial segregation was resorted to as a structural societal instrument to keep Negroes from moving too far away from a peonage position.. Baker County is an unusually outstanding practicing exponent of this racially restrictive way of life. Most of its Negroes work as farm laborers for three to four dollars a day, and as domestic servants. To aid in maintaining a "ready supply of labor" its welfare administrators are slow in putting aged Negroes on their rolls. When they do get on they are paid thirty-five dollars a month although aged whites usually qualify for fifty dollars a month. "A Negro is just about dead when he gets fifty dollars a month." Generally, good housing is at a premium in Baker County. Shacks abound in Negro neighborhoods. Only about seven Negro homes in the county have bathrooms and septic tanks, except for one small housing project built for Negroes in Newton, the county seat. Most of the few white collar jobs in Baker County are available to white

persons, except for about thirty-five teaching jobs that are open to Negroes. Several Negroes own their own farms which are reasonably large and profitable. For racial and invidious reasons they have to operate carefully within the context of racial restrictions that apply to the masses of Negroes. Further, they want to keep their credit open and their taxes from being arbitrarily increased as a punitive measure.

One effective way to suppress people is to deprive them of the right to obtain an education. For years, Baker County, along with many other counties in Georgia, failed to provide Negro children with high school facilities. In most instances, they had to depend on one-teacher elementary schools which often operated in a Negro lodge hall or church. If a Negro boy or girl wanted to go to high school he had to go to the expense of leaving Baker County and maintaining himself in some other place. White youths did not have to do this since generation after generation attended the local white high school. And many of them went off to college. Very few Negro residents ever got to go to high school and fewer ever got to go to college. This meant that the Negro was not able to form an educated nucleus on which he could depend for leadership.

In 1941 the Negroes, themselves, started a high school in an old house. Several years later, largely as a result of pressure from decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the educational picture for Negro children in Baker County began to change. The West Baker Elementary School now has eleven teachers. In 1956 the East Baker High and Elementary School was built and now has twenty-four teachers. Unlike the long established Baker County High School for white children, this Negro high school does not have

a gymnasium. However, Negro taxpayers have helped to pay off a bond issue of $80,000 which financed the construction of a gymnasium for the white high school. Trades are not offered in either the white or Negro high school. Each school has an agriculture teacher. However, white students can go to one of their area trade schools which is located in nearby Americus, Georgia. There is no area trade school, as such, for Negro students anywhere in the state of Georgia.

In concluding this section, it is obvious that Negro residents in Baker County have not had much of an opportunity to develop a formally educated nucleus which could help provide leadership for the masses, politically or otherwise. This author's studies, involving racial aspects of registration and voting in several counties in Georgia, revealed that there is a definite correlation between increased educational opportunities and increased voter registration.

Church leadership among Negroes in Baker County is a week-end affair. None of the Negro preachers live in this county. Except for emergencies, they come in only for the week-end and when they are through with their services on Sunday they leave. Several of the most outstanding churches for Negroes have been given token building and/or maintenance contributions by the owners or managers of the three large plantations to which reference has been made. These relatively small gifts and those that are anticipated are one of the reasons why the Negro preachers do not provide a citizenship program which also involves registration and voting. Then, too, some of the Negro preachers are limited in the knowledge of what their leadership roles should be. One of my informants said, "I am going to tell you the truth

about these preachers here in Baker County--no preacher will tell us about voting--they are scared." Voter registration meetings in churches for Negroes rarely occur in this county because most of their influential churches are obligated to those forces that are interested in maintaining the status quo. Churches for Negroes are not alone in this equation of societal control as it operates in Baker County and elsewhere.

The overseers of the three large plantations are constant supporters of a rigid system of segregation and exploitation of labor, white and colored. "These hunting reserves mainly for northerners" help in substantial ways to maintain the status quo in race relations and otherwise. Further, a strong Citizens Council, which is just one cooperating unit in a net-work of citizens Councils in Southwest Georgia, helps to police Negroes and whites, too, who attempt to deviate in the least from the normally accepted pattern of racial behavior.

The white ministers and the Negro ministers of Baker County do not have connections, religious or otherwise. The white ministers have been silenced by the Citizens Council and the general milieu in which they have to work, live and preach. "Once there was a white minister here," I was told, "who would speak in Negro churches and show some brotherly concern, but they got rid of him. In view of this situation, a newcomer possibly would be puzzled after reading a sign on Georgia Highway 91 as he travels out of Albany in the direction of Newton, the county seat. The message on the sign is as follows: "Eternity! Where? Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and spend it in Heaven." In spite of this publicly expressed concern about the future abode of human beings, there is an almost complete lack of concern by the white churches for the personality and dignity of Negroes in their earthly existence in Baker County.

There is no adequate, intelligent, equalitarian communication between the two racial groups in other areas. White and Negro veterans do not contact each other. The League of Women Voters does not cooperate with Negro women to help improve their communities. White and Negro teachers do not talk together about their common problems and aims in education. Some Negroes get in touch with whites who wish to learn surreptiously what other Negroes are thinking about. There is a reluctance on the part of Negroes to communicate with each other about civil rights unless they are reasonably sure that what they say will not be communicated to the whites.

Under present conditions in Baker County, Negro teachers dare not assert any leadership in extending their civil rights and expect to hold their jobs. They do not openly discuss having Negroes register and vote, nor do they seek this privilege for themselves. They fear the loss of their jobs and possible physical violence. This reaction is not theoretical because already two Negro teachers and a bus driver have been fired because they are relatives of two Negro men who were interested in registering and voting. Subsequent discussions will reveal the reality of the Negro teachers' fears about suffering possible physical violence.

A visiting teacher in Baker County for thirty years decided "under pressure" that she had better seek employment elsewhere because she was caught unwittingly in the cross-fire of a local political campaign. This took place almost three years ago when the incumbent school superintendent, H. E. Hall, was running for reelection against William Geer, the principal of Baker County High School. Geer geared his campaign to appeal to Citizens Council members and their supporters. He attacked the Negro woman, who is regarded as a person of integrity, dignity and culture, because her name was listed among the names of other school officials on the official stationery

which was used by the Board of Education. This was the crux of the campaign and the main issue which was involved. Geer's slogan over the radio and in public political meetings was that when he was elected he was going to remove "that black nigger woman's name from your stationery that has been paid for by your tax money." Some white women resented this type of campaign. Geer was not elected. The visiting teacher left her job and her home in which she had lived for many years. In the midst of this type of racial atmosphere, Negro teachers are quiet in so far as all aspects of civil rights are concerned.

Efforts of Negro Residents to Register: Now, there is not a single Negro person registered to vote in Baker County. This fact was among those factors which prompted the selection of this county to be studied. By what techniques have all Negroes been kept from registering? If they can't register, then not a single Negro person can vote in Baker County. Is it that Negro residents do not desire to register and vote? What are the components of this pattern of total exclusion from the exercise of a fundamental right which is so essential in a system of Democracy? Shortly after the Civil Rights Act became law on September 9, 1957, four substantial tax-paying Negro residents of Baker County decided to sponsor a mass meeting in Newton to discuss registering and give instructions about how to answer questions that prospective registrants are asked under the Georgia voters' law. Later, a registration rally barbecue was given by one of the leaders. Sheriff Warren Johnson of Baker County drove nearby the barbecue site, stopped for a while and blew his sirens. He wanted the participants to know that he knew that they were there. The sheriff is said to have stated that this barbecue get-to-gether was an NAACP meeting. After blowing his sirens, Johnson left and nothing else happened except that the leaders knew that the sheriff was

opposed to Negroes registering and "doesn't even want them to come into the court house."

In spite of this warning, the Negro leaders continued their efforts with some assistance from one or two Negro civic leaders from nearby Albany. They recalled the time, following the Primus E. King decision in 1946, when approximately 475 Negroes registered in Baker County. Later, these registrants were purged from the rolls by the followers of Eugene Talmadge. Subsequent efforts of Negroes to register in Baker County have been unsuccessful. Members of the Board of Registrars have resorted to familiar evasive devices, such as taking the would-be registrants' names under the pretense of registering them and having them find out later that they were not actually registered; and closing the books and/or office when Negroes sought to register. Occasionally a few Negroes have attempted to register after paying their taxes "just like some of the whites have done." However, their efforts were not successful.

After the Civil Rights Act was enacted into law in the fall of 1957, one of the Negro leaders in Baker County paid his taxes and asked about registering. He was told he would have to see the Board of Registrars. "Who is the Board?" he asked. One white registrar with whom he talked said he was not the chairman. This Negro, like other Negroes who wanted to register, had difficulty in pin-pointing the white person whom he should approach. Later, he discovered that Will West was the chairman of the Board of Registrars. Instead of having someone talk with the chairman as an individual, several Negro leaders decided to organize a voters' league and this led to some disastrous consequences.

Before this development occurred, the tax collector is said to have advised some Negroes to attempt to register as a group "since it was easier to

turn them down one by one." Later, when one of the Negro leaders took a group of twenty-five to thirty Negroes to register, one of the registrars told him to bring them back after banking hours. When they went back after banking hours the registrars' office was closed.

A strategem to deter Negroes from registering is to have well-placed white persons advise them against doing so. The Negro leader, who sought to have the group register, was later approached by a white man who said to him: "I know you are a good nigger - just leave that thing off; go up later." Another white man who had known him for many years said, "You are one of the best niggers in Baker County and I advise you not to bother with this business (of registering and voting)."

Another evasive device is to keep outside Negroes out of Baker County "if they are stirring up trouble." As stated, one or two Negroes of the Voters League in Albany were encouraging Baker County Negroes to seek to register and vote. This further convinced law enforcement officers that they should discourage some of the Albany Negroes from making visits to Baker County. As a result, their actions were crystalized in the fall of 1957 when Scott Johnson, an Albany Negro, had a picnic (a social affair) in Baker County and invited a number of Negroes from Albany to attend. On their way back to Albany, virtually all of them were arrested for "speeding and drinking" and each fined from thirty-five to one-hundred dollars for a total of about $1,400. The highway through the county has long been known as a speed trap although this method of raising revenue has been curtailed in recent times due largely to outside pressure and unfavorable publicity. However, even now drivers must be careful and this carefulness must be compounded if the drivers happen to be well-dressed Negroes.

Some Albany Negroes characterize Baker County as being "one step down from hell." One Albany Negro siad: "I stay out of Baker County because I

wear a tie." To the uninitiated in race relations, this would appear to be a casual, flippant remark, but it is not. In rural areas, the wearing of a tie (except on Saturday afternoon, Sundays and holidays) or not wearing work clothes by Negroes is regarded as revealing a desire and ability to break away from the customary pattern of racial behavior and this is resented by most whites in subtle and overt ways. Actually, it may not be the Negro's dress that is involved but his car, his house or his manner of speaking or his desire to register and vote.

For some time, the Voters League in Albany has been considering methods of helping to open up registration lists for Negroes in several nearby southwest Georgia counties. They feel that "if we can break through in Baker County, the others will follow." They are aware that strong leadership against the extension of civil rights in southwest Georgia is centered in Albany which is headquarters for Citizens Council activities that are tied in with similar activities in Baker County and elsewhere in this region.

Albany Negroes list the editor of The Albany Herald, James H. Gray, as being a key Citizens Council leader. He is labelled as "a real reactionary" and is "far worse than some southerners". Gray is a Dartmouth College graduate, a native of Springfield, Massachusetts, and has just been in Albany since World War II. His paper has a rather wide circulation in adjoining counties. The Albany Herald is known as an anti-Negro paper although every Saturday it carries a page of "News of the Colored People of Southwest Georgia". This news deals largely with marriages, deaths, illnesses, trips, social affairs, club and school activities. No news is carried on this Negro page about militant efforts to extend the Negro's civil rights. It is interesting that The Albany Herald would have much circulation among Negroes, in view of its avowed anti-Negro policies. In the October 4, 1958 issue, in which there was almost a full page of so-called Negro news, there appeared a derogatory letter in the

People's Forum. It was supposed to have been sent to the editor from Pelham, Georgia by a person who signed his name as Plowhand. It portrayed a friendly white man and a conversation he had with a Negro named Jake, who was ill. "Jake is a nigger that owns a farm next to mine. I went in to find Jake in bed." Jake said he had worked himself down trying to get more money to send to the NAACP. The white man then recounted that "the white folks" had helped Jake build his house after it had burned down, sat up with his wife when she was ill, and helped gather his crops when he broke his leg. "Did the NAACP help? They don't even know you, Jake." Jake acknowledged all this, "De white folks hepped me wid all them things, Mr. Plowhand. De NAACP ain't hepped ner sent me nothing 'cepting a reeminder dat my dues wuz beehind." Then the white man asked Jake when were "the Southern niggers" going to wake up to realize that they were tools of the NAACP who insisted that "white hates black". Jake was warned against continuing to send dues to power-mad "fools as what sets in a air-conditioned offis and drinks reel likker wid your money while you haff to work in a hot cotton patch and drink cane-skimming likker." "Jake," said he in conclusion, "when is the nigger going to strike out on his own?"

Although many Negroes in this area resent this type of insult, they are more concerned about a network of opposition which appears set to "pick-off" progressive Negro leaders in southwest Georgia. The editor of The Albany Herald was among those white persons who brought pressure on Dr. Aaron Brown, then president of Albany State College (for Negroes) during the school year 1953-54, which culminated in his being "ousted" by the State Board of Regents. Dr. Brown was accused of aiding and abetting the program of the NAACP because he sat on the platform in the city auditorium when Attorney A. T. Walden, a noted NAACP lawyer from Atlanta, spoke at a public meeting in Albany. Later, Dr. Brown was called to the hotel room of Governor Herman Talmadge and talked

with about his activities. Then, he was summoned to appear before the State Board of Regents which did not vote to renew his contract as president of Albany State College. Most of his difficulty really started when some of his faculty members and students decided to quietly boycott some businesses in Albany which advertised in The Albany Herald until they would be treated with more courtesy and respect. Behind most of the maneuvers against Dr. Brown was the late Dr. J. W. Holley, the retired president of Albany State College, who had "the ear" of many prominent white persons, including Herman Talmadge. These developments resulted in neutralizing any civil rights activities that were emanating from Albany State College (for Negroes) and served as a warning to other Negro leaders in southwest Georgia.

Fear and Violence: It is frequently contended that race relations have worsened since the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision involving segregation in the public schools. Actually, what has happened in a number of instances is that many brutal aspects of bad race relations that have existed for a long time are being publicly revealed. This is why white photographers, newscasters, and newsmen have been assaulted by whites in many places where racial trouble has flared up. These people represent a threat to the network of silence which the perpetrators of racial violence have developed as a protective device in maintaining a system of segregation. Many instances of arbitrary arrests, beatings, and even killings of Negroes, which now shock the nation and even the world when they are publicized, have been common-place happenings for years. Virtually every county in Georgia has had historic instances of racial violence which continue as an ominous threat to those persons who would seek to enlarge the area of civil rights for Negro citizens.

Baker County has dramatically undergirded its opposition to even a fractional extension of civil rights to its Negro residents. Brutality stemming from the sheriff's office, including the sheriff himself, has been constantly

directed against Negroes for years. It was highly dramatized in 1943 by a public lynching in which the encumbent Sheriff Claude Screws was the main leader and instigator. The drama began to unfold when Bobby Hall, a Negro and a highly skilled mechanic, had his pistol, which he had a permit to carry, taken from his car's pocket by Sheriff Screws, who had arrested him for allegedly stealing an automobile tube. Hall sought in vain to have his pistol returned to him. Finally, he wrote a letter about this matter to a judge in nearby Camilla, Georgia. The judge showed the letter to Screws, who became infuriated. He and other whites took Hall out and proceeded to lynch him. At first they beat him. Then they tied him to the back of a car and dragged him around in the small town of Newton. They poured some acid on him and beat him again before they put him in jail. Apparently startled and frightened by the results of their cruelty, they called a Negro undertaker in Albany, 22 miles away, to send an ambulance to take Hall to a hospital in Albany, where he died. This heinous crime might have gone unpublicized had it not been for the ingenuity of two or three Negroes in Albany. They had pictures made of the victim "just as he was" and sent the negatives to Jacksonville, Florida to be developed. Next, they wired the FBI office in Macon, Georgia, and some agents came in. After this crime was committed, Screws drove to Albany and parked in front of the office of the Negro editor of the Southwest Georgian, a weekly newspaper that is printed by the Scott Newspaper Syndicate of Atlanta, with his sirens "wide open". This was considered a warning to the editor not to print anything about the crime. However, this strategem did not work.

Screws was indicted and tried in federal courts. During the trial, the prosecuting attorney had to repeatedly challenge the presiding judge who kept referring to Hall, the victim, as a nigger. Screws finally got out of this difficulty. During the last state elections in 1958, Screws was elected to the State Senate as the "Senator from Newton", the county-seat of Baker County.

No attempt is being made here to discuss the Screws' case in all of its ramifications. However, it is still uppermost in the minds of those who think of obtaining the franchise for Negroes in Baker County.

The successor to Screws, Sheriff Warren Johnson of Baker County, "can hardly read his name." He had at sometime worked under Screws and seems content to carry on his tradition in meting out brutality to Negroes. Not only is he opposed to Negroes voting; he is also opposed to their coming into the court house unless they are to be tried for crimes that they are accused of committing. He, too, has killed a Negro. One night Sheriff Johnson walked up to a car which was parked in a Negro neighborhood and threw a flashlight in the face of an occupant who was a Negro. The Negro said, "Who in the hell got that flashlight in my eyes?" These were his last words, because Johnson without any discussion whatever "whipped out his gun and killed the Negro on the spot." He contended that he acted in line of duty and nothing was ever done about this killing.

These instances of violence, which have been discussed in this section, stand out in a broad context of violence which nutures it as a basis of preserving the system of segregation. These types of brutality reveal why Negro voters center their attention on the candidates for the sheriff's office. In many counties in Georgia candidates for the sheriff's office consider it politically helpful to have it made known that they are hard on Negroes. Thus Negro voters by prudent use of their ballots often seek to neutralize the brutality which stems from the sheriff's office. By this process, they feel more secure in extending their efforts to register and vote. And by registering and voting in larger numbers they help create an atmosphere which reduces brutality even though its threat very often remains as a reminder of what was and what could be again.

Not even the potential threat of federal intervention in behalf of Negro

residents caused Baker County whites to concede that qualified Negroes should have the right to register and vote. After the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was passed by Congress, and signed by the President into law, four substantial Negro taxpayers decided that they would attempt to have qualified Negroes register and would register themselves. Actually, some of them had already been registered before the Talmadge purge. Therefore, they were not quite prepared for the violence which erupted following their efforts to become registered voters in Baker County, in the fall of 1957. On December 12, 1957 three separate bombings of properties belonging to three of the four Negroes who were attempting to register took place. Josh Williams' front porch was bombed; cars belonging to Ike King and Carl Broadway were bombed. Because of these bombings and other factors, Negroes in Baker County find it increasingly difficult to get liability insurance on their cars. Although the bombings made a lot of noise in the silence of night, no whites came to see what had happened. This caused those Negroes who were the victims of these bombings to conclude that most of the white people in and around Newton knew in advance what was going to happen. They said that curiosity about what was happening ordinarily would have caused some whites to be attracted to the scene of the bombings. Negroes showed up at the site of each bombing. A white man showed up at one of the bombing sites the next morning. One of the victims who had lived all of his life in Baker County and thought he had some white friends said, "No white man has said a word to me about danger." This reaction on the part of the whites caused these Negro victims to be sorely disillusioned because all of them thought they had some white friends who would befriend them.

Not only did whites fail to show up after the bombings, they have also "clammed up" since then. They did not cooperate with FBI agents who investigated the bombings. The bombing victims think that those persons who set off the blasts were not after hurting anyone. They just "wanted to bluff us out--

scare us." However, the suspense of not knowing what would happen next has caused the victims' families to suffer acute mental anguish. One victim's wife had to be sent away because she was losing a lot of weight over worrying about what the whites would do next. While she was away she continued to lose ground because she was then worrying about what was likely to happen to the members of her family whom she had left behind. She finally returned to be with her family, although her fears and those of others involved have not fully subsided. Carl Broadway's daughter, who was a school teacher, was "fired" from her job. The Negro bus driver, who was Broadway's brother-in-law, lost his job and his school teacher daughter suffered the same fate as Broadway's daughter.

Following these bombings, some whites spread the word that they were not the handiwork of "white folks"; instead "the NAACP was trying to start something." No white persons in Baker County have publicly condemned what has happened. Nor have any of them spoken out in behalf of maintaining law and order. They are risking the extension of approved lawlessness as a means of "keeping the Negro in his place." Such lawlessness, if left unchecked, will eventually recoil and strike those who tacitly or otherwise agreed to its original use. Some Negroes in Baker County bemoan the fact that the more genteel, aristocratic type of white people, who used to occasionally extend the touch of human kindness to individual Negroes, have either died out, left or have been submerged by "the mean Cracker element."

What happened to the fourth Negro, Tee Kunney, who was seeking the right to register and vote? He was arrested for having illicit liquor on his properties and sentenced to jail, although he finally got out of this difficulty. Most persons with whom I talked declare that Kunney was framed. Such a development started when Sheriff Johnson and some of his deputies went to Kunney's house and questioned him about some illicit liquor which was said to be on his

property. Kunney insisted that he knew nothing about the whiskey when the sheriff demanded that he go get it. The sheriff then walked with Kunney down a path leading from the house and pointed out a half-pint of whiskey which he asked Kunney to pick up. Kunney would not pick up the bottle because he said that he did not know anything about it and was not responsible for its being on his property. At this point he was arrested.

Following the dynamitings, which allegedly had the sanction of law enforcement officers, FBI agents came into Baker County to investigate. After several days of questioning the victims and others, the FBI agents left. Undoubtedly, they failed to unearth information or evidence to support any indictments or reveal that a federal law had been violated. There are two types of reactions to this FBI investigation. Two of the victims felt that the FBI agents were "on the up and up" but "some Negroes would not talk" and the "good white poeple hold their peace too much"; and it was felt that "the FBI had the Crackers scared." Some outspoken Negroes in nearby Albany condemned the failure of the FBI to piece together what was considered as an obvious violation of the civil rights of Negroes. They stated that the FBI "seemingly worked in cahoots with the whites." Finally, they insisted that the "FBI man in Albany is a spy for the whites". When FBI agents entered Baker County following the bombings, some whites sent word to the Negroes that they could register but none have dared attempt to do so yet.

Racial violence in neighboring Terrell County during the spring of 1958 also served as further warning to Baker County Negroes and others in southwest Georgia not to continue to press their plans to register and vote. Cataclysmic violence meted out by policemen in Dawson, Georgia, the county seat of Terrell County, resulted in the deaths of two Negroes, Willie Countryman and James Brazier. A third Negro, Willie D. Latimer, was shot and wounded, and two other Negroes, Willie Gerald Flagg and Eugene Renfroe, were beaten with black-

jacks. A Federal grand jury of the middle district of Georgia in August, 1958 refused to indict police officers Weyman B. Cherry, Randolph E. McDonald and Edwin H. Jones as the perpetrators of these acts of violence.

Before these incidents of violence, Terrell County had been in the news during the winter because five Negroes, four of whom were college graduates, were complainants in the first voting suit against a Board of Registrars ever to be filed under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Only 48 Negroes out of a total of 8,400 in Terrell County are registered, whereas 2,810 whites out of a total of 4,600 are registered. As soon as this suit was filed, one Negro teacher in Terrell County was fired. Eleven other Negro teachers were not issued contracts at the end of the 1957-58 term and others were employed in their places.

Prospects: Baker County is but one political and geographical unit in a system of counties in central and southwest Georgia which have decreed that the Negro shall not have the privilege of registering and voting at all or beyond a token number which will serve as a safety-valve against Federal intervention. Population and registration statistics, as compiled in the Secretary of State's office for fifteen southwest counties which cluster in proximity to Baker County, validate this statement. These counties are counting on a pattern of sporadic and potential violence to keep civic-minded Negroes from attempting to register and vote and by their example stimulate other Negroes to do the same. Dramatic violence is usually reserved for those Negro citizens who will not heed the warning signals and evasions which are designed as an initial line of defense for the whites. Long before Negroes cross this line, the opposition seeks to detect idealogical leanings which indicate that stern warnings are necessary such as: "It's all right for you to go ahead and register but we advise you not to do so." Negroes are pressing for the vote in Baker

County	Population White	Registration White	% White	Population Negro	Registration Negro	% Negro	Population % Negro
Mitchell	11,300	7,298	65	11,100	375	3.4	50
Miller	6,100	3,357	55	2,400	6	0.25	28
Seminole	4,700	3,172	67	2,900	29	1.0	38
Early	7,600	4,335	57	9,200	226	2.5	55
Randolph	4,400	2,585	59	7,800	493	6.3	63
Terrell	4,600	2,810	61	8,400	48	0.57	65
Lee	1,900	1,281	67	4,200	29	0.69	68
Turner	6,300	3,893	62	4,100	474	12	39
Worth	9,100	5,855	64	9,300	296	3.2	43
Colquitt	26,700	13,000	49	8,500	965	11	24
Thomas	21,800	8,422	39	14,300	1,579	11	40
Grady	12,200	5,076	42	6,500	831	13	35
Decatur	13,500	7,530	56	11,400	960	8.4	46
Brooks	8,800	4,321	49	8,200	695	8.4	48
Baker	1,900	1,670	88	3,300	0	0	63

County state emphatically that "the white folks watch us like a hawk watches a chicken." And these Negroes watch Negro informants who "carry information to the white folks."

Economic reprisals have been applied on a limited scale. However, they indicate what might take place if some Negro residents continue to press for their civil rights. "If you owe money on a place white men will block you," said one Negro who had felt this kind of economic pressure. They think, too, of the Negro school teachers who have been fired. Some Baker County Negroes don't do business in Newton and the local merchants are feeling the effects. If a

Negro has been somewhat forthright in his insistence on more civil rights, he is likely not to be qualified for welfare benefits or old age assistance.

Considering these factors, plus others which have already been discussed, there is little likelihood that Negroes in Baker County will initiate any united effort to register and vote in the reasonably near future. For quite a while, it seems unlikely that any formally, well-educated Negro litigants will create the basis of a federal suit such as was done in nearby Terrell County. This was due to two primary reasons. A number of Negro teachers have not established voting residency in Baker County. Then, too, they will be fired, or not rehired, and thus will have to leave Baker County if they wish to obtain "white collar" employment. There is a complete dearth of Negro professional and business personnel in Baker County which would have a reasonable degree of independence which would enable them to help in leadership roles. Our studies about the political status of Negroes in several other Georgia counties reveal that political leadership for Negroes varies directly with the number of Negro professional, business and religious leaders who live and serve in the county. And, too, the higher the level of education which is acquired, the more positive will be the response to appeals to register and vote.

Under the circumstances, the next most logical step would be for the federal government to initiate legal action against the Baker County Board of Registrars under the auspices of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. It would seek to restrain the Board of Registrars and their successors from denying would-be Negro registrants an opportunity to establish that they are or are not qualified to register and vote. This procedure would save money that Negro litigants would have to spend if they themselves brought suit against the Board of Registrars. Then, too, federal intervention would provide a degree of protective insulation for the would-be Negro registrants against the hostility of local power-structure people and their supporters.

Federal injunctive authority, when obtained, should be permanent so that the potentiality of federal intervention will give Negro residents some assurance of continuing protection. An an NAACP leader in Albany stated it, "we must pressure the federal government for protection because we will not get it from local law enforcement authorities." Unless there is adequate and constant federal intervention, which goes beyond local authority in support of civil rights, it will be a long time before Negroes will be able to vote in many counties in Georgia with a reasonable degree of personal safety. And Baker County is included in this number.

* * *

CONFIDENTIAL

April 18, 1960

TO: Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

RE: Investigation of Registration and Voting Status of Negroes in McCormick County, South Carolina

Official registration statistics for McCormick County reveal that there are no Negroes at all recorded on the voters' registration lists. In this county, there is a total population of 10,859 with 3,867 being white and 6,992 being Negro. White registrants number 1,399; Negro -- zero. This has been the case since 1948 when seven or eight Negro registrants "requested" that their names be withdrawn from the voter registration lists. These few Negroes had registered in the wake of federal court decisions that legally outlawed the white primary in South Carolina and elsewhere in the South. Following the impact of these decisions, a number of counties in states where Negroes were disfranchised permitted token registration. Later, various strategems were resorted to in order to purge the names of Negro registrants from the registration books. This was done on an increasingly wider scale after it appeared that there was a reduced likelihood of federal intervention in support of the constitutional right of qualified citizens to register and vote without local interference.

In McCormick County the Negro registrants were given "the silent treatment" and it was made known to them that they could not expect to continue to do business with whites on the same basis as they had in the past. For instance, one of the Negro registrants made a buying trip to McCormick, the county seat, to a place where he was well known and had always been greeted in a friendly yet conventional manner. He was amazed and puzzled when none of the white men in the store spoke to him upon his arrival. Finally, one of the white men in the store spoke to him and told him that they knew he was one of the Negroes who had registered and they were displeased about this matter. The Negro is reported to have said that he did not have any idea that they felt as they did. He insisted that he appreciated their friendship and good will and if it would make them any happier and restore old relationships then he would take his name off the registration list -- and he did so.

Other Negro registrants did the same under varying degrees of persuasive techniques. However, one Negro registrant persisted in keeping his name on the registration list and "it is still rumored in some places" that he fled from his home under a threat of violence and "stayed out in the woods a couple of nights." Later, he moved out of the county to Abbeville, where he still resides.

Since all the names of the previously registered Negroes were removed from the registration list, the question now arises as to whether or not there are any Negroes in McCormick County who are desirous of registering and voting. In the last ten years or so there have not been any determined efforts on the part of Negroes to register. One or two have ventured into the registrar's office to discuss the possibility of registering to vote. They were told in "a friendly way" that the "books won't be closed on you, but I advise you not to get mixed up in this sort of thing." Following this advice the Negroes left the registrar's office without insisting specifically that they wanted to register. If they had insisted on registering, then the registrar would have had to permit them to do so or for some reason he would have refused them the right to register. Since this "show-down" did not take place, Negroes in McCormick County cannot legally contend that they will be or are being denied the right to register.

Several of them acknowledged that this is the situation and they understand that they must be flatly denied the right to register -- in face of obvious qualifications for doing so. By this process they will evoke an answer to the following question: Are Negroes in McCormick County, South Carolina prohibited from registering and voting? In July 1960 three Negroes went to the "county lawyer" who is one of the political spokesmen for McCormick County and sought his advice about their registering. The lawyer is stated to have said in substance that he would not advise them to register or not to register. Nevertheless, he warned that the first Negro person who registers was going "to catch the devil."

As a few Negroes in this county think now about registering, they feel that if only two or three go to register "something will happen to them." Whereas, if a sizeable group -- about twelve or fifteen -- go, then "nothing will happen." This is the procedural strategy that a few are thinking about following whenever they consider it an opportune time. There seems to be some logic in this procedure because as I have talked to several Negro residents in McCormick County about why they were not registered, each replied: "I don't want to be the first Negro to register." When each one was asked why he did not want to be the first Negro to register he said he didn't know exactly why but he couldn't be sure what the reactions of the white people would be. Although there seem not to have been any recent dramatic instances of violence in McCormick County, there seems to be a general fear among some Negroes that there might be an explosion of violence at any time if too strenuous efforts are made by them to break the established pattern of segregation. They have "heard" about cross-burnings elsewhere and they realize that the White Citizens' Councils support these and other anti-Negro activities in this county and in the state of South Carolina. They know about the usual pattern of beneath-the-surface violence which is always a factor in support of the status quo in race relations in a segregated community. They have had to adapt themselves to a "peasant-planter" relationship in order for a majority of them to survive as renters -- and as producers of pulpwood. A few above average landowners are among the Negro population in McCormick. Still, a few more of them are now finding jobs in nearby places such as Hartwell Dam, the Chemstrand plant in Greenwood, American Can in Augusta, Georgia, and with the Atomic Energy Project in Aiken, South Carolina. It is thought that potential registrants are among those who are in the last two groups referred to above plus one or two who are owners of small businesses.

There is at present no doubt at all about the fact that there are no Negro registrants in this county. This state of affairs logically leads to another question: are all Negroes in McCormick unqualified to register and vote? Admittedly, the educational background of a sizeable number of Negroes in this county is limited. A high school education for them was not available until 1948 and even then it was on a restricted basis. A new high school for Negroes was built in 1954 but it has not as yet had time to make itself felt in turning out graduates who will form a nucleus in registering and voting. In keeping with a pattern which is general in counties where Negroes face stiff opposition as they seek to use the franchise, Negro teachers are not registering and voting in response to their citizenship obligations. There are approximately fifty Negro elementary and high school teachers in McCormick County. Some of the teachers commute to their jobs and a few of them are registered in nearby counties where they live. Approximately ten of these teachers are natives of McCormick and about four have adopted it as their home since they are working in its schools. Why are these teachers reluctant about registering and voting? They know that the pattern of opposition varies and they undoubtedly have sized up their situation as being one in which they fear the loss of their jobs and possible physical violence. It is general knowledge that a number of Negro teachers in South Carolina have been fired because of their avowed espousal of civil rights, including their having membership in the NAACP. About three years ago in Ellaree, South Carolina, all of the Negro teachers were dismissed because they would not sign affidavits to the effect that they were not members of the NAACP or would not join it if they were not then members. In Abbeville, just about two years ago, a Negro minister had "to flee for his life" to New York City because of his NAACP activities. Although he has since returned to his home, the reason for his leaving is still fresh in the minds of those Negroes who are likely to be interested in registering and voting in McCormick County. There is no NAACP group in this county. Word has been spread to the effect that the NAACP will not be tolerated here or elsewhere in the state. * Negro ministers, whose duties are usually confined to once-a-month weekend visits, do not encourage their members to register and vote. Finally, it should be stated that the whites seem to have an efficient information service among some Negroes who keep them informed about what some of their racial brethren are talking and thinking. One person with whom I talked said: "I am more afraid of my own people than I am of the white folks." This is one of the factors that accounts for a total lack of organization among the Negroes to stress citizenship matters insofar as they are concerned. This matter of not knowing whom to trust further complicates registration efforts by Negroes in McCormick County, South Carolina.

Contact Person: There is a young Negro veteran who is a logical contact person if he is willing to serve in this capacity. He is an undertaker and his wife is a school teacher on maternity leave. This man has some qualms about being the "first" Negro to register. However, he does seem willing to attempt to register along with a dozen or more other Negro residents. His name is H. W. Walker, Jr., and his address is McCormick, South Carolina.

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* For more background information on this matter which is statewide, see Chapter 17 (Section on South Carolina pp. 369-72) titled "Some Problems in the Desegregation of Higher Education in the 'Hard Core States'" by B. R. Brazeal in Yearbook Issue No. 27, The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 27, Summer 1958.

CONFIDENTIAL

May 1960

TO: Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Academic Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

RE: Conclusions Based on Studies of Political Status of Negro Residents in Eight Counties in Georgia

Registration and Voting Indifference: Admittedly, there is some indifference among Negro residents even when they have unimpeded access to the franchise. This reaction is not "a racial characteristic" in spite of beliefs to the contrary in some quarters. It should be emphasized that indifference on the part of Negroes about registering and voting in erstwhile restricted areas is usually not an isolated phenomenon. It is compounded in nature and is due to a composite of economic reprisals, implied and actual; threats and fear of physical violence; inertia by some Negroes who have difficulty in reversing their thinking inasmuch as they were deprived of the franchise for many years and had to be content to "let the whites run things because they are going to do so anyway;" lack of leadership and educational opportunities and an unwillingness to challenge the political basis of segregation because of fear of losing other privileges in an already racially restricted societal system. Racial segregation has stifled the initiative and civic interests of many Negroes and keeps them out of power-structure areas that are controlled by whites. As a result, some Negroes contend that there is no need for them to register and vote because their votes won't count anyway. They reason that if "the white folks" vote dead people and ones who have moved away, they will throw out the "colored votes" if they need to do so from their point of view. When whites have to modify their restrictive pattern against Negroes' voting, they seek to do so within the prescribed limits of the system of racial segregation. Thus they usually provide for racially separate registration and voting places. In one county which was investigated, the segregated ballot box which Negroes used was painted black! These restricted concessions are regarded as reminders to Negroes not to seek further citizenship privileges.

Network of Evasions: Whites who do not want Negroes to register and vote resort to a number of devices to keep them from doing so. Their techniques of evasion are not vicarious. A network of evasions is formed. They rely greatly on a pervasive ideological atmosphere which is designed to help cause Negroes not to want to vote. When this negative approach is not successful, then Negro residents who break through this psychological curtain are flatly denied the right to register. The reasoning at this point is simple and to the effect that if Negroes can't register then they can't qualify to vote. This is one of the first lines of "defense." As Negroes have sought to register in some places they have had to establish the fact that they were direct taxpayers and were not in debt. Some who had been divorced and had legally remarried were declared to be living in adultery and as a result were not eligible to register. Misdemeanor charges have been cited as reasons why others could not register. Other evasive techniques have been as follows: boards of registrars have decreed that a majority of their members had to be present to certify to the registration of Negro residents who could never find more than one or two registrars at the same time; would-be Negro registrants had to secure white character references but often found it difficult to find

any or to get the requisite number at any one time; often the registrar's office was closed when it was scheduled to be open or the registration books would be closed even when the office was open; at times Negroes seeking to register had to wait several hours before they were talked with, and there have been instances when they were told that they would have to report on another day. When Negroes were required to take educational tests, the registrars usually required more of them than they did of the whites who wanted to register. In some instances, registrars have permitted Negroes seeking to register to sign their names then required them to return later to establish their right to register when, in fact, they thought they were already registered.

Another technique of evasion is to permit Negroes to actually register and then purge the list before an important election in which Negro voters' strength would prove to be a formidable factor. Negro registrants would be summoned to report usually to the Court House, which in itself was a symbol of persecution to many Negroes, to validate their qualifications for being registered voters. White registrants were not required to report. Very often after the Negro registrants had taken time off from their jobs they were required to return again to the Court House because only a very few would be questioned during the course of a day. Although they were usually summoned in alphabetical order, the registrars would skip down the line alphabetically thus overlooking many of the persons who had reported. Discouraged and dejected, some of the registrants would not return again and their names were then stricken from the lists of qualified registered voters. Those who did not report when summoned had their names automatically purged from the list of registrants.

Still another technique of evasion is to permit a token number of Negroes to register but not "permit" them to vote. Some Negroes have said that they were told they could register but could not vote. By this step the board of registrars exonerates itself from legal responsibility for not permitting Negroes to register. Maneuvers to keep Negroes from voting are sometimes vague and indirect. Shortly before an election, a Negro or a group of Negroes may be arrested on routine charges. One of them may be beaten up or shot for attempting to escape, assaulting an officer or resisting arrest. Often the person or persons involved are among those who are registered to vote. They and other Negro registrants read between the lines. Usually there are Negroes who do not seem to understand this type of message. Then there are times when crosses are burned in or near some Negro rigistrants' yards and white men ride "evil looking" through Negro neighborhoods and park their cars for a while in front of Negro homes. These harassments usually ease up after the elections. They are more effective in small towns and rural areas, the backbone of county unit strength in Georgia, where individuals can be readily singled out for reprisals. Very often law enforcement authorities cooperate or acquiese in these maneuvers against Negro registrants and voters who, too often, find themselves alone and unprotected in their efforts to exercise their franchise rights.

More respectable devices to keep the registered Negroes from voting are to get employers to let one or two of the registrants out of their jobs without revealing the real reason why; have Negro registrants work overtime on election days; send messages to Negro registrants by white and Negro people that they had better not attempt to vote.

The practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some Negro registrants who are not willing to take a chance of having "white people" discover how they voted. They take the position that "we've got to live here with these people after the elections are over!" Segregation of ballot boxes is a means of voter discrimination and should not be approved any more than if the separation were worked out on a denominational basis.

In the event the strategems listed above do not succeed in deterring Negroes from attempting to register and vote, then violence is likely to erupt. The Negroes' participation in politics in many counties in Georgia and some other Southern states is usually fraught with danger. Those who resort to violence do not always wait until all the other devices of evasion have been resorted to. However, in most instances violence is used as a last resort. Usually, this violence results from white residents taking matters into their own hands as they move against Negroes "who want to get out of their place." Law enforcement officers usually acquiesce in this violence. At least they seldom arrest anyone for the acts of violence. Nor do they give real meaningful protection to the victims of the acts of violence. As a matter of fact, in many instances, they augment the acts of violence with police brutality, as directed against Negroes who seek to enlarge their civil rights.

There are those whites who would risk having law and order break down if this will result in keeping the Negro firmly within the walls of segregation.

As Negro registration and voting increase in spite of a pattern of violence and police brutality, there is usually a decrease in violence and police brutality as directed against Negroes. As police brutality decreases, there is usually an increase in political activity and leadership among Negroes generally. As Negro political leaders emerge they feel uneasy and insecure because they know that most law enforcement officers and their supporters are avowedly against what they are doing. Further, they know that it is difficult to have a jury selected that will convict any of its "white brethren" who move violently against Negroes "who get out of their places." These are some of the reasons why Negro political leaders readily seek to influence the election of the sheriff, the solicitor general, and the mayor who often appoints the chief of police. By this process, they seek to reduce the force of police brutality and thus increase the area in which they and their racial followers can find more personal, physical security. As this happens, their minds are relieved somewhat and they forge on with their leadership. However, there are those Negro leaders here and there who continue to face danger as they insist on expanding their citizenship rights by means of the franchise.

Leadership: Negro political leaders very often resort to the organization of voters' leagues which often meet in churches for Negroes. At times a rotation system is used so as to engage the interest, participation and support of several demonimations and factions. Registration and voting clinics are often sponsored so that Negroes may learn how to answer questions that are asked them by the registrars. Arrangements are often made during these meetings for transportation of registrants to and from the registration headquarters -- and later to and from voting places. This technique works more effectively in large cities and towns than it does in rural areas where pressures against Negroes registering and voting are formidable. In these places the NAACP does not operate citizenship schools, because it is non-existent in many of these places as a result of intense opposition. In many cities and

good-sized towns, Negro principals and teachers sponsor the registration of eighteen-year-old Negro students. This has become an annual event in some places where registration is rather unrestricted.

In some places, some reliance is placed on the use of leaflets, newspapers and radio announcements.. In other places, information about Negro political meetings is passed on secretly.

Our studies about the Negroes' political status have established that response to appeals to register and vote is more pronounced as the level of education in a county increases. Where educational opportunities and facilities have been greatly limited, one finds an inept response to citizenship appeals and/or clinics.

Negro leadership becomes more pronounced and effective as its economic welfare becomes increasingly dependent on the Negro masses and independent of whites. This gives them a degree of independence which they would not have if they were dependent largely on whites. Although many Negroes will not openly articulate their racial grievances in their communities, they will often silently display their gratitude by giving further support to outspoken leaders. Although this strategem does not work in every instance, its general reliability has been established. Studies in several counties in Georgia reveal that Negro political leaders have come from the following categories: doctors, dentists, dry-cleaners, filling station, grocery store and restaurant operators, insurance agents with companies owned and operated by Negroes, lawyers (confined mostly to large cities), undertakers, taxi-cab operators, land-owning farmers, real estate operators, a few teachers and some retired postal employees. Where there is a dearth of most or all of these types of leadership personnel there is little or no leadership. In some places efforts are made to neutralize this leadership by frightening it off, obligating it financially or otherwise, and by economic reprisals. As an example of the latter, some white farmers in a southwest Georgia county passed down word that a certain "nigger undertaker" was not to handle any more "nigger bodies" from their farms. The undertaker had been active in helping to secure a new school and encouraging Negroes to register and vote.

Political Benefits: The easing of police brutality is one of the factors that has high priority as a political payoff after Negro residents begin to register and vote. They seek relief from its potential and explosive nature which is an effective technique of preserving the status quo. Where the mayor, chief of police and sheriff are politically indebted to Negro voters, they are not likely to encourage or acquiesce in having other whites manhandle Negroes seeking to register and vote. More Negro voters are increasingly realizing that they will get more sewage, paved streets, schools, street lights, traffic lights, playgrounds and swimming pools, parks, et cetera, as they register and vote in larger numbers. They get more recognition as citizens when white office seekers or holders appeal for Negro votes, openly or secretly. Negroes are also beginning to realize that voter participation in government enables them to help make decisions that involve municipal growth beyond considerations of race -- and they too benefit by this growth.

Conclusions: Increased political participation by Negroes usually follows urbanized growth and development of cities and towns. An increase in

urban population usually takes some of the pressure off the individual Negro who becomes more anonymous as a political participant.

Negroes are usually more active politically as leaders as their economic status becomes more secure and reasonably independent of the economic dictates of some white people who wield substantial economic power. Negro political leaders are usually the ones whose economic security and progress depend in large measure on racial good will and support.

Very often racial incidents involving political participation and otherwise, have their effect in adjacent counties to the extent that some Negro political leaders observe the warning and lessen their political activities, at least for a while.

Generally, when the Negro population in a county is larger than that of the whites, there is more intense opposition to Negroes registering and voting. Usually when an exception is made it is because of compelling Federal Court rulings or because the politicians in office decide to permit a controlled number of Negroes to register and vote if such action will aid the persons in office. There has been a break-through in the solidarity of some of the so-called "Black Belt" counties in Georgia where Negroes outnumber whites. One of the reasons for this variation has been the potential and actual force of the intervention of court decisions. Otherwise, no current local factors or combination of these factors were likely to result in Negroes being afforded an opportunity to participate in political affairs. This is one reason why "court cases" are dreaded by many of the whites and why they move with violence if necessary, against Negroes (or anybody else for that matter) who seem to be the type who will go to court to press their claims.

As organized labor penetrates more of the counties in Georgia, it could well have a formidable ally in Negro voters on many political issues. However, as it stands there is not much, if any, line of communication between organized labor and Negro voters in counties where organized labor is reasonably strong. Negro voters will have to further entrench themselves before organized labor will cooperate with them on a formal basis. Aside from shedding some of their prejudices, labor union members do not now want to turn a single line of employer and community resistance into two lines of resistance, with the second developing because of an alliance with Negro voters. However, there are some labor leaders who feel that the strength gained by this alliance will more than balance the increased opposition.

There is no definitive line of communication between white and Negro voters by means of which they can clarify issues, appraise candidates and their platforms, and then vote in such a way as to enhance the meaning and practice of good government. Usually the Negroes' political status is further vulnerable in that they are not an integral part of the political power structure.

In most instances Negroes who have had some access to educational opportunities are the ones who furnish most of the political leadership for their racial group. This is especially true if they also have an opportunity to achieve a reasonable degree of economic independence. Almost invariably, the counties which have furnished meager educational opportunities to Negroes

are also the ones which have succeeded in keeping them subjugated politically as well as otherwise. Their dictum has been that a Negro who wants an education and is given an opportunity to get it is likely to want other things. As one white person stated it: "If a Negro gets in by the window, he will try next to get in through the door" to an enlarged area of citizenship.

Finally, it should be emphasized that increased political participation is a must if Negroes are to succeed in protecting and expanding other areas of their progress. The protective strength of entrenched, intelligent political action will augment and actively support the multiple technique approach involving legal, civic, educational, economic, interracial and intercultural processes as a means of furthering civil rights and strengthening democracy.

July 25, 1960

Dean B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College
223 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Dean Brazeal:

I have held your letter of July 3 until I had a clear idea of what we could undertake this summer in the way of voting studies. We have gone one on the way in South Carolina (Orangeburg County), and two in Louisiana (Webster and Boosier Parishes). Reluctantly, we are concluding that this will be all at the moment until we can see more clearly what the direction of maximum usefulness is for us to take. My earlier notion that Forest County, Mississippi, would be a good spot had better be, for the present, deferred. As a matter of fact, there seems to be some possibility that the Commission on Civil Rights will itself be doing something out there. If you are agreeable, we would like to put everything on the shelf for a while. I realize that we may take it off the shelf when your schedule is not as easy as it now may be; that is the risk we take.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

August 24, 1960

Dean B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College
223 Chestnut Street S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Dean Brazeal:

We are mailing today the voting studies to Dr. Jones and Dr. Gomillion at Tuskegee Institute as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

INTRODUCTION

Among southern cities, Charlotte, North Carolina, has a relatively good record of progress in race relations. This progress is generally credited to the leadership of the business and political power structures. Commenting on the role of the churches in race relations, one of Charlotte's business and civic leaders said, "I don't believe this is a church problem. It has to be solved downtown." He added that a church is a group of people who combine because they like each other socially. In practice, he continued, there had been no trouble at Charlotte churches. Negroes had come to services, had been seated, and did not return. [1]

This man was a lay churchman. But his observations concerning the churches' role in race relations in his own city are verified by many professional churchmen with reference to race relations and other social issues in the nation generally. "The whole institution of the church as a part of society," writes George D. Younger, "is peripheral to the mainstream of the city's life." [2] And Elton Trueblood says,

> It is hard to exaggerate the degree to which the modern Church seems irrelevant to modern man. The Church is looked upon as something to be neither seriously fought nor seriously defended....the Church has only marginal relevance. [3]

The famous letter of the Reverend Martin Luther King, written in a Birmingham jail and addressed to his fellow ministers, said, in part,

> There was a time when the church was very powerful. It was during that period that the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed....
>
> .....

> Things are different now. The contemporary church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. It is so often the arch supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's often vocal sanction of things as they are.
>
> But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If the church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I meet young people every day whose disappointment with the church has risen to outright disgust. [4]

This report is an attempt to draw together and interpret some of the facts and phenomena of organized religion's role in the current crisis in race relations in America. Why have the churches not been in the vanguard of this struggle? What contributions <u>have</u> the churches made? What impact has the crisis had upon the churches? Is there evidence of change in the churches as a result? What are the issues with which the crisis has confronted the churches?

The word "church" is used herein interchangeably with "religious institution" and "organized religion." Reference will thus be made to Jewish and Unitarian bodies, as well as to the Roman Catholic and Protestant organizations. The hazards of using the word in such a way are recognized. To many in the Judeo-Christian tradition some of the religious institutions with which we shall be dealing are not "the Church." But perhaps, with the assistance of modifying adjectives, the reader will understand what is meant at each point.

It should be noted, especially, that the concern of the

Southern Regional Council is primarily with the South. Since the Protestant churches are predominant in the South, the report will necessarily give a great deal of attention to them.

The reader is envisioned as either a concerned churchman, who is therfore interested in the race relations crisis, or as one particularly concerned with the human relations struggle, who is therefore interested in the effect of the churches upon it. Inevitably, much of the report will be familiar ground to one or the other or both.

THE DEFAULT OF THE CHURCH

It goes without saying that churches ought to be among the foremost guardians of justice and promoters of right relationships among men. Reflection upon history in general probably would indicate that organized religion, as often as not, has been disappointing in this regard. As for leadership in race relations in particular, the evidence indicates that the churches have defaulted -- or very nearly so.

In a History of Complicity

In fact, the default has not been merely passive. The churches have made a direct and positive contribution to the race problem in America. Segregation was the rule in churches at least as soon as it was anywhere else, and, in many sections, sooner.

The persistent southern idyl which pictures Christian master and Christian slave worshipping together in filial affection, or their descendents bearing patiently the cultural circumstances which forbade expression of their hidden oneness, needs to be seen for the myth it is. It is true that masters and slaves often belonged to the same church and attended the same services of worship, but slaves were assigned to a special section of the church, such as the balcony. On the rolls of the churches their names were listed with a possessive modifier, such as "Harper's Hannah." It is true that Negro preachers were eventually allowed to preach to some white congregations. But all religious activities took place in the master-slave setting and served to enforce it. Worship for slaves was either conducted by a white minister, who used carefully selected sermons,

or by Negro preachers under the watchful eye of a white overseer. The spirituals and Bible stories which told of deliverance were sung and recounted only at clandestine gatherings.

There was, in the early days, a considerable debate over the advisability of offering the gospel to slaves. The masters explicitly feared that slaves would find in the Bible the implications of human dignity and equality. Only after they were convinced that there was enough justification for slavery in the New Testament did they consent to have the slaves preached to. Eventually some masters found that their most docile Negroes were those who read the Bible.

The purpose of offering religion to slaves was as clear as it was unworthy. They were to be persuaded that the God of the Bible punished and rewarded black men as well as white. The "gospel" was calculated to persuade that the present life, good or bad, was transitory and that only good conduct would insure the vastly superior rewards of the future and eternal life. Such good conduct, for Negroes, included the virtues of obedience, honesty, truthfulness, patience and meekness. The virtues of courage, perseverance, and the like were more suitable for white men.

It is to the credit of the Methodist movement that, in its early days in this country, circuit-riding preachers were required to free their slaves, on grounds that slavery was contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature. In 1784 the Methodist conference took steps toward the abolition of slavery. And the Baptists gained even larger following among Negroes

by their outspoken opposition to slavery in their initial preaching in this country. But both groups gradually withdrew from their anti-slavery position because of the general opposition to their stand on the question.

The failure of the churches in the present crisis, then, is not a matter of backsliding; more exactly, it is a failure ~~to grow, to advance,~~ to repent, to improve.

In the Current Crisis

As far as the churches are concerned, the storm in race relations did not really begin to gather until after the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools. Before that concern about racial discrimination and prejudice had scarcely been expressed except at the highest -- and most remote -- levels of church organization.

At the meetings of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem in 1928 and at Madras in 1938 segregation in the church was strongly condemned. In 1937 both the World Conference on Faith and Order at Edinburgh and the World Conference on Life and Work at Oxford inveighed against racial discrimination. The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948 went on record as follows:

> It [the church] knows that it must call society away from prejudice based upon race or color, and from the practices of discrimination and segregation as denials of justice and human dignity, but it cannot say a convincing word to society unless it takes steps to eliminate these practices from the Christian community because they contradict all that it believes about God's love for all his children.

A similar resolution was passed at the Second Assembly at Evanston in 1954 and by the Central Committee of the World Council at all of its meetings between the assemblies. The Federal Council, which later became the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, had renounced and denounced segregation in similar terms in 1946. But most of the constituent denominations continued the practice of segregation even at the administrative level. The Methodist Church had its all-Negro Central Jurisdiction, the Presbyterian Church in the United States its Snedecor Memorial Synod. And most denominations had departments or committees for "Negro Work."

Only after the 1954 court decision did racial segregation becomex a live issue in lower church judicatories. Even then most of the pronouncements voiced utilitarian concern. Reading a collection of them, one gets the impression that disorder is more to be feared than unrighteousness. The appeal was to enlightened self-interest. The theme was law and order.

On November 3, 1957, for example, a statement concerning the "keep the schools open" crisis in Atlanta was signed by 80 ministers and released for publication. At the time statements by public officials and conservative groups solidly opposed any desegregation. The ministers' statement set forth six principles: (1) Freedom of speech must be preserved at all costs. (2) As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law. (3) The public school system must not be destroyed. (4) Hatred and scorn for those of another race,

or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified. (5) Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained. (6) Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom, but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

A year later 312 ministers and rabbis of the same city, representing sixteen denominations, reaffirmed these principles and further called for "intelligent discussion of the issues" within the churches, "creative thought" on the part of state and community leaders toward maintaining public schools, and the appointment of a Citizens' Commission to preserve harmony in the community. But any beneficial effect the statement might have had was partially vitiated, surely, by the disclaimer which was added:

> We do not believe in the wisdom of massive integration and are sincerely opposed to the amalgamation of the races. We reaffirm our conviction that the intergrity of each race should be maintained on the basis of mutual esteem and free choice, rather than by force....We believe it is possible, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, for States to take reasonable steps to comply with the law of the land and at the same time give due consideration to local situations and avoid an indiscriminate desegregation of the public schools.

Statements with a similarly timid tone came from 60 members of the Richmond Ministers' Association; 31 Protestant ministers and two rabbis in Columbus, Georgia; 173 clergymen of the three major faiths in Houston, Texas; the Baptist Ministers' Union of Chattanooga, Tennessee; 76 members of the Norfolk Ministers' Association; and 300 clergymen in Dallas.

There were gratifying exceptions. The Gainesville-Hall County Ministerial Association, in Georgia, adopted in April

of 1958 its Christian Guide to Race Relations. It declared that "as Christians we must reflect the mind of Christ, not the attitudes and practices of the community in which we live." It clearly declared racial discrimination morally wrong and indefensible from the Christian point of view. Likewise, forty-eight ministers of Falls Church and Fairfax County, Virginia, declared, "Enforced segregation not only defies the basic law of the land but, more importantly, contradicts that very Gospel which we are called to preach. ...We state our conviction that enforced segregation in our schools on the basis of race is contrary to the will of God."

But the bulk of the appeals were for good citizenship and obedience to "the law of the land." This appeal proved to be a trap, since state laws in the South are often on the segregationists' side, and it can be argued reasonably that federal laws are no more sacred than state laws.

Over the ten-year period since the 1954 decision the statements of church groups have gradually taken on a stronger tone. But they still had little effect. At the level of the local churches resistence to desegregation increased all over the South. The statements of governing ecclesiastical bodies were plainly disavowed all too often. Pro-segregation groups of laymen were formed to put pressure on local ministers and churches. The Methodist Laymen's Union was organized in Birmingham on March 19, 1959. The Association of Catholic Laymen of New Orleans was organized in 1957. A Dallas Pastors' Segregation Committee was organized in May, 1958. Concerned Churchmen, a

pro-segregation group of Episcopal laymen, was organized in North Carolina in August, 1958. The Presbyterian Laymen for Sound Doctrine and Responsible Leadership was organized in Jackson, Mississippi, in October, 1959. Chapters were opened in Memphis and in Sumter, South Carolina.

A report in the January 18, 1964, issue of the New York Times gives some dismal statistics on the ineffectiveness of high-level pronouncments and action. (These statistics happen to have been made available by the United Church of Christ. Their true significance probably lies in the fact that that denomination has an exceptionally good record of leadership and action on the issue.) "A survey by the United Church of Christ," says the report, "has indicated that the denomination's plea for integrated congregations is having little effect on the local level." Only 18 percent of 247 churches receiving denominational financial aid had members of both races by the end of 1963. Church officials believed this percentage would hold for all of the more than 8000 churches of the denomination. There were no integrated congregations, within the group covered by the study, in the South. Only 6.6 percent in the Midwest, 11 percent in the East, and 15.5 percent in the West were integrated. A part of the trouble was the fact that so many churches were located in all-white neighborhoods. "This goes back to our segregated society," observed Dr. Truman B. Douglass, "--which is no excuse but a fact of life." On December 26, 1963, the denomination sent out an appeal to all 8,000 churches to adopt an "open membership" covenant. One-third of the churches had done so by March 3, 1964.

In general, progress -- or the lack thereof -- in doing away with racial discrimination in churches follows one of three patterns, according to the three basic forms of church government. Where authority is vested in a strong heirarchy, as in the Roman Catholic Church, there has been much desegregation, often over the protest of lay leaders, but without loss of membership. Where the government is congregational, e.g., among Southern Baptists, all-white status has been maintained wherever community sentiment calls for it and, on that basis, there has been little internal strife. The record is most ambiguous and the greatest internal turmoil has been experienced in churches in which authority is divided between clergymen and laymen, as in the Presbyterian and Methodist denominations.

Thus it is in the South, where justice toward the Negro minority is most stubbornly opposed, that organized religion is least able to provide firm leadership. For, of course, Protestants are predominant in the South and Southern Baptists predominant among southern Protestants.

It should be added that the Roman Catholic record, while far better, is also mixed. A news story in the Atlanta Journal on April 27, 1964, indicates that all Catholic schools in Alabama were ordered integrated in September, 1964, and that Alabama Catholics greeted this news with quiet acceptance. However, an article in the New York Times on the same day reported that the Reverend Anthony S. Woods, S.J., had pointed out in a sermon evidence of "backsliding" on race relations among Catholic laymen: (1) Supporters of the Negro cause had been defeated in

elections for the Boston School Committee in the largely-Catholic community. (2) There was a "considerable vote" for George Wallace in "distinctly Catholic areas" of Wisconsin in the April 7 primary. (3) A Negro family who attempted to move into a "largely Catholic" community, Folcroft, Pennsylvania, had been stoned. (In the Maryland primary more than half of the states Catholic voters cast their votes for George Wallace, despite the solid opposition of the clergy.)

The true exceptions among organized religious bodies have been: first, the so-called "Negro churches" -- the phenomenon of whose existence is itself a rebuke to American Christianity; and, second, the decidedly "Liberal" Friends and Unitarians -- whose exceptionally good records can scarcely comfort the mainstream of organized Christianity, since the "mainstream" allows the appellation "Christian" to the Friends with some misgiving and to the Unitarians not at all.

The record of the Jewish community is difficult to evaluate. There are Jewish segregationists -- even some who belong to the White Citizens Councils, oddly enough. On the other hand, some of the strongest human relations leadership comes from Jewish organizations like the Anti-defamation League. The matter is further confused by the fact that Jews are thought of both as a religious group and as an ethnic group. It is not always possible to tell whether either segregationist or integrationist effort among Jews is related to religious influence.

At any rate, the record of organized religion on race relations in America has been a dismal one. It is guilty of "sins of commission," for the churches helped in a positive way both to

establish and to conserve unjust and discriminatory mores. It is guilty of "sins of omission," for, until secular developments forced the issue upon the attention of the churches, the rule was tacit consent at best. And, when silence became impossible, the churches found their belated effort at leadership largely ignored.

THE PROMISE OF THE CHURCH

In effect we have been pointing out how earthen the vessel of organized religion is revealed to be by the racial crisis. This should come as no shock or threat to believers. As much has been suggested before -- by experts including all the prophets of Israel and the apostle Paul.

But fairness requires us to look not only at the clay pot, but also at the treasure it has contained. While it is true that the churches have not provided the leadership they should have provided, in view of their ideals and principles, it is also true that they have produced many of the individuals who are providing the leadership. Too often these persons have had to turn to other vehicles for the expression of the implications of their religious commitment relative to racial justice. But it was when they began to take their religious training seriously that they became concerned.

An illustrative case is that of a Protestant clergyman who is now director of a Council on Human Relations in a southern state. (Significantly, every male director of such councils in the South, except one, is a Protestant minister at the present time.) "I don't feel that I have left the ministry," he commented to a younger minister who was thinking of leaving the pastorate. "I think I've just <u>found</u> my ministry. You can't utterly condemn the church. The people who <u>are</u> concerned about this issue are, after all, people who have been nurtured by the church's message. Take me, for instance. I grew up in a funda-

mentalist church in the deep South. They took me to Sunday School and Bible School and had me stand up and sing 'Jesus loves the little children, all the children of the world. Red and yellow, black and white, they are precious in His sight.' And 'In Christ there is no East or West, in Him no South or North....' They didn't think I would take it so seriously -- but I did!"

Cases could be cited from towns and cities all across the South. While the race relations record of religious organizations as such is often very poor, and that of the majority of church members worse, the record of some religiously-oriented individuals is heroic. Many have turned away from the organized church in disillusionment. Others have stayed within the visible church, seeking to reform it, sometimes at great cost to themselves. In some of the deep-South states in which to be an integrationist is downright dangerous the bulk of local leadership consists of Catholic priests, Jewish rabbis, and Protestant ministers. Space permits the mentioning of only a few picked at random -- ministers, representative of many more, who during the build-up of the present crisis saw and spoke the truth and suffered the consequences.

There was Robert B. McNeill, who in 1959 was dismissed as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Columbus, Georgia, for his liberal views on the race issue. It may be only a coincidence that he suffered a heart attack shortly after his dismissal.

There were James Hand, Odie Gregg, and Preston Hughes, all

of whom lost their pulpits in 1958 because of their activities as members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

There was J. G. Short, an Alabama Methodist minister who spoke out against the segregationist Methodist Laymen's Union and was transferred after suffering attack in the press, abuse over the telephone, and a cross-burning in front of his church by 100 Klansmen.

There was John Teeter, who resigned as pastor of the Church of the Good Shepherd (Episcopal) in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, after the vestry voted to instruct delegates to any meeting to vote against integration of anything.

There was Paul Turner, Baptist, who was beaten by a mob in Clinton, Tennessee, in 1959 when he escorted Negro children to a formerly all-white school

There were W. B. Selah and Jerry Furr, pastor and assistant pastor of Galloway Methodist Church, Jackson, who in June, 1963, resigned after Negro visitors were turned away.

There was Cecil Robert Taylor, minister in the Christian Church, who was twice asked to leave pastorates (in Sandersville, Georgia, and Danville, Virginia) because of his views on race relations.

There were the 28 Methodist ministers in Mississippi who signed, in January, 1963, what came to be known as the "Born of Conviction Statement," which proclaimed their belief in freedom of the pulpit and opposed racial discrimination. All were targets of segregationist reaction. A few suffered violence or threats. Tires were slashed, rocks were thrown at parsonages,

and crosses were burned before at least two parsonages. All were harassed by telephone. The wife of one lost a teaching job. Another was dismissed from part-time teaching. Within a few months 12 had left the state, seven had been moved to other churches in Mississippi. Nine remained at their churches at least until the annual conference of 1964.

There was Dunbar Ogden, a Presbyterian who walked to Central High School in Little Rock with the first Negro students to enter it in 1957. Many members of his church withdrew support, both financial and personal. His family were shunned and subjected to abuse. He was finally asked to resign and took a post in Huntington, West Virginia.

Neither should we lose sight of the very important role played by the Negro churches, both in providing social cohesion through long years of oppression and as a source of leadership and a base of operations for the current Negro revolt. It is true that the motive of the whites in preaching the gospel to Negroes in the first place was the sub-Christian one of keeping them submissive. It is true that the existence of separate Negro churches for so many years is itself a rebuke to the white churches. Yet it is also true that the Christian religion and the "great 'sociation" of the invisible institution of the Negro church provided some social cohesion for the Negro in the new world, where his social orientation was completely shattered. The message preached with such base motive probably did help preserve the sanity of the slaves. Moreover, the church played a vital role in the long process of achieving

social stability since manumission. Until the past twenty years or so the most important agency of social control among Negroes was the church.

It is also true that the Negro churches have been rallying centers of the current movement for racial justice, and have provided much of the leadership for it. The white masters were right to fear that the Negroes might find in the gospel the implications of human dignity -- although the seeds of freedom did not grow and bear fruit as soon as they feared.

We should be grateful that the church has had a stronger influence in the Negro community than in the white community. Some there are who argue that the strategy of non-violence owes more to Gandhi than to Christ. But Martin Luther King, Ralph Abernathy, and other Negro ministers are themselves products of the church. And they see themselves as applying the Christian doctrine of love through the Gandhian strategy. And, while many of the young Negroes in the non-violent action groups do not consider themselves religious or believers in the traditional symbols of Judeo-Christian religion, there is a remarkable similarity between their values, their understanding of the human situation, their passion for human freedom and justice, -- and those of prophetic Christianity.

That the Negro revolt has remained, for the most part, nonviolent; that, under the leadership of such Negro ministers as Abernathy and King, the Negro protestors have been able to return patience for persecution, self-control for harassment, and sometimes even love for hate; that the demand for justice

has been tempered with a call for mercy toward the merciless; -- all this can be seen as fruit that the churches have born almost in spite of themselves.

If the church has failed to measure up in justice and brotherhood, it could be said that it is the church's tradition which has provided the yardstick.

THE BEGINNINGS OF RENEWAL?

The Church "Under Conviction"?

During ~~Within~~ the past two years the churches have moved with unusual vigor on the issue of race relations. There is, within organized religion, a response to the racial crisis, a stirring that could mean a measure of fulfillment of the promise we have noted.

An editorial in the Christian Century, October 10, 1962, read, in part:

> ...the dilemma turns into an agony in the hearts of Christians who have a conscience about the way the white church treats the Negro. They know that God has commanded us to love one another. They know that this command includes the Negro. They know that fulfillment of this command brings the Negro into the white church and vice versa. They know that you cannot love a person innately inferior. They know that they are disobedient, and they know that they stand guilty before God. It will be a tragic day for the Christian church if anything other than repentant obedience to the will of Jesus Christ takes away that agony.

It would be impossible, of course, to pinpoint the date of the churches' turning point -- if turning point it is -- on the race issue. But the National Conference on Religion and Race held in Chicago in January of 1963 was an event of signal importance. A sense of being "under judgment" was voiced by speakers of all faiths. Mathew Ahmann, conference leader, said there was "a note of frustration and almost desperation," but also a note of determination. It seems that all were determined that there should be no more cries of "peace, peace" when there was no peace.

Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel told the conference, "Perhaps this conference should have been called Religion or Race. You cannot worship God and at the same time look at man as if he were a horse." "Racial or religious bigotry must be recognized for what it is: blasphemy." [1]

Will Campbell said, "Perhaps we are already irrelevant.... maybe it is too late for us to be here at all." It may be that the race problem will be a catalyst for the renewal of church and synagogue, he suggested. "Unlike any other social problem religion has every had to come to grips with, here is one on which there is no room for argument." [2]

Franklin Littell agreed. The race situation, he said, has put the question to institutional religion: Are you, or will you be, the Church? In the religious arena, as in the political, "race is not the basic issue: it is only the moment of truth which exposes our nakedness." [3]

The determination expressed by these men was echoed in the church press, and there seemed to be a response from religious leaders of all three faiths all across the land.

The Fruits of Repentance?

1963 and 1964 saw some definite action on nearly all of the recommendations of the National Conference on Religion and Race.

Despite threats of loss of their "tax-exempt" status from Southern politicians, despite warnings of reduced financial support from the South, and despite accusations of inviting violence,

the National Council of Churches instituted its "Mississippi Project." Two-week orientation schools were set up to provide preparation for students working with civil rights organizations in Mississippi and other parts of the South. Courses included literacy-teaching skills, voter registration practices, non-violent techniques, and instruction on the niceties of living in the Southern environment. This was part of a program expected to last for a decade or more and to cost several million dollars.

The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church requested in January, 1964, that members be given a chance to contribute financially to church programs "devised to extend civil rights, as well as to give financial support to persons caught in situations of racial crisis." A goal of $150,000 was set for medical care, vocational and legal help, and other forms of aid. Bishop Lichtenberger urged support.

Several other denominations provided for similar emergency assistance, where they had not previously done so. Although the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern) turned down an overture calling for it to do so, a group of ministers and laymen of that denomination had already formed "The Fellowship of Concern," each paying $25 membership dues for the purpose of aiding ministers forced out of their churches because of race relations stands.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (the largest Presbyterian denomination in the country) called for

withdrawal of denominational investments in companies practicing racial discrimination. They also endorsed civil disobedience of unjust laws, commended Dr. Eugene Carson Blake (their Stated Clerk) for his participation in anti-segregation demonstrations, and elected a Negro, The Rev. Dr. Edler G. Hawkins, as their Moderator for the first time in history.

The 1964 General Conference of the Methodist Church made significant changes in the Methodist Discipline affecting race relations. The following statement was added: "The Methodist Church is a part of the Church Universal. Therefore, all persons, without regard to race, color, national origin, or economic condition, shall be eligible to attend its worship services, to participate in its programs, and to be admitted into its membership anywhere in the connection." The following question was added to be asked candidates for the Methodist ministry: "Are you willing to relate yourself in ministry to all persons without regard to race, color, or national origin, including receiving them into the membership and fellowship of the church?"

Other provisions required operation of church properties in conformity with local laws, "Providing that the services of worship of every local Methodist Church shall be open to all person without regard to race...."

Somewhat weaker additions were made concerning church camps, hospitals and homes, and the appointment of pastors. It was required only that standards of the church camps shall "contain a recommendation" that camps be open to all races. Connectional units were merely "urged" to make their hospitals and homes open

to all. Bishops "shall seek the cooperation of cabinets and congregations in the appointment of pastors without regard to race or color." (It should be noted that it would not have been within the power of the General Conference to enforce stronger requirements.)

A significant lever in the new rules was one ordering the Council on World Service and Finance to report to the Council of Bishops in 1966 and to the General Conference in 1968 on the ~~the~~ racial policies of all institutions and agencies receiving financial support from the council.

These are only examples. Many denominations were already at work with concrete programs. At any rate, by 1964 at least 41 churches or church-related agencies had offices in the Southeast, staffing fulltime workers with untold volunteer aid, working on race relations. The Society of Friends, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Unitarian Service Committee, and the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity are among many such which have long and honorable records in the field.

The 1964 record of two denominational conventions, particularly, is ambiguous. Both work mostly in the South. But a close observer of the proceedings could see, even in these, the operation of the forces of change.

At the year's General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States a proposal was rejected which would have established an emergency committee on religion and race, one of the purposes of which would have been to aid ministers in distress over the race issue. Because the Assembly had already

contracted to meet in the Second Presbyterian Church of Memphis in 1965, the proposal of a policy of refusal to meet in any segregated host church was defeated. But the Assembly did say that any host church must be integrated by 1967. Also, the Assembly, which has made some anti-segregation pronouncement at every meeting since 1954, ordered Negro presbyteries dissolved and Negro churches made parts of white presbyteries. (Less than one percent of the members of Southern denomination are Negroes.)

But even for this conservative denomination the handwriting was upon the wall. Dr. Carl R. Pritchett, a leader of the liberal forces declared, "I am weary of forbearing. In the name of God, I protest our silence, our inactivity, our obtuseness, our refusal to share the burden of guilt. I speak for those of us who would rather starve than yield our integrity. I speak for those of us who want to be able to look our congregations in the eye on Judgment Day. I speak for those of us who want to be able to stand in the pulpit and be blunt."

A Negro layman from Washington, D.C., said he felt "betrayed" by the Assembly's actions. "They are asking us not to be Presbyterians until 1967," he said.

But the Reverend Andrew Bullard, pastor of three white rural churches near Haynesville, Alabama, also felt betrayed. He slumped against a wall and stared at the floor after one of the Assembly's pro-integration actions. "They just don't seem to care about us any more," he said.

Of the major denominations, the Southern Baptists are the least amenable to change on the race issue. At their 1964 con-

vention in Atlantic City all pro-integration proposals were rejected. These included a pledge to "support the laws designed to guarantee the legal rights of Negroes" and a proposed commendation of the very few integrated congregations in the denomination. For the latter was substituted a resolution, similar to the conservative ones passed since 1948, calling for prayer and work for a "peaceful Christian solution" to racial problems. A report which was merely "received as information" read, in part, "Our thunderous silence in the face of oppressive injustice for American Negroes has amounted to a serious complicity in the problem. We have been part of a culture that crippled the Negro and then blamed him for limping."

The Southern Baptists noted a decline of seven percent in the number of baptisms and a decline of 3.6 percent in the number of persons received from other churches. Some leaders attributed this to a loss of zeal in "personal witnessing." But others felt that the denomination's conservative theology and anti-integration stand had alienated many laymen, especially the young people. They felt that these views limited the Southern Baptists to a tightening circle of prospects.

So, even here, the forces of change are building up.

Without doubt, surely, the best indication of the racial crisis' impact on the church is the story of the influence of religious organizations on the successful passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

A report in the Washington Post, March 18, 1964, said, "The first wave of religious leaders advocating strong civil rights legislation swept through Capitol Hill yesterday." Reference

was to more than 100 ministers and laymen of the United Church of Christ who visited their senators to urge support of the Civil Rights Bill. "Up until yesterday," the report added, "the Senate's attention has been directed more at lobbying against rather (than) for a Civil Rights Bill."

In April, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish theological students manned a continuous prayer vigil at the Lincoln Memorial in support of the Civil Rights Bill. It was called the "Theological Students' Vigil for Civil Rights." It was maintained until the bill passed in the Senate.

Similar vigils were maintained in other parts of the nation. At Germantown, Pennsylvania, for instance, 200 members of six Episcopal churches began on March 31, at St. Luke's Church, a round-the-clock cycle of continuous prayer. Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, and Quakers -- of both races -- joined them. It too was continued until the bill passed.

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice sent out periodic mailings, summarizing proposed amendments and urging organization of telephone and letter-writing committees and attempts to secure editorials in diocesan newspapers in support of the bill.

On April 28 the National Interreligious Convocation overflowed the 3,800-seat McDonough Memorial Gymnasium at Georgtown University with 4,000 clergymen and laymen for a "witness to racial justice" gathering. The convocation was sponsored jointly by the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Synagogue Council of America. They

heard Dr. Eugene C. Blake declare, "We will win this contest. New federal legislation must and will be enacted, and the time is now." An advance report about plans for this convocation, printed in the New York Times on April 10, had said,

> Plans for the April 28 meeting...have been viewed with urgent interest by Administration leaders in and out of the Senate. This is because churchmen have demonstrated unexpected strength as a pressure group for passage of the legislation.
>
> Several representatives have acknowledged privately that they would not have voted for passage of the civil rights bill in the House if they had not recognized the growing unity of church leaders of all faiths on the issue.

On March 20 newsmen Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported that they had examined "hundreds of letters in the offices of two Senators," and had concluded that "the church...may make the difference" in the political struggle over civil rights. "Oldtimers on Capitol Hill never have seen anything like the political pressure now being exerted on Senators and Congressmen by Protestant pastors, Catholic priests and Jewish rabbis. Not since Prohibition has the church attempted to influence political action in Congress as it is now doing on behalf of President Johnson's civil rights bill." The constant appeals from churchmen and religious groups were having the effect of counteracting the all-out campaign against the bill that was mounted by far-right groups. "The campaign by the churches could, indeed, make the vital difference in what the Senate finally does."

Again the one sour note came from the Southern Baptists.

On Good Friday President Johnson told a group of Baptist clergymen, "No group of Christians has a greater responsibility in civil rights than Southern Baptists." He added that the civil rights cause "demands prophets in our time, men of compassion and truth, unafraid of the consequences of fulfilling their faith."

Reaction to the President's appeal was mixed -- slightly.

"One hates to think the President should have to remind a denominational religious group what their responsibility is," said one leader, "but perhaps it was needed."

Another minister commented: "I don't care to get into a political situation but we have been and shall continue to work together with our neighbors of every race and every faith."

Another: "There will be many who go with him on his appeal and many who do not...."

Another, from Alabama: "Our President in obviously trying to coerce the people in the nation into backing his move to enlarge federal power to the point where our freedom to choose our associates and neighbors will be placed in the hands of the bureaucrats....We cannot in good conscience endorse this bill. We urge the 750,000 Baptists in Alabama to study its inherent dangers and decide for themselves."

Another Alabama Baptist minister said, "I am unalterably opposed to the civil rights bill in its form now....it is not a good bill for either race. This is an hour of political hysteria."

And another: "I think the President was out of order."

A former president of the Southern Baptist Convention said, "It seems strange that the President would ask ministers to use their high office for political purposes...to support him in something that is not as American as you might think."

But a denominational executive commented, "As far as the race problem is concerned, I would agree with the participant in our meeting who said, 'It's time for Southern Baptists to join the human race.'"

Leaders of the interfaith lobby for the Civil Rights Act expressed surprise, after its passage, at "our political muscle." At a thanksgiving service marking the end of their "vigil," Robert W. Spike, head of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, said, "But the real truth is, that we who are churchmen and members of synagogues must feel a continual shame that we were so belated in asserting with vigor what we knew to be true in our hearts -- that discrimination because of color is not only un-American, it is a sin against the very God we profess to worship."

SOME PROBLEMS AND DECISIONS CONFRONTING THE CHURCHES

Although the developments of the past two years are encouraging, any optimism about improvement in the performance of the churches in race relations must be highly provisional. The churches are still bound by a Gordian knot of intricately interrelated problems which must be cut through if they are to move decisively on this or any other really challenging issue.

We have been speaking of the "crisis" in human relations. The word "crisis" comes from a Greek word meaning "judgment." No other public concern in recent years has had such far-reaching and disturbing implications for all parts of society. It has reached into the worlds of education, of economics, of government and politics. It has shaken, not least, the world of religion -- and it has shaken it thoroughly. It has raised unavoidable questions about the churches' theology, their polity, their proclamation, their methods and philosophy of religious education, their strategy of mission, their disciplines -- questions, in a word, about their very nature.

At an evangelism conference the talk gravitated again and again to a problem which was apparently the deepest concern of the participating ministers: the problem of converting those who were already members of the church. One quoted I Peter 4:17: "For the time has come for judgment to begin with the household of God...."

The present writer believes that minor adjustments, or even major adjustments, will not adequately answer the present challenge to the churches. The disease of the church is serious.

It calls not for medication only, but for surgery. The following brief review of the related internal problems and strategic decisions facing the churches is intended to suggest the complexity of the churches' unhappy condition relative to the human relations and the need for decisiveness.

The Need for a New Form in Cities

As has been pointed out by many, notably Gibson Winter, the churches have never come to grips with the realities of an industrial, urbanized society. The Judeo-Christian scriptures emerged from a pastoral culture and are filled with rural symbolism. Small towns and rural areas furnish a very disproportionate percentage of Protestant ministers. The traditional patterns of church life were formed in the colonial and frontier days of America. Protestants have steadily lost members and closed churches in central cities over the past century. One study showed that more than 60 percent of all Protestant churches built in a recent ten year period were built in suburbs. About half of the remainder were built in rural areas.

This is interpreted as a sanctification by the churches of their constituents' attempt to regain the values of village life and pastoral religion synthetically. Instead of calling people to create genuine community with all upon whom they are economically interdependent, the churches have come to embody the brokenness of the metropolis. Churches tend to become "class churches" composed of people who are very much alike economically, educationally, culturally, and in ethnic and racial background.

Thus the problem of racial bias in churches is complicated by class bias, and the latter may be more basic than the former. The fact is that Protestants have had poor success in finding a way to minister to non-middle-class people, Negro or white, who are flooding the central cities. We have noted the observation of one denominational leader that many churches were segregated because the whole community or neighborhood was exclusive.

Gibson Winter has maintained that the churches need to develop new forms and patterns by which they could operate on a non-residential base or at least a greatly enlarged residential base. Whether or not he is on the right track, the traditional pattern of local church life needs an agonizing reappraisal.

The Need for Unity

The crisis in human relations has underscored the urgency of the ecumenical movement, which has already made notable progress. In any missionary situation fragmentation of religious organization is a luxury that cannot be afforded. The race situation in America has served to confirm what many church leaders had already come to believe: America is a field for religious mission. That is to say that the country, despite the fact that a considerable majority of its citizens are members of some church, should rightly be considered an alien environment to Judea-Christian religion. Unity is a necessity in the face of so great a challenge.

It should be evident that a united front is required on the race issue. At the present time it is easier to change one's

"religion" than it is to change one's self. Social and personal integration is almost as difficult to obtain under conditions of extreme ecclesiastical pluralism, even though the culture is ostensibly monotheistic, as under a polytheistic culture. "Shopping" denominations to satisfy one's caprice is really little different from "shopping" other gods.

The Need for a Recovery of Disciplines

The churches would not have a race problem at all, it has been argued, if there had not been an almost complete forfeit of internal systems of discipline. The loss of a climate of expectation within the churches, the blurring of the line of distinction between church and world -- this is a part of the fearful price that Protestantism, particularly, has paid for its amazing numerical growth in America during the past century. There was a time when even the churches' theologians and officials had not admitted to consciousness the evil of enslaving those of another race. But now all responsible leadership in the church is opposed to racial discrimination -- and yet the churches are powerless to follow their own best insights.

The churches have simply failed to protect the integrity of their existence by failing to insist that the right to participate in their inner life be taken seriously. "The world" has infiltrated the churches, even to the extent of having, in many cases, a majority on the governing board! As a result, too many churches are able to do little more than reflect the local culture. They have nothing distinctive to offer, hence can provide little moral leadership.

The problem of discipline is perhaps greater for Protestantism than for Catholicism. This is because the mainstream Protestant churches are neither "sect" type churches nor "church" type churches. In Roman Catholicism the protection of the church is insured by discipline of the priesthood. The "purity" of the church is safeguarded at the focal point, but its field is open. Sect churches, on the other hand, protect their "purity" by limiting their field very strictly and at the cost of recognizing no degrees of becoming Christian. The problem of the major Protestant denominations is to remain open and eductive to all individuals, recognizing degrees of becoming Christian, and yet at the same time to protect their own integrity. The more democratic polity and the emphasis on the horizontal relationship in the life and worship of the church has its advantages. But it does allow a strong tendency to extend the legitimate discrimination of the family relationship to the "larger family" of the church.

The Need for Different Theological Emphases

If one assumes that the data of a faith are to be interpreted in the light of experience, it would seem that the race issue and other social problems of our time indicate a need for different theological emphases.

One such need is a turning away from pietism, or spiritual individualism. Protestantism, molded in America in the days of the old frontier, is handicapped by a hang-over from pietistic revivalism. The pietist's understanding of the predicament of man is predicated almost entirely on the sin-guilt axis. The gospel is then offered solely in terms of individual redemption.

One hesitates to say that such an interpretation is wrong. But man is also a social, economic, and political creature, and much of his misery is compounded of social, economic, and political ills -- not only of moral or spiritual ills. Unless this fact is taken into account any judgment must be bitter and any hope only eschatological.

The tradition of pietism is represented in Billy Graham's approach to evangelism. Dr. Graham has rightly suggested that race problems "are not going to be solved by demonstrations in the street and not even by the civil rights bill." But he added that the key to a solution is "great, mass religious gatherings on an interracial basis. It is at the foot of the cross of Jesus Christ where this problem will be solved." And yet the so-called "Bible belt" has not made notably more progress in race relations than sections where revival-type evangelism is less used. It is surely no accident that where this tradition of pietistic individualism ~~tradition~~ is strongest the church harbours the most partisans of the economic and political far-right. The church, no less than society, as well needs protection from isolating and self-sufficient individualism as from enslaving collectivism.

A second needed change of emphasis is closely related to the need for new forms for the church in urban areas. The church has continued to preach and practice the Christian concept of love in terms of the intimate compassion and benevolence appropriate to the primary relationships of rural life. But amid the secondary relationships of urban life love must find expression in terms of justice. Charity, however warm and lavish, is no

substitute for social justice, even though a proper concept of Christian love would certainly include concern for social justice. The characteristic urban form of religious leadership should be prophetic. Failure to realize this accounts for the existence of genuine compassion and charity in personal, private dealings with Negroes -- side by side with total unwillingness even to rebuke those social customs which render Negroes continually in need of compassion and charity.

The two changes of emphasis mentioned above seem to the present writer to be essential to effective leadership by the churches in human relations. Although this is not the place to consider the matter in any detail, the "debate" between the followers of Karl Barth and the coalition of theologians influenced by Paul Tillich and Rudolph Bultmann should at least be mentioned. This debate is a part of the search for a genuinely "post-liberal" theology. It is ultimately important for its bearing on human relations because the result will greatly affect Protestantism's understanding of the basis of full and free communication (i.e., of communion) between human beings. Serious students of Christian thought might find examination of these schools of theology in the light of the human relations crisis provocative.

The Need for New Approaches to Communication

Under the heading of "communication" we come to a need that is crucial. If we assume that the Judeo-Christian tradition is a vessel of insights that would, if vitally appropriated, make

racial enmity unthinkable, then we can only conclude that the churches have failed to communicate.

The record of the last ten years should make it clear that the dicta of church courts or hierarchies do not, by themselves, obtain results. As one top denominational executive put it, "It should be evident by now that official stands by the governing bodies of the church are singularly ineffective."

That same executive went on to talk about the ineffectiveness of preaching in its traditional form. "In our time," he said, "public address is usually ineffective as a means of communicating the Gospel. The most effective communication of the Gospel is that which comes about through the pastoral relation. Preachers incorrectly assume a theologically apperceptive mass and then proceed to preach the application of the Gospel to the problem of race relations. This is futile."

Just how futile it is is illustrated by the case of the Galloway Memorial Methodist Church of Jackson, Mississippi. In 1963 the pastor, Dr. W. B. Selah, and his assistant both resigned after the church board turned away Negroes despite Dr. Selah's recommendation that they be admitted. Selah was succeeded by Dr. W. J. Cunningham, whose sermons are reportedly little comfort to segregationists in the congregation. One member of the church made this significant comment: "It's not hard to figure out what he's driving at. But this is no indication of any changes in the church policies any time soon."

It is impossible to deny the smarting truth in the remark of Senator Richard B. Russell in his final speech in the debate

on the 1964 Civil Rights Act: "There were many ministers who, having failed completely in their effort to establish good will and brotherhood from the pulpit, turned from the pulpit to the powers of the Federal Government to coerce the people into accepting their views under threat of dire punishment."

What Senator Russell failed to recognize, and what the religious leaders had apparently failed to recognize until recently, is that involvement in politics and social issues is an indispensible part of the churches' effort to communicate in modern society. Traditional preaching makes the mistaken assumption that commitment will follow insight. The reverse is true: insight follows commitment. A man who has never seriously tried to be just and righteous cannot know much about the force of evil within him or around him. Thus the religious message has no meaning for him. Preaching, as public address, will not change an individual or a community unless it takes place in the context of involvement.

New forms of communication need to be developed by the churches, then. These new forms will perhaps include preaching as a kind of theological reflection upon the active service in which a church is engaged. As noted previously, the characteristic form of urban religious leadership should be prophetic. The message of the churches is one of hope to moral failures; it can only be a message of judgment to the morally indifferent. The churches should so structure themselves that persons who are not yet awake to social (and other) morality will be repelled by the very nature and work of the visible church.

The Need to Rethink the Ministry

A speaker at a conference a few years ago remarked, "The southern white minister is the most tragic figure in America today." He was using the word tragic in the clasic, or Shakespearean, sense.

It may be true that many white ministers are comfort-loving and fearful men who indulge in silence or rationalization for the sake of security. (Churches which effectively require a married ministry must not expect ministers to be unmindful of security. It is the denomination's responsibility, surely, to protect his family.) George McMillan quotes a southern businessman and lay churchman:

> Give him a couple of years to get the highfalutin seminary ideas out of his head, let him get his family started, give him a decent salary and a nice parsonage, and a membership in the local country club, and he's got a good living and knows it. And when it comes to dealing with the colored folks, he's as likely to be conservative as any of us.

But one suspects that with the majority of these ministers, as with Hamlet, it is conscience that makes cowards. They are men who are grateful to the church and appreciate it, even though they know it to be sinful. They grieve for it and brood over it. Moreover, many see very clearly that the suffering of an oppressed man, though it should be prevented and relieved by all means, does not necessarily separate him from God. It is the oppressor who is in hell. For this reason many are sincerely reluctant to "give up" their people. It takes a great spirit to love even those who sin with a high hand. Some white ministers suffer, for their people's sake,the embarrassment of staying with them.

One church leader put it this way: "The white southern minister is caught in the middle. He is charged with the responsibility of communicating the gospel itself to his people, who have never really heard it. This he can do only by the slow process of establishing a pastoral relationship, a relationship of confidence and trust. At the same time, he is charged with the responsibility of seeking the application of the gospel relative to the Negro minority -- and immediately. In such a situation he must come to know the meaning of the Cross, for all on both sides will call him something less than blessed."

The crisis in human relations has made some problems of the clergy urgent. For each minister there is the decision whether to speak out straightforwardly despite all consequences or to work patiently on the theory that a more indirect route may actually lead to the goal sooner. Courage could be claimed either way. The writer believes that the time when a minister could honorably neglect to make his position clear on this issue, or fail to insist upon a non-discriminatory church policy, has now passed -- if there ever was such a time. But there are those who think differently, whose dedication, sincerity, and courage is not to be doubted.

At the very least the denominations have a responsibility to protect the families of ministers who speak out for their church's teachings and policies. There are problems in guaranteeing a minister economic security for his family, even for a short time. (For one thing, it would provide a convenient "out" for misfit ministers.) But it should be done, and recent moves in this direction are significant and encouraging.

Actually, Protestants need to rethink their whole doctrine of the ministry. The Protestant idea is that the ministry belongs to the whole church, laymen as well as clergymen, and the "minister" is set apart for certain special functions on behalf of the whole Christian community. The Protestant idea was to make laymen first-class Chri tians along with the clergy. What happened, sad to say, was that the clergy were more often made second-class Christians along with the laymen! It can be seen that this problem is connected with the breakdown of Protestant discipline. It should be evident that the concept of "the priesthood of all believers" cannot work in practice without careful disciplining of the whole membership.

CONCLUSION

A notable clergyman shook his head and said, sadly, "Anything the church does about the race situation now will be bad -- bad because it is wrong, or bad because it is late."

There is no getting around this conclusion. It is too late for our religious institutions to be the instruments of God for judgment and redemption in the matter of race relations in America. The voice of judgment and redemption had to be raised outside the major church institutions. Indeed, the churches generally must accept classification with the world against which judgment is announced and redemption offered.

This is not to deny that there is much that can be done and that churches ought to do. But now that racial justice has the sanction of a national consensus, it is too late for the churches to offer moral and spiritual leadership. To act on this issue now is to act for the redemption of the churches more than for the redemption of the world. And that is to say that it is too late for the church to be the Church with regard to this present crisis. Even the splendid actions of the past couple of years were too late for the world to care. Hopefully, they were not too late to be important to the churches themselves.

When a man is sick and unable to function, the best thing he can do is admit this fact and accept care until he regains health. Similarly, the best thing the churches can do about the race situation now is to use it as the occasion for their own reconstitution. As Will Campbell told the National Conference on Religion and Race: "...instead of seeking a solution to the race problem through the

inner life of church and synagogue it would be more realistic to seek a true inner life for church and synagogue through the race problem."

We have noted that a minority from within the churches have recently done some things that indicated vitality relative to race relations and other social problems. We have also noted that the tangled internal problems of a divided, pietistic, cumbersome, organizational church tend to overwhelm its livelier parts.

The writer is convinced that nothing short of a new reformation will restore the vitality and importance of churches in America. That reformation could well encompass both Protestants and Catholics. The race relations issue could as well serve as the decisive occasion for such a reformation as any other moral issue. Here is an issue about which there is little room for intelligent disagreement in the light of the church's own standards and heritage. Yet the response of the churches has been lethargic. The present crisis surely ought to be an unmistakable revelation to the churches. They have a choice of response. One alternative is a thoroughgoing reformation which will be very painful. The other is to continue in basically the same way -- and become as moribund and peripheral in America as the churches are in much of Europe. It is difficult to see any other alternative.

A CHRONOLOGY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS* IN THE DIRECT ACTION CAMPAIGN
(February 1960-May 1963)

24

*A listing of every episode, every site and scene, of direct action since 1960 would fill a good-sized encyclopedia; this chronology is, therefore, limited to happenings considered to be of particular interest or importance.

CHRONOLOGY

1960

Feb. 1--The first sit-in demonstration ~~is taken~~ held place in Greensboro, N. C.

Feb. 15--Sit-ins spread to 15 southern cities in 5 southern states. Chief targets: F. W. Woolworth and S. H. Kress variety stores.

Feb. 16--Worst outbreak of violence since the beginning of the sit-in demonstrations ~~takes place~~ occurred in Portsmouth, Va., where 250 white and Negro high school ~~students~~ boys clash in the parking lot of a local department store.

insert here

Feb. 27--Police arrest~~ing~~ed 100 Negro and white students in Nashville after fights ~~break~~ broke out in two of five stores where sit-ins ~~are~~ were being staged.

Feb. 23--Rioting ~~breaks out~~ in Chattanooga

Feb. 25--Students from Alabama State College stage~~d~~ first deep South sit-in in Montgomery County courthouse.

Feb. 27--Negro woman in Montgomery struck on head by one of a group of white men carrying baseball bats.

March 15--First mass sit-in demonstrations ~~takexplace~~ in Atlanta result~~s~~ in arrest of at least 76 Negroes.

March 16--First integration of lunch counters in a large southern city ~~is~~ made in San Antonio, as four Negroes and a large group of whites eat side-by-side at 5&10¢ store counters. The same day two Negro students from Fisk ~~are~~ were served coffee in a previously segregated bus station restaurant in Nashville.

March 20--Florida governor Leroy Collins, in a statewide radio-TV address, declare~~d~~ that it is "unfair and morally wrong" to bar Negroes from one department of a store in which they are invited to trade. While the white store proprietor may have "a legal right to do this," Collins did not believe the proprietor "can square that right with moral, simple justice."

~~Many~~

March 20--New York Times report~~s~~ that informal organizations had to support southern Negro students in their protest against lunch counter ~~seg~~ segregation ~~have~~ sprung up at ~~x~~ 21 non-southern colleges and universities. Among them: Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Vassar, Wisconsin, Indiana, and California (at Berkeley).

March 30--18 students at Southern University in Baton Rouge ~~are~~ suspended following sit-in demonstrations and an orderly anti-segregation rally by an estimated 2-5000 students on state capitol steps. The ~~mass~~ suspensions touch~~es~~ off a student rebellion as most of the 5,000 Southern students boycott classes.

April 15-17--A regional Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was to guide ~~anti~~ anti-segregation activities ~~is~~ set up by southern Negro student leaders at the close of a meeting sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) on the campus of Shaw University in Raleigh. The meeting ~~is~~ was attended by ~~12~~ 132 Negro and 10 white students from 11 states and the District of Columbia, representing 37 communities involved in lunch counter sit-in demonstrations. Rev. Martin Luther King presides.

1960 (cont.)

April 22--Trespass charges dismissed against 43 Negro students in Raleigh, where students originally arrested for demonstrating on the sidewalk of a privately-owned shopping center. The dismissal is based on a 1946 Supreme Court ruling in a similar case, where Court held that "property ownership does not always mean absolute dominion." [redacted] "the more an owner, for his advantage, opens up property for use by the public in general, the more do his rights become circumscribed by the constitutional and statutory rights of those who use it." (Marsh v. Alabama).

May 7--Roy Wilkins announced plan to launch a "wade-in" campaign at a 10-state NAACP meeting. Wilkins also said NAACP will continue to guide, advise and support student sit-ins.

May 10--Lunch counters of four national variety and two local department stores in Nashville desegregated peacefully after four weeks of negotiations between white and Negro leaders. A well-organized Negro boycott of Nashville businesses considered a major factor in bringing about the settlement.

May 17--Georgia patrolmen and Atlanta policemen talked about 1500 Negro college students out of demonstrating against segregation at the state capitol as students mark sixth anniversary of Supreme Court's 1954 decision.

July 9--Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee in Charlotte announced that segregated lunch counter service was being discontinued in seven downtown stores.
Lunch counters previously desegregated in these cities by this date: Nashville, Winston-Salem, Arlington, Alexandria, Austin, Corpus Christi, Galveston and San Antonio.

Aug. 1--Lunch counter segregation ended in Durham, N. C. and Miami, bringing to 15 the number of cities in which sit-in demonstrations have proved partially or wholly successful since their start in Greensboro, where lunch counters desegregated July 25. Other cities now with desegregated lunch counters also include Chapel Hill, Salisbury, Knoxville, and Norfolk.

Aug. 10--Officials of variety chain stores informed Attorney General William Rogers that lunch counters have been desegregated in their stores in 69 southern cities. In more than 70% of these communities, integration took place without demonstrations or sit-ins, it is also reported.

Aug. 27--Racial violence erupted in Jacksonville after 10 days of demonstrations, and a Negro was killed in the aftermath of this strife, becoming the first fatality incurred as a result of direct action activities.

Oct. 3--Negroes staged sparsely-attended stand-in demonstations to protest barriers against Negro voter registration. Stand-ins organized by SCLC.

Oct. 17- Four national chain stores announce that about 150 lunch counters in 112 southern and border state cities have integrated.

Oct. 19-22--Demonstrations in Atlanta result in the arrest of 80 persons, including Martin Luther King.

Oct. 22-30--A 30-day truce is arranged between the Atlanta Committee on Appeal for Human Rights (a Negro student protest group) and Mayor William Hartsfield.

1960 (cont.)

Dec. 5--Supreme Court in a 7-2 decision ruled that discrimination in bus terminal restaurants operated primarily for interstate passengers ~~to~~ was a violation of Interstate Commerce Act.

Nov. 25-30--Sit-ins resumed in Atlanta, but no violence and no arrests made. On Nov. 30 first desegregation of a public cafeteria in Atlanta occurred when 5 Negroes are served without incident at YWCA.

Dec. 11--Thousands of Negroes ~~held~~ held 2 mass prayer meetings in Atlanta to back sit-in campaign to desegregate lunch counters. Next day first violence in Atlanta occurred when bomb explodes before dawn at a Negro elementary school, but police do not connect bombing with sit-ins.

Nov. 30--2 Negro students arrested in Little Rock after 2 days of sit-in demonstrations.

Nov. 29-Dec. 2--Negroes ~~sit-in~~ sat-in at Woolworth counter in Jacksonville.

Dec. 27--4th Circuit Court in Richmond, Va. ~~upholds~~ upheld right of restaurant operators to select customers on the basis of color.

* * * * * * * * * *

1961 goes here

March 7--Atlanta Chamber of Commerce announced agreement to desegregate lunchrooms and other facilities.

Feb. 10--New twist is introduced in sit-in movement--"jail-ins"--as 13 sit-inners in Rockhill, S. C. and 6 (4 of them whites) in Lynchburg, Va. refused to pay $100 fines and are given 30-day jail sentences. Four of those arrested in Rockhill were SNICK leaders, and they became known as the [redacted] "Rock Hill 4." SNICK's Atlanta headquarters urged a southwide campaign of "jail, no bail." By Feb. 10, a "jail-in" movement had resulted in 80 persons being imprisoned in Atlanta on similar charges. Five days later 4 Negro and one white minister were jailed for demonstrating in support of the [redacted] "jail-in" movement.

March 27-29--Negro students from Tougaloo Christian College outside Jackson, Miss. arrested and jailed for staging sit-in at Jackson city library. Protest meeting of about 200 Negro students next day at Jackson State College broken up by police using clubs, tear gas, and 2 German police dogs.

April 17--Supreme Court ruled that a privately-operated restaurant on space leased from a state agency could not refuse to serve Negroes. Case concerned a coffee shop in a garage owned by the Wilmington (Del.) Parking Authority, a state agency which leased the property. 6 justices concurred in the ruling.

May 14--Two groups of Freedom Riders, all [redacted] members of CORE, attacked by whites in Anniston and Birmingham, abandoned tour next day. Tour started May 4 with New Orleans as destination.

May 20--Violence in Montgomery as mobs attacked Freedom Riders.

(see insert)

May 16--Negroes served at lunch counters in Jacksonville in uneventful start of integration.

~~(For additional info on Freedom Rides, see pp. 224-25 Facts on File, 1961, as well as pp. 234, 250, 266, 306, 445)~~

Freedom Rides - add. info.

~~May 25 - J. Farmer sent from his Jackson Miss. jail cell, instructions to extend the Freedom Ride movement to r.r. & airline terminals.~~

June 8 - Percy Sutton a Neg. & head of the NAACP's Manhattan chapter, & N.Y. Assemblyman Mark Lane White, were arrested when they sought to use seg. restroom facilities at the Jackson air terminal after a flight from Montogery, Ala. Both posted $500 appeal bonds

— 5 Neg. & 4 white girls who arrived by train from New Orleans were arrested in Jackson when they refused to leave the stations seg. waiting room

~~May 26 - Establishment of Freedom Ride Co-ordinating Comm.~~

June 16/ 13 Freedom Riders arrested in Ala.

June 9 - NAACP filed in U.S. District Court in Jackson a suit to bar the enforcement of city & state seg. laws at intra-state transportation facilities.

June 12 - U.S. Judge Frank M Johnson Jr.'s bar on Freedom Ride activity in Ala. expired.

May 30 - SRC warned that freedom riders indicated "what must be done & done quickly, if we are to forestall the emergence into power of real, genuine

(insert)

May 25. ~~extremists" full racial equality at all Lockheed Air Ct. Corps. guaranteed.~~

June 26 - Justice Dept. sued in U.S. district court at New Orleans to bar racial seg. at restaurants in New Orleans new Moisant Internat'l Airport.
- suit to end seg. at Mobile, Ala. airport's waiting room restroom & restaurant facilities was filed in Mobile by NAACP on behalf of 3 Negro Army reservists.

July 2 - 3 white & 2 Negro Freedom Riders arrested on breach of peace charges when they sought to enter the Jackson bus terminal's 'white' waiting room.

July 7 - 8 more riders from Montgomery arrested on similar charge.

July 9 - 17 more arrested at the Trailways terminal after a ride from Mont.

July 10 - 4 freedom riders were arrested in Little Rock after refusing to leave the bus terminal's "white" waiting room.

13 - sentences suspended in return for promises to leave Ark.

Aug. 4 - 4 Negroes from Shreveport were arrested at the city's Continental Bus Term. after trying to use seg. facilities.

Aug 22 - Jackson hearings for 189 Freedom-Rider began. Hearings to continue at rate of 2 a day - before Hinds County Judge Russell Moore.

July 26 - Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black denied writ of habeas corpus for f. r. Elizabeth Wyckoff-White, who had been previously convicted in Jackson. Denial was on the grounds that it had not been proven that the state had no legal processes available for her appeal.

July 17 - Freedom ~~or~~ riders Leslie Lee Smith (Neg. minister) & James O'Conner (White Barnard College instructor) were convicted of unlawful assembly by Marion County Judge Lewis Myers in Ocala, Fla. They were arrested after a scuffle at the Ocala bus station.

Nov 29 - Dec 2 - Negro f.r. were attacked or menaced by white mobs at the Greyhound bus term. in McComb, Miss.

Dec 1 - this CORE f.r. was successful. 1 to McComb

Dec 2 & 3 - small group of whites menaced 3rd F.R. into & out of McComb.

1961 (Cont.)

Aug. 16--Martin Luther King announced at Miami news conference that a program of Negro "stand-ins" ~~is~~ to be instituted soon "at places where they have been denied the right to register." ~~Says~~ 2-year-goal ~~is~~ to double number of registered southern Negro voters.

Said was was

Sept. 22--Interstate Commerce Commission issued rules requested by Attorney General Robert Kennedy prohibiting racial discrimination in interstate buses and bus facilities. In a unanimous decision, ICC ruled that, effective Nov. 1, interstate buses and terminals must display signs saying that the seating there is "without regard to race, color, creed or national origin..." Interstate carriers also banned, effective Nov. 1, from using terminal facilities where travellers are segregated by race. (A Justice Department statement filed with ICC July 20 said a survey of 294 bus terminals in 17 states had resulted in finding "open racial segregation" in 97 terminals in 12 states.

Sept. 28--Many previously segregated restaurants, lunch counters and other facilities in Atlanta desegregated without incident. Charles Black, chairman of the Commission on Appeal for Human Rights, reported that 300 Negroes were served for the first time in 177 Atlanta restaurants in 77 establishments.

Oct. 16--~~Bobby~~ Robert Kennedy announced that three railroads--Illinois Central, Southern and Louisville&Nashville--have ~~had~~ agreed to desegregate their facilities.

Sept. 29--SRC report on sit-in movement summarized:

--Sit-in movement affected ~~xxxxxxx~~ 20 states, more than 100 cities in southern and border states between February 1960 and September 1961.

--At least 70,000 Negroes and whites actively participated.

--Estimated 3600 arrested.

--At least 141 students, 58 faculty members expelled by college authorities.

--One or more eating establishments in 108 southern or border state cities desegregated as a result of sit-in activity.

--State-by-state breakdown: Arkansas, 1 city; Florida, 15; Georgia, 3; Illinois, 3; Kansas, 1; Kentucky 9; Maryland, 3; Missouri, 5; Nevada, 2; North Carolina, 17; Ohio, 1; Oklahoma, 5 (116 restaurants desegregated in Oklahoma City alone); Tennessee, 7; Texas, 10; Virginia, 23; West Virginia, 3. No desegregation occurred in Alabama, [redacted] Louisiana, Mississippi, or South Carolina.

Dec. 4--[redacted] Supreme Court [redacted] upholds (by refusing to review a a lower court ruling) the right of students to a hearing before their expulsion from a tax-supported college. Case concerned 6 students expelled from Alabama State College in Montgomery, a Negro school. College had accused them of leading sit-in and other mass anti-segregation demonstrations.

1961 (cont.)

Dec. 11--Supreme Court unanimously reverses breach-of-the-peace convictions of 16 Negro students who had staged sit-ins in Baton Rouge. It was court's first decision on cases directly involving the sit-in movement. Students arrested in March 1960 for seeking service at three white lunch counters in a drug store, a department store, and a bus terminal.

Chief Justice Warren wrote opinion, said a Louisiana law defined disturbing the peace as acting "in such a manner as to unreasonably disturb or alarm the public." He said there was "no evidence...that petitioners disturbed the peace, either by outwardly boisterous conduct or by passive conduct likely to cause a public disturbance."

In a separate but concurring opinion, Justice Marshall Harlan conceded that sit-ins could and did cause racial tension. But, said Harlan, sit-ins were "as much a part of the free trade in verbal ideas as in verbal expression." He held that no state could curb such expression unless it banned sit-ins as "a clear and present danger to the welfare of the community."

(For summary of Albany developments and other Dec. events in 1961, see ~~pp. 469,470, Facts on File~~)

attached pages made by Carol

Albany - '61

Dec 10/16 - 737 Negroes (& MLK) were arrested in Albany as a result of 5 mass marches on city hall. * Negro leaders suspended the mass protest Dec. 18 after agreement with city officials on a plan apparently providing for the temp. release of those held, & for negotiations on removal of race barriers.

#1 The marches had begun in protest against the trial of Freedom Riders arrested Dec. 10 at the Central of Ga. r.r. station. The riders (6N-4W) had arrived from Atlanta & entered the "white" waiting room where, according to ICC reg, the seg. signs had been removed. The riders complied with the Police Chief's order to leave, but were arrested & charged with disorderly conduct, obstructing traffic, etc.

#2 3 more mass marches Dec. 13 led to the arrest of 265 Negroes. During the day Negroes entered the Trailways bus terminal, where some used the "W" waiting room & others were served in the lunchroom.

#3 265 Negroes (inc. King, Abernathy & W.G. Anderson, leader of the Albany movement) & 1 white youth were arrested Dec. 16. In addition to sidewalk & traffic obstruction charges, they were accused of parading without a permit.

Dec. 18 * Peace plan negotiated. Under the plan the Negroes agreed to end, for 60 days, mass protests & a boycott against white merchants. The city agreed to (a) comply with ICC's terminal deseg. ruling (b) release any arrested marcher if he were able to get a signature bond (c) reduce bonds on the free. R. (d) allow Negros to present deseg. demands.

Dec. 15 - La. Demonstrations.. Police used tear gas & leashed dogs to quell 5 mass demonstrations by 1500 Negroes in Baton Rouge. About 30 of the demonstrators were arrested. The demon. had been called to protest the arrest Dec 14 of 23 Negroes who had picketed downtown stores & had staged CORE sponsored sit-ins. Following the mass protest, temporary injunctions barring CORE from picketing was obtained by Baton Rouge officials from Fed. & St. courts.

Dec. 18 - A CORE sponsored was staged by Negroes in New Orleans to protest alleged brutality by the Baton Rouge police.

Dec. 19 - Another demonstrations in New Orleans sponsored by the Consumers league of New Orleans, resulted in the arrest of 11 more Negroes on similar charges.

Dec. 14. - About 500 Freedom Riders staged sit-ins in about ~~50~~ 40 restaurants along Rt. # 40 between Baltimore & New Castle Del. The riders traveled in about 100 cars. They were served with out incident in many restaurants but at least 8 Riders were arrested ~~for~~ on trespassing charges in others.

DRAFT----

THE DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT
(~~A Brief History of the Nonviolent Negro Revolt~~)

Introduction

> It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us.
>
> --Charles Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities

With this memorable passage, Dickens opened his novel about one of the world's great revolutions. It seems equally applicable to another the nonviolent Negro revolt taking place in this country--and particularly in the South--today.

In the past several years, the Negro revolt has experienced good times and survived bad times. The young Negroes in its vanguard have displayed both wisdom and foolishness. They have never lost belief in the rightness of their cause, nor incredulity over the failure of whites to understand it. They have enjoyed moments of light and endured moments of darkness. Now, though the battle is by no means over, the strife by no means done, they have passed through the winter of despair into the spring of hope. And, after 100 years of serfdom and segregation, they have passed from having nothing before them to having everything--all the rights their race has so long desired and been so long denied.

In some respects, this Negro revolt is unlike any in American history. As one observer has noted, it is "a revolution in which the revolutionaries bear no arms, throw up no street barricades... and, with remarkably few exceptions, initiate no violence." But just as the French revolutionists had a rallying song, Le Marseillaise,

so the American Negroes have theirs. Again, though, it is ~~not~~ something for a song of revolution, ~~in~~ unique ~~song revolutionary~~ something described by New Yorker writer Katherine T. Kinkead ~~xx~~ as "a now mournful, now serene piece called 'We Shall Overcome.'"

The Negroes still have not completely overcome their foes of ignorance, intolerance and injustice, but there is now no doubt about the outcome of the struggle: the Birmingham campaign and Alabama Governor George Wallace's ~~lamentable~~ burlesque of a last stand at Tuscaloosa are proof enough of that. The walls have not come tumbling down yet; nonetheless, their loud cracking and steady crumbling can be heard throughout the land.

Why, with all the odds, with virtually all the powers of southern state and local governments, against them, have the Negroes succeeded so well in their revolt against Jim Crow? Why, when beaten, jeered, jailed, even murdered, have the Negroes not retaliated with the viciousness of violence? Why, in the face of incredible persecutions and countless dangers, have these homegrown rebels ~~never~~ seldom lost their heads, muchless heart?

Dedication to a cause could be cited as one reason for their courage and determination. A strong religious conviction might be cited as another. ~~But~~ And while both ~~xxxxxxxx~~ have had an influence, perhaps the simplest explanation--and the principal reason--for the ~~xx~~ success of the Negro revolt is just this: it is non-violent.

The concept of using non-violent means to achieve justifiable ends ~~didn't originate~~ did not, of course, ~~something spring~~ spring fresh born from the brain of Martin Luther King, Jr. Thoreau, and Tolstoi were ~~unwavering~~ staunch apostles of the gospel of peaceful civil disobedience, though neither ever won

many converts. The man who actually shaped the concept of non-violence into a militant creed was Mahatma Gandi.

In so doing, he introduced a new kind of warfare, one which denounced hate and hostility in favor of using non-violent tactics such as mass, peaceful demonstrations against injustices. As Washington used musket and powder to win America's independence from Britain, so Ghandi employed satyagraha (the name given his movement of non-violent, noncooperative protest) to do the same for India. Satyagraha has since been exported to America, where it is proving equally effective as a weapon in a people's struggle to win their rights.

The highlights of that struggle are, the subject of this report. For by looking back to see what has been attempted and what accomplished by the non-violent direct action movement thus far, one may be able to discern some of the problems and prospects facing the movement in the years ahead. By analyzing and assessing what has happened, one can, it is hoped, speculate about what may happen.

However, This much seems certain, wherever the future may lead: the direct action movement will go on until, at long last, there is an American whose practices are one and the same with its promises to all citizens.

But "why," many white Americans, have asked and still ask, "why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches and demonstrations? Why not negotiation instead?" This is how Martin Luther King recently replied to such questions in

his Letter from Birmingham Jail:

"You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored."

Since early 1960, the issue, that of Negro rights, has been dramatized in so many southern towns and cities that only a latter-day Rip Van Winkle could possibly have missed it. A people long docile and suddenly sprung to action and their roar of protest was soon heard across the globe, from Jackson to Jakarta, from Memphis to Moscow.

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THE SIT-IN MOVEMENT, 1960-61

> ...they were on fire with their purpose.... Making an end to segregation had obviously given their lives far more focus than the thin studies offered them possibly could. But, more important...their truly desperate struggle--the beatings, the reprisals, the jailings--was rewarding them with the very identity and pride that Negroes in the United States have so long sought in vain. This is already their secret triumph.
>
> --Charlotte Devree, describing "The Young Negro [redacted] Rebels" in Harper's magazine, October 1961.

Greensboro, N. C. (pop. 119,574) is an industrial and educational community situated in the hilly Piedmont plateau about 85 miles northeast of Raleigh. The city is named for a [redacted] hero of the American Revolution, General Nathaniel Greene. Another American revolution began in Greensboro on Feb. 1, 1960.

At [redacted] 4:30 p. m. that day, four Negro students, all freshmen at North Carolina A.&T. College, sat down at the lunch counter of a local Woolworth's dime store and attempted to get coffee. They were still sitting at the counter an hour later, when the store [redacted] closed. They had not been served; they had set off a protest movement that spread like a fire in dry timber across the South.

Within a week after the Greensboro sit-in, Negro students were demonstrating in Winston-Salem, Durham, Charlotte, and other principal North Carolina cities. Within six weeks, demonstrations of some type had spread to another score of cities, bringing the movement into every [redacted] southern state except Mississippi.

While these demonstrations varied in size and scope, they did have certain common characteristics. They were, [redacted] for the

More →

most part, spontaneous; they were carried out by students (including some white students); they were concentrated on one sort of service--lunch counters of [redacted] stores which sold other commodities to Negroes and which were usually branch stores of large national chains; and they [redacted] were generally non-violent.

The 1960 demonstrations were not, however, completely unprecedented. Sit-ins had been staged [redacted] at eating places in Chicago, Los Angeles, and Washington during World War II*. There were later sit-ins in Kansas and Oklahoma cities in 1958 and 1959, as well as in Miami, [redacted] Fla. But these demonstrations did not precipitate a [redacted] major wave of activity elsewhere. Nor did the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56, though it did, of course, make Martin Luther King, Jr. a world-famous figure.

Thus while these earlier manifestations of Negro unrest presaged the 1960 sit-ins, they did not produce the same result: the birth of the first mass movement of protest by Negroes throughout the South. Montgomery might be considered the Boston Tea Party of the Negro revolt, but Greensboro represented its Lexington and Concord.

If the [redacted] the sit-in demonstrations instilled thousands of Negro Southerners with a new sense of pride and power, they [redacted] thoroughly [redacted] baffled and bewildered most white Southerners. Long indoctrinated with the [redacted] myths made music by Stephen Foster, long accustomed to Negroes seemingly content with their servile status, the average white Southerner was scarcely prepared to confront the young Negroes of the sit-in movement--the neatly dressed, dignified, and dedicated students who, as Louis Lomax later wrote, made "a moral crusade out of their right to sit down in a restaurant owned by a white man and eat a hamburger."

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*An interesting comparison between the non-violent movement of the 1940's and that of the 1960's was made by Carleton McBee in his ~~[illegible]~~ National Article, "The Evolution of Nonviolence" (The Nation, Aug. 12, 1961) More

¶ Moreover, despite attempts by racist rabble rousers to brand the demonstraters as "outside agitaters," it was glaringly apparent that the overwhelming majority were native sons and daughters of the South. And as their protest movement expanded to other segregated facilities (e. g., churches, libraries, movie theaters, beaches), they gained the support of responsible adults in local Negro communities. One such community was Nashville, where the student sit-ins were followed by a successful Negro boycott of the city's downtown stores. This is how Nashville journalist Wallace Westfeldt described it:

> This boycott was not started by outsiders nor was it maintained by outsiders. It was executed by the Nashville Negro for the Nashville Negro and any attempt to charge anyone else for its responsibility is indulging in wishful thinking.
>
> This boycott, incidentally, also destroyed another concept about the sit-ins widely held by southerners, the concept that the sit-in was purely a student movement, unsupported and unrecognized by responsible adults in the Negro community.

¶ Confused and concerned by such a mass direct action movement, one that marked a turning point in the Negro's quest for equality matched only by the Supreme Court decision of 1954, the white South reacted in a variety of ways. In Chattanooga, for example, there were open clashes between Negroes and whites until the police gained control of the crisis. In Montgomery, where students from Alabama State College staged the first sit-in in the Deep South at the Montgomery County court house on Feb. 25, 1960, the police later crushed a Negro demonstration in the name of preventing "trouble," but in effect doing the bidding of a white mob. But in many other southern cities, including Nashville, Charlotte and Winston-Salem, there was a genuine

More →

attempt by leading white citizens to seek a solution offering justice to Negroes. Hence by dramatizing the irrationality and immorality of discrimination, the sit-ins had one notable result: for the first time, many southern communities removed a bastion of segregation without legal compulsion.

The first large southern city to desegregate its lunch counters voluntarily was San Antonio, which did so on March 16, 1960. Other cities soon followed suit: by June 1960, eating facilities in 18 southern cities had desegregated; by August 10, officials of variety chain stores could report to Attorney General William Rogers that lunch counters in their stores in 69 southern cities had opened to all; and by late September 1961, it was estimated that one or more eating establishments in 108 southern or border state cities had desegregated as a result of sit-in activity. By then, however, the sit-in movement proper had come to an end. True, there were to be scattered sit-ins right down to the present, as well as a steadily increasing number of southern communities with desegregated lunch counters. But, as America turned toward a New Frontier in 1961, so the non-violent direct action movement turned toward new fields of protest, new areas of discrimination.

Still, if the sit-in movement proper had a short, hectic life span, one lasting little more than a year, there can be no doubt that it was a supremely successful one. Indeed, a future historian with a Churchillian flair for phrase-making could well be moved to comment: "Never before in the course of civil conflict had so much been won for so many by so few." For the sit-ins did not merely bring about the opening of lunch counters to Negro Southerners. They gave Negroes in

all parts of the South something far more substantial than a dime store hamburger. Perhaps Ralph McGill described it best when he wrote in The South and the Southerner:

> The sit-ins reached far out into the back country. They inspired adult men and women , fathers, mothers, grandmothers, aunts and uncles, to support the young students in the cities. Not even the Supreme Court decision on the schools in 1954 had done this. But the students picketing in the lunchrooms and the department stores--this was something they could see and understand. From the day of the first sit-in the students brought a stronger front to contest against discrimination than could have been created by any other course.

Four other lasting results of the sit-ins were cited by C. Merrill Proudfoot in a speech, "Diary of a Sit-in: An Analysis of the Sit-in Movement," delivered to the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University in July 1962. They were: 1) the sit-ins "marked the development of new imaginative techniques to supplement the very necessary legal action"; 2) they "dramatized the fact of discrimination and the Negro's dissatisfaction with it"; 3) they "brought about contact between Negroes and whites in the South, creating a more favorable climate for race relations progress generally"; and 4) they "brought the recognition of the Negro's economic power as an instrument for achieving social rights. (It goes without saying that one result was the opening of hundreds of eating facilities...which was a vast boost in the morale of Negroes.)"

Then, too, as Louis Lomax pointed out in The Negro Revolt, "the sit-ins...convinced even more people that direct mass

action was the shorter, more effective route to their goal of desegregation. But, from an internal viewpoint, more significant than the stale coffee and soggy hamburgers was the [redacted] brand of Negro that was emerging. They were no longer afraid; their boldness, at times, was nothing short of [redacted] alarming."

Yet, like any cause worth fighting for, the sit-in movement demanded a [redacted] willingness to face possible beating, imprisonment, or death. Actually, only one Negro--and one who was not a demonstrator--died as a result of sit-in direct action activities (in Jacksonville, following the riots there on Aug. 27, 1960, a former convict, running a [redacted] road block set up by [redacted] local police, was shot down by white service station attendants). But many were beaten and thousands arrested; others were expelled from college or lost their jobs as teachers. These were [redacted] among the [redacted] sit-in statistics presented by SRC in its [redacted] special report of Sept. 29, 1960, "The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation":

--At least 70,000 Negroes and whites actively participated in sit-in activities affecting each southern and border state, as well as Nevada, Illinois, and Ohio--20 in all.

--An estimated 3,600 students and supporters in southern and border states were arrested.

--At least 141 students and 58 faculty members were dismissed by southern colleges and [redacted] universities.

These arrested for participating in demonstrations [redacted] were [redacted] responsible for another outcome of the sit-ins--their effect on American jurisprudence. The involved question of sit-in demonstrations and the law is beyond the scope of this report. Suffice it to say, however, that [redacted] all the sit-in cases reviewed thus far by the Supreme Court have been decided in favor of the defendants. Only a [redacted] few weeks ago, in its most important decision [redacted] to date

on such cases, the Court reversed the trespass convictions of Negro and white students who had conducted sit-ins at lunch counters in four southern states, and of persons who encouraged them. The Court held that there was discriminatory "state action" in local ordinances and official statements. The cases came from Alabama, Louisiana, North and South Carolina.

Finally, no assessment of the sit-in movement can ignore its effect on the Negro civil rights organizations. Whether or not the sit-ins produced a [redacted] crisis of the old order is a highly debatable question. But there can be little doubt that they provoked controversy within the organizations and competition without. They also produced one wholly new--and highly militant--civil rights group. These organizations, old and new, [redacted] are the subject of the next section of this report.

FIVE WHO MADE A REVOLUTION: THE NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

...they are involved in the only belief
that matters: that life begins tomorrow.

--Kenneth Tynan*

At the time of the Greensboro sit-in of 1960, four Negro organizations were active in the civil rights [redacted] field. They were respectively:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The oldest (founded Feb. 12, 1909), largest, and [redacted] best-known [redacted] civil rights organizations, the NAACP had [redacted] fought its most important battles for the Negro cause in the [redacted] nation's courts, achieving its greatest victory in 1954 when the [redacted] Supreme Court outlawed the doctrine of [redacted] "separate but equal." Its purpose: to end all racial discrimination and segregation in all public aspects of American life.

The National Urban League. [redacted] Founded in 1910, the Urban League concerned itself with job training and social welfare programs for Negroes, providing research and planning guidance to other Negro groups. Its purpose, as described by its executive director Whitney Young, Jr: "We [redacted] ...do an action research job--the sort of job that not merely identifies [redacted] the extent of poor housing, unemployment and general social disorganization; but a research which concerns itself with community attitudes towards these social ills."

The Congress of Racial Equality. Organized in 1942, CORE was formed by a group of Negroes and whites who believed that legalism was not sufficient to win the battle against segregation; it first tired the sit-in [redacted] technique that year at a Chicago restaurant. Its purpose: to bring equality of opportunity in all

*Curtains, Atheneum, New York, 1961. Tynan was describing "The Angry Young Movement" in Great Britain, but his description could well apply to those in the civil rights movement of this country.

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Furthermore, Meier pointed out, "the NAACP [had] moved into direct action--and far more than Lomax is willing to admit....The most noted example was the sucessful demonstrations of the Oklahoma City ~~Xxxxx~~ Youth Council in 1958-1959."

spheres of American life, regardless of race.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Martin Luther King, Jr. brought SCLC or SLICK into being at New Orleans in 1957, and he was chiefly responsible for keeping it alive in the years that followed. Its purpose: to achieve full citizenship rights and the integration of the Negro in all aspects of life.

As can easily be seen, there was little difference in the ultimate goals of these Negro organizations. Nor was there any disagreement over the idea of using non-violent means to attain justifiable ends. But there were differences about how far, how fast, and in what direction the drive for equal rights should move.

The NAACP looked largely to the courts, boycotts and the ballot to bring about a redress of grievances, while the Urban League sought progress through biracial consultation and cooperation. Since they felt legalism was too slow and uncertain and Negro voters in the South too few, CORE and SCLC, on the other hand, advocated a more militant program of direct, mass action, of moving out of the courtrooms and committee chambers and into the streets.

The student movement that swept the South in 1960 was, in the opinion of Louis Lomax, "a clear-cut vindication for the proponents of direct and mass action." But, as August Meier subsequently NOTED in his review of Lomax's book*, "the students looked to the NAACP and other adult leaders for financial and legal Aid." And despite the rivalry which arose between the NAACP and the Young Turk groups as the movement developed, the older organization continued to provide cash and counsel to sit-inners, picketers, and others arrested for participating in protest demonstrations.

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The youngest of the Young Turk groups with which the NAACP

"The Revolt Against the NAACP: A Critical Appraisal of Louis E. Lomax's The Negro Revolt," Journal of Negro Education, Spring 1963.

both competed and [redacted] cooperated (competition and cooperation are the Siamese twins of [redacted] a social action movement, as any student of the New Deal era can testify) was founded at Shaw University in Raleigh, N. C. during the Easter Weekend of 1960 (April 15-17). This was the Student [redacted] Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which subsequently established its headquarters in Atlanta. Its purpose: to create a new society through non-violent efforts. Operating on a shoestring budget, with a tiny staff and an [redacted] equally tiny office (which struck one newspaperman as being "like a command post on D-Day"), SNCC or SNICK, as it is commonly called, was [redacted] soon sending its shock troops into such [redacted] segregationist strongholds as Southwest Georgia and the Mississippi Delta. The older civil rights organizations [redacted] were often aghast at SNICK's seemingly reckless bravado, but they [redacted] could [redacted] not help admiring its determination to [redacted] persevere and prevail, often in the face of almost insurmountable white opposition.

[redacted] If there were and are differences of policy and personality among what Time magazine has called "the Big Five in Civil Rights," [redacted] their alliance has [redacted] survived, in spite of everything, if uneasy at times; it has nonetheless remained unbreakable. [redacted] Indeed, it could be argued that the rivalries between the Big Five have done more to advance than to obstruct the progress of the civil rights movement. For one thing, [redacted] inter-agency competition has given the Negro groups a better understanding of each other, and this, in turn, has ultimately resulted in conciliations and compromises which have produced a more consolidated strategy. The NAACP, for example, has [redacted] acknowleged the value of mass direct action campaigns. [redacted] The Young Turks, on the other hand, have recognized that court actions, boycotts, and the ballot can be weapons every bit as effective as a street demonstration. [redacted] Then, too, all the organizations have [redacted] learned

that by coordinating their efforts, they can accomplish far more than any single group could [redacted] possibly expect to by going it alone. [redacted] Sometimes, however, even for a united front, the going can prove extremely rough indeed. Just how rough was illustrated by that hectic, hazardous [redacted] and heroic chapter [redacted] of the Negro revolt [redacted] which history will record as "the Freedom Rides of 1961."

THE FREEDOM RIDES

> Give us the courage and the spirit to be willing to turn our world, our nation, and especially the South upside down--until freedom becomes a reality for all men.
>
> --Blessing asked in a Negro church taking up a collection for Freedom Riders.

On March 13, 1961, the Congress of Racial [redacted] Equality announced in New York that it would conduct freedom rides through the South by recruiting a small, bi-racial group to ride [redacted] Greyhound and Trailways buses from Washington to New [redacted] Orleans. The purpose of the rides, CORE explained, was to test racial discrimination in interstate travel terminals. In late April CORE advised President Kennedy that the rides would begin shortly and requested federal protection. And on May 4, the first freedom ride did begin, with 13 riders, six white, seven Negro, ranging in age from 18 to 61. Some [redacted] boarded a Trailways bus, others a Greyhound. Their ride proved to be a long day's journey into nightmare.

The first freedom riders encountered [redacted] few obstacles during [redacted] their journey through Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. But the reception committee was out in full force when they arrived in Alabama on May 14. In Anniston and Birmingham, mobs [redacted] swarmed forth to greet the riders with a true display of [redacted] southern hostility. An [redacted] incendiary device was tossed through the window of the [redacted] Greyhound six miles outside Anniston, and the bus was completely destroyed by fire. The passengers escaped [redacted] without serious injury, but 12 were hospitalized, mostly for smoke inhalation. Those who arrived in Birmingham aboard Trailways [redacted] fared even worse: they were savagely beaten, with one rider requiring over 50 head stitches. Despite warnings of trouble, the [redacted] Birmingham police did not arrive at the bus station until ten minutes after the mob attacked. No arrests were in made in either Alabama city. Confronted

mob violence and official sanction of it, the riders lost heart, flew to New Orleans, and there disbanded. Their journey may have ended in a whimper of exhaustion, but the freedom rides had only just begun.

In the weeks that followed, freedom riders poured into the South like passengers piling into a commuter express train at rush hour. Or so it may have seemed to many outraged Southerners. Actually, there only about a dozen freedom rides involving slightly more than a 1,000 people. They certainly did not travel first-class, but their trip expenditures turned out to be enormous: the rides themselves cost an estimated $20,000 and the legal expenses that grew out of them (scores of riders were arrested, many imprisoned) exceeded $300,000. CORE, which gained immeasurable prestige and no little power as a result of the freedom rides, subsequently joined SCLC, SNCC, and the Nashville Student Movement to form a Freedom Riders Coordinating Committee. While the NAACP was not represented on this committee, it again provided funds and legal advice to the other organizations.

Mobbed in Montgomery (May 20), jailed in Jackson (May 29), heckled and harassed in numerous other southern cities, the freedom riders were scarcely welcome visitors in Dixieland. But whatever the costs financial and physical, whatever the reckless as well as responsible criticisms of the rider's methods and motives (e. g., after the riders refused to heed Attorney-General Robert Kennedy's request for a "cooling-off" period, the New York Times commented, "non-violence that deliberately provokes violence is a logical contradiction"), they achieved their immediate goal. As a result of the freedom rides, segregation barriers at interstate terminals were swept away in all but a handful of southern towns.

Besides bringing about the desegregation of interstate terminals, the freedom rides had several lasting and important repercussions.

First, as Yale Law School Dean Eugene V. Rostow observed at the time*, "by openly challenging the final bastion of segregation in the Deep South, the Freedom Riders chose the most dramatic theater in the struggle for civil rights. But their protest was national, not regional. It was addressed as much to New York and Chicago as to Mississippi."

Once again, like the sit-ins, the freedom rides were, in Dean Rostow's words, "a generalized moral demonstration against the nation's failure to provide equal treatment for the Negro." Once again, too, Negroes saw how a protest campaign, based on peaceful, legal means and non-violent action could effectively achieve progress, could effectively open doors long closed to them. The rides also helped open the eyes of law-abiding, well-meaning white Southerners to something that should have been quite obvious: if there had been compliance with law and decency in the South, there would have been no freedom rides.

Unlike the sit-ins, however, the freedom rides were not demands by local citizens for a fair share in the services of their communities. Where the sit-ins had been planned and carried out by local residents, the freedom rides were conceived and conducted by outside groups. Where the sit-inners had every intention of using the services they demanded, the freedom riders had little, if any, future need for what they sought. Where the sit-inners were citizens of their communities, the freedom riders were only visiting tourists. It was the difference between neighbors and strangers, between "hometown folks" and outsiders. It was also a difference duly noted and remembered by white Southerners, particularly those of a strongly segregationist bent.

Long before the freedom rides, for years in fact, southern segregationists had been quick to label any manifestation of

*"The Freedom Riders and the Future," The Reporter, June 22, 1961.

Negro unrest as an evil conspiracy hatched by "outside agitators" to destroy "our Southern way of life." The sit-ins, which were obviously not the work of outside agitators, had done much to debunk this particular segregationist myth. But, with the coming of the freedom riders, many of whom were undeniably non-southern outsiders, it rose from its ashes like the Phoenix of yore. The cry of "outside agitators" was to be heard again and again around the South in the years immediately following the 1961 freedom rides. But few fair-minded, responsible Southerners took it seriously; in fact, it was like a song whose words have long since gone bad.

What was to be taken seriously was the effect the freedom rides had on southern police techniques. For out of the rides into Mississippi evolved a new way of coping with racial demonstrations, one devised by the Jackson police. It could hardly have been more simple: you merely hauled off to jail anyone who dared to protest in any way the infringement of his constitutional rights. This is what the Jackson police did with the freedom riders almost as soon as they got off the bus in Mississippi's capital city. And this was what other police forces in several other southern cities were to do when the Negro revolt struck their community. It was their way of maintaining law and order. It was also a very effective way of putting down a peaceful demonstration by AMERICANS excercising a basic American right--"the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Goverment for a redress of grievances."*

The freedom rides not only demonstrated anew the the discrepancy between the law of the land and the law of the local police billy; they were equally successful in dramatizing what Dean Rostow described as "the conflict between law and the resistance to law: the

*See Article I of the first ten amendments to the U. S. Constitution.

the failure of the Interstate Commerce Commission, through appropriate administrative action, to require full desegregation of the facilities of interstate travel." Here, in marked contrast to the sit-ins, where [redacted] FEDERAL authority [redacted] to intervene [redacted] had been limited, was a [redacted] clear and present need for the U.S. GOVERNMENT TO TAKE [redacted] action. It lost no time in doing so.

On July 20, 1961, the Justice Department [redacted] filed a statement with the ICC in which it said a survey of 294 bus terminals in 17 states had resulted in finding "open racial segregation" in 97 terminals [redacted] in 12 states. Attorney-General Kennedy therefore requested the ICC to issue rules [redacted] prohibiting racial discrimination in interstate buses and bus facilities.

Two months later, on September 22, the ICC did just that. In a unanimous decision, it ruled that, effective [redacted] November 1, 1961, interstate [redacted] carriers and terminals must display signs saying that the seating there was "without regard to race, color, creed or national origin..." [redacted] Interstate carriers were also banned, effective the same date, from using terminal facilities where [redacted] travelers were segregated by race.

In effect, the ICC ruling wiped out segregation in interstate travel, thereby [redacted] bringing the drama of the freedom rides to a triumphant conclusion. But if the [redacted] ICC rung down the curtain on one [redacted] episode of the Negro revolt, it unknowingly set the stage for another. For one of the first tests of the ICC ruling was to be made in a small Georgia city just a four-hour [redacted] drive straight south from Atlanta. [redacted] It was, [redacted] its Chamber [redacted] of Commerce was mighty proud [redacted] to tell you, [redacted] the [redacted] "tenth fastest booming city in the U. S. A." Its name was Albany.

THE AGONY OF ALBANY

> It is, of course, easy for observers to criticize the tactics of the Albany Movement. There was a rush of unanticipated events, and if the response was not one of perfectly coordinated tactical efficiency, it was one of courage, passion, and sacrifice, and it brought forth on American soil--too often hard and cold in recent years--some of the noblest qualities that human beings have shown anywhere.
>
> --Howard Zinn*

The pattern of events which were to make Albany a world-famous site--and symbol--of Negro protest began Nov. 1, 1961--the day the ICC ruling against discrimination in terminals took effect. That day, in a test of the ruling, two SNCC field workers, Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan, led a small group of Negro students into the white waiting room at the Trailways bus station in Albany. They were ordered out by local police.

While there had been growing evidence of local unrest, including a request from Negro leaders to the city commissioners in early January asking for the desegregation of certain city facilities, the bus station incident led directly to the birth of the Albany Movement on Nov. 17, 1961. This coalition of a Negro ministerial alliance, NAACP, SNCC, and other Negro organizations was formed with the express purpose of attacking discrimination in a number of areas: bus and train stations, libraries, parks, hospitals, buses, jury representation, public and private employment, and police brutality. The Albany Movement lost no time in launching its desegregation campaign.

On Wednesday morning, Nov. 22, 1961, three Negroes were arrested by Albany Police Chief Laurie Pritchett when they attempted to use the Trailways Terminal restuarant. On December 10, an integrated SNCC group tried to enter the white waiting room at the city's Union Railway Terminal, were ordered

*Albany, A Study in National Responsibility, Southern Regional Council, 1962.

out by Chief Pritchett, and then arrested as they got into cars outside the [redacted] terminal. This is how [redacted] Howard Zinn described what followed those arrests:

> The newly-formed Albany Movement now responded. During the next seven days, a series of huge meetings in Negro churches and marches downtown by more than 100 Albany Negroes, singing and praying and asking freedom for the arrested students, ended in mass arrests ordered by Chief Pritchett. It was on the fifth day that Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, invited by the Albany movement, arrived from Atlanta....They led another march downtown, which ended in the arrest of hundreds more. The total arrested now stood at 737, and Chief Pritchett, representing the city, began negotiations with Negro leaders....

The [redacted] negotiations resulted in the release of jailed demonstrators on bond, and the first mass demonstrations in [redacted] Albany came to an end [redacted] shortly before Christmas, 1961. But the agony of Albany had only just begun.

In the first six months of 1962, the uneasy truce between Negroes and whites in Albany disintegrated. White leaders refused to make any concessions, accept [redacted] any compromises, and the [redacted] frail lines of bi-racial communication established in December snapped [redacted] apart completely as city officials attempted to try and convict those arrested in the pre-Christmas demonstrations. [redacted]

The bubbling cauldron of Negro unrest finally boiled over again in July 1962. When King and Abernathy were convicted on charges [redacted] of parading without a permit, obstructing the sidewalk, and disorderly conduct on July 10, they chose to go to jail rather than pay a $178 fine. The SCLC leaders were released two days later, but their jailing precipitated weeks of Negro marches and demonstrations.

Applying the arrest-and-jail tactics employed by the Jackson police during the freedom rides of [redacted] the previous year, Chief

kept law and order in Albany, thereby earning national praise for what one state official hailed as "the number one job of law enforcement in recent [redacted] Georgia history." But, as Zinn pointed out, he did this [redacted] "by [redacted] putting into prison every man, woman, or child" who joined in peacefully protesting against racial discrimination. By Labor Day, [redacted] when the 1962 mass [redacted] demonstrations drew to a climax, the number arrested totalled more than 1,100. If not as large in number, there [redacted] were to be [redacted] additional demonstrations and additional arrests in Albany during the spring and summer of 1963.

Yet for all their protest and sacrifice, for all their passion and courage, the Negroes of Albany have not [redacted] AS YET prevailed in their long, bitter battle [redacted] for [redacted] equal rights. True, the transportation terminals have been desegregated, and the city library opened to Negroes as well as [redacted] whites, though only on a "take-out" basis. True, too, the city in early 1963 [redacted] dropped all its segregation [redacted] ordinances, but, in the words of Chief Pritchett himself, "Albany is just as segregated as ever."

In a recent New Republic article titled "Epilogue in Albany," Atlanta newsman Reese Claghorn described the south [redacted] Georgia city of 37,000 whites and 23,000 Negroes as "a monument to white supremacy," one representing "at once the triumph of sophisticated segregation and the low point for [redacted] the mass demonstration in this, the decade of mass demonstrations." He also cited [redacted] the "caustic evaluation of Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeastern regional NAACP director: "Albany was successful only if the goal was to go to jail."

This view of the Albany campaign [redacted] was not shared by [redacted] Martin Luther King, who [redacted] made this statement to Claghorn: "There is still a great deal of work to be done in Albany. However, I think it must be said that we have [redacted] achieved something.

We have made it possible for the leaders of Albany to confront segregation and the Negroes of Albany have been made more aware. This movement gave a new sense of dignity and destiny to the Negro citizens of Albany. For this reason, Albany can never be the same again. Negroes have straightened their backs, and you can never dump your lead until you have straightened your [redacted] back."

In Claghorn's opinion, "the chief hope for change, in structure if not in spirit, lies now in court action, which was neglected in the first frenzy of the [redacted] demonstrations." But court action, like so much else in Albany, has worked [redacted] both ways, both for the Negroes and against them. ¶ For example, on Aug. 12, 1963, the last day of a court-ordered deadline, the Dougherty County Board of Education submitted a proposal to begin desegregating public schools in Albany on a grade-a-year basis, beginning with the first grade in 1964. Three days earlier, however, the president [redacted] acting president and another member of the Albany movement [redacted] had been charged with obstructing justice in indictments returned by a federal grand jury in Macon. Six others active in the Albany protest [redacted] campaign were charged with [redacted] perjuring themselves before the grand jury. The charges stemmed from a boycott campaign organized against an Albany supermarket in April 1963 because its owner as a juror had voted against a Negro in a federal civil suit. The store, which had a predominately Negro trade, closed [redacted] following the boycott. The defendants are expected to go on trial in October. The prospects of such a trail could scarcely be less pleasing for the future of the Albany Movement, whatever the verdict brought in.

Thus almost three years of Negro protest in Albany have so far resulted in [redacted] little [redacted] more than a stalemate; it has been a period of [redacted] tragedy rather than triumph, of frustration rather than fulfillment. Nevertheless, there [redacted] now can be

little doubt now that white supremacy in [redacted] Albany, as in all [redacted] the Deep South, is making its last stand. Nor [redacted] can there be any question about Albany's place in the history of the [redacted] movement in mid-twentieth century America; it is a place alongside [redacted], Greensboro, and Birmingham.

The historical importance of [redacted] what happened in Albany was [redacted] aptly and accurately summed up by the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive assistant to Martin Luther King, in his article, "Albany, Failure or First Step?", which [redacted] appeared in the June 1963 issue of New South magazine. [redacted] Walker wrote:

> The Albany Movement is unique in our history, and in the course of the Negro's nonviolent uprising for two reasons. First, the Albany Negroes assaulted the entire system of segregation, [redacted] an attack unprecedented in the Negro push. Second, they united--Negro janitors, domestics, ditch-diggers, cultivated educators and prosperous business and professional people--in legal, peaceful demonstrations, jail sentences, boycott, and [redacted] other perilous techniques. Thus the Albany Movement, for the first time, represented a whole [author's [redacted] italics] Negro community, including children, who were jailed....
>
> [redacted]

If Albany's Negroes set a precedent by [redacted] making the first all-out attack by an entire Negro community against an entire system of segregation, they also unveiled the pattern[redacted] of things to come. "If the country must be prepared for the possibility of other Oxfords," SRC Director Leslie W. Dunbar warned in his introduction to [redacted] Zinn's study of Albany, [redacted] "it needs to be prepared for the likelihood--almost the certainty--of other Albanys."

The other Albanys were not long in coming, and when they did, they came with the force and suddeness of a cloudburst. Moreover, they came not just in the South but across the length and breadth of the land, not just in [redacted] ones and twos but

in the hundreds. And with their coming in the centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, the American dilemma became a great deal more than the title of a book most Americans had never bothered to read. In 1963 it [redacted] became the nation's number one topic of concern and its solution the nation's number one topic of [redacted] controversy.

BIRMINGHAM AND BEYOND

> The significance of the Birmingham movement is not the small concessions extracted from the white community. It is the massiveness of the Negro demonstrations that punctured the white man's comforting belief that Negroes generally are satisfied with the pace of things and that militant "outside agitators" are the only cause of unrest.
>
> --Robert E. Baker*

It was early Sunday morning, May 12, 1963. From a cluttered hotel room in Birmingham, a reporter for one of the nation's most respected newspapers phoned a member of the Justice Department in Washington and described the havoc he had witnessed on the city's streets just a few hours before. When he finished speaking, the Justice Department official asked, "What does it mean?" The reporter's reply was brief, but there was no doubt about the seriousness in his voice as he said: "Go back and read James Baldwin again. This is the fire next time."

The riots which convulsed Birmingham during the night of May 11-12 may indeed have seemed to be the proof of Baldwin's eloquent but frightening prediction of what could happen if Negro bitterness and belligerence continued to fester and spread; they were certainly a tragic and terrifying climax to the weeks of mass demonstrations in the city often called "the Johannesburg of the South."

The immediate cause of the riots was, of course, the almost simultaneous bombing of a Negro motel and the home of Martin Luther King's brother late Saturday night, May 11. The bombings were the last straw for Birmingham Negroes. With their nerves and emotions already strained to the breaking point by mass arrests, hosings, and police dog attacks, it was hardly surprising that some of them (of any anything but non-violent persuasion) should, on this particular occasion, reply in kind to white violence.

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*From a news analysis story which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on May 26, 1963

But the May 11-12 riots did not necessarily mean that Negroes in Birmingham and elsewhere were ready to storm the barricades in order to win their rights. They did not mean that Negroes were ready to jettison non-violent direct action and take to the streets with rocks, bombs, and bullets. They did mean, though, that Birmingham Negroes could no longer be bullied, bombed and beaten by whites without impunity. And it is quite possible that the riots made white leaders realize the high price they could expect to pay if they failed to fulfill the terms of the Birmingham agreement.

A more important question, and one much debated in recent weeks, is this: what did the prolonged non-violent protest campaign in Birmingham mean for the Negro, the South, and the nation? For one thing, it surely meant the beginning of the end of Negro patience with the installment plan system of acquiring equal rights; "all, here, now" no empty slogan but rather a battle cry. For another, it meant the opening of a new and possibly final chapter in the history of the direct action movement. Above all, it meant that the nation could no longer ignore the needs, evade the demands, and shut out the voices of one-tenth of its citizens. A good summation of the meaning of Birmingham was made recently by the man most responsible for what happened there, namely Martin Luther King.

"Birmingham," he wrote in the July SCLC Newsletter, "will surely mark a watershed in the history of the nonviolent revolution in America. No civil rights thrust of the Negro community in our nation has so completely captured the attention and sympathy of public opinion. No single instance of nonviolent direct action has prompted such widespread parallel activity, particularly in the Deep South. Never before has the Federal Government evinced

the serious concern it now manifests in its first serious grappling with the American dilemma of race and color prejudice. No moment of history has focused its attention on the Negro as the key figure on the American [redacted] scene today, 'Faith 7' [redacted] notwithstanding."

If King's view of Birmingham could not [redacted] be considered that of an unbiased [redacted] observer, neither could [redacted] it be dismissed as pure propaganda. Evidence abounded everywhere that Birmingham had orbited the racial problem into a new stratosphere--more heated, more explosive, [redacted] more dangerous. [redacted] New demonstrations, some marked by occasional violence, spread into every corner of the South, sprang up in cities like Greensboro, Atlanta, and Nashville, places which [redacted] complacently assumed their token concessions during the sit-ins had placated Negro demands, and even fanned out across the Mason-Dixon line into the urban [redacted] centers of the North. "Wherever the [redacted] problem festered," reported [redacted] Newsweek in late May, "the name of Birmingham was invoked as a warning, a symbol, and an epithet."

Birmingham not only set off a wave of demonstrations; it also [redacted] introduced [redacted] a new kind of demonstration. Rather than [redacted] marching by the hundreds, Negroes in Birmingham marched by the thousands. Rather than coming out to protest all at once in [redacted] a one-shot [redacted] demonstration, the marchers came in wave after wave day after day. Rather than relying on adults alone, leaders of the Birmingham campaign deployed school children by the hundreds. Before it was all over, the police had arrested [redacted] more than 2,400 Negroes; Birmingham's jails [redacted] overflowed and the city's Fairground barracks were turned into jails for teen-agers.

Thus in Birmingham and in countless communities beyond it, the 1963 demonstrations differed from those of 1960 in their MAGNITUDES [redacted]

their impatience, and their impact. Where the 1960 sit-ins had inspired Negro students and many of their elders in the South, the 1963 protest in Birmingham fired the imagination of Negroes all over the United States. Where in Negro community involvement in 1960 had been a rarity, in 1963 it became the rule. Where the 1960 Negro demonstrators had been satisfied by a good deal less than half a loaf, those of 1963 would accept nothing less than all. No longer could white moderates expect Negroes to swallow the gospel of "partial freedom gradually"; in 1963, Negroes were loud and implacably insistent in their demand for "full freedom now."

The extent of the 1963 Negro protest movement was underscored by a Justice Department report issued at the beginning of August. It disclosed that there had been 758 demonstrations in 186 cities in the ten weeks since the Birmingham truce of May 10, 199 of them having taken place in the single week before President Kennedy's press conference of August 1. Some indication of the size of these demonstrations could be seen in the number of arrests. Between April 3 and June 24, in eleven southern states alone, there were an estimated 10,420 arrests; between June 24 and July 24, in the same states, an estimated 1,323 additional arrests were made. Comparing these arrest figures for a four-month period of 1963 with those of the period February 1, 1960-September 1, 1960, when the number of arrests was estimated to have been 3,600, is somewhat like comparing a tidal wave to a light drizzle.

The overall effect of this raging epidemic of demonstrations was, the New York Times pointed out in its August 11 "News of the Week" section, "impossible to measure precisely. The Justice Department...says that there has been 'improvement' in 319 cities in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy plus four border states." An SRC summary of newspaper reports through July 24 showed "some

desegregation" in 79 cities in eleven southern states.

King's mention of the "serious concern" of the federal government over the race problem (see above) was no exaggeration. The Birmingham crisis coupled with the wave of demonstrations elsewhere and the possibility of another Oxford at the University of Alabama (which, fortunately, did not materialize) caused the Kennedy administration to take an unequivocal stand on the civil rights issue. That stand took its most dramatic form in the President's call for major legislation against segregation. The debate over this legislation promised to be as bitter as those over slavery more than a century ago. In the end, however, Congress was expected to pass the 1963 civil rights bill, although the fate of the controversial public accomodations section was highly uncertain.

As the long, hectic summer of 1963 drew to a close, the civil rights crisis was a long way from being resolved. But the upsurge of Negro discontent had at least awakened the nation to the gravity of the race problem and the urgency for a solution to it. Even so, the path of future progress remained uncharted and the end remained unknown. Much, it was true, had been done to mitigate the problem, but much more would still have to be done if the American Negro was to receive a full, fair share of those blessings of liberty which most white Americans have long taken for granted. In short, the second ordeal of the union was far from over.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

> No one wishes to make the problem seem smaller than it is. No one wishes to make its solution seem easy. No one wishes to make light of the fears that beset us. But whether we be fearful or no, we shall never, because we are a Christian people, be able to evade the moral issues. It is time--
>
> --Alan Paton*

Just as present-day historians [redacted] cite the summer of 1863 as the turning point of the American Civil War, so, it seems virtually certain, future historians will cite the summer of 1963 as the turning point of the American civil rights struggle. The issues involved in this struggle, as in the Civil War, are legal, economic, and political; [redacted] most of all, they are moral. The alternatives may not be those of the Civil War--indivisible union or irreparable separation--but they are no less stark and serious: total equality or total repression. For it is no longer a matter of what the American Negro deserves in the eyes of American whites; it is a matter of what Americans Negroes intend to get, and they have [redacted] announced what that is again and again: "One hundred years of [redacted] fractional citizenship is enough. We want full citizenship now."

Their determination to win full citizenship has unquestionably confronted the country with its most serious domestic crisis since the Civil War. [redacted] When the non-violent Negro revolt reached its peak this summer, [redacted] it surprised [redacted] millions of while Americans with its fervor and force. But it scarcely can be said to have happened overnight. The sit-ins and the Freedom Rides, [redacted] Greensboro and Albany are proof enough of that. Furthermore, the revolt was not brought about by the formal decision of any single, organized group. Thousands of Negroes in thousands of hamlets, towns and cities, down on the farm and up in Manhattan, made an

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*Cry, the Beloved Country, Scribner's, New York, 19__ (To KUM)

individual commitment and took an individual stand. They, in turn, inflamed and inspired others to go and do likewise. And if their struggle for individual liberty and a right to their own self-respect has given them a new self-confidence, it has also given the nation a new image of the Negro: Uncle Tom has turned into Tom Paine, and Ole Black Joe has finally gone from 'dis earth, leaving Lucas Beauchamp to take his place.

In an address at Radcliffe Alumnae College on June 14, 1963, Miss Pauli Murray, a Yale Law School Tutor, presented a [redacted] frank and forthright evaluation of the [redacted] issues facing the American people in the centennial year of the battle of Gettysburg. This, in part, is what she said:

> By now, it must be clear to all of us that for the second time in our Nation's history, we stand on the threshold of a major decision on human rights of the most fundamental character. In 1963 it has been [redacted] forcefully brought home to us that our Nation cannot endure with fractional degrees of equality or citizenship. The right to [redacted] human dignity is indivisible....
>
> The central issue...is human dignity--the inherent rights of free men and women. This issue is not merely the American dream: it is the foundation of our society. We cannot reaffirm too often the principle upon which our Nation stands or falls....
>
> There is a growing national consensus that racial discrimination is essentially a moral problem. If so, it must be attacked at the moral as well as legal level. Nonviolent direct action is based upon the conviction that in social conflict, the power of the spirit is stronger and more enduring than the power of force in a physical contest....
>
> The wider significance of these nonviolent demonstrations by Negroes and their white supporters is that they have brought together two revolutionary ideas: the equality of the rights of man and the assertion of those rights through a spiritually and morally powerful nonviolent technique. They are outpacing the application of the law and making a creative contribution to rapid social change with a minimum of violence.

(No new graf, just new sentence from speech excerpts here)

> Historians may well record this as one of the important social developments of the 20th century. Nonviolence has filled the vacuum between the declaration and the implementation of fundamental law.

While non-violence is undeniably "one of the important social developments" of this century, and while non-violent protest has been one of the Negro's most effective weapons in his fight for full citizenship, non-violence alone will not solve the racial problem anymore than boycotts, the ballot, or brotherhood will, or even a combination of all four. Once the white imposition of inequality on Negroes has been removed, the Negro revolution will be over. Once that revolution is over, the real reconstruction must begin. It will not be an easy undertaking.

Having been kept down for so many generations, the Negro masses must be taught how to stand up. Having been given an inferior education and inferior jobs, they must be taught to master the tools, the skills, and the competition of an urbanized, increasingly automized society. In sum, the nation and the Negro face the staggering responsibility of curing the illnesses of ignorance, of righting the wrongs of educational and economic inequality. At best, the victory of the civil rights movement can only be regarded as a beginning and a means. The end will still have to be attained, and there is only one way to attain it: through reforms that will cure those perennial social plagues of any deprieved and downtrodden minority--poverty, unemployment, poor housing, poor education, poor medical care, and lack of opportunity.

Thus far few Americans have concerned themselves with the

with the problems of reconstruction that will inevitably arise as the Negro revolt passes into history. But this cannot be said of Loren Miller, Los Angeles civil rights attorney and publisher of the California Eagle, one of the country's oldest Negro newspapers. In the June 29, 1963 issue of the Nation, Miller faced head-on the problem of bringing eighteen million Negroes into the mainstream of American life after nearly two centuries of isolation and inequality. His conclusion to the piece, which was titled "Freedom Now--What Later?", is worth repeating:

> We are back where we began. The nation has been given a second chance to solve the problem that Abraham Lincoln proclaimed with the Emancipation Proclamation a hundred years ago: that of constructing a social order to replace an old one swept away when Negroes burst out of isolation and sought admission to the American body politic. We muffed the first chance and consigned Negroes to a new, and in some ways more galling, isolation. That first failure has haunted us ever since. Its consequences have become intolerable. We will achieve only half-success this time if we settle back and accept civil rights victory as an end in itself. Foresight and planning can transmute that victory into a a means for construction of a commonwealth as good as imperfect humans can build.

Since "Freedom Now" is still not completely achieved, "What Then" remains to be seen. What then indeed for the white Southerner as well as the Negro Southerner? Perhaps the best answer that can be made at the present time was made long before the present time by a North Carolina newspaperman named W. J. Cash. He closed his now classic commentary on The Mind of the South with these words:

> In the coming days, and probably soon, the South is likely to have to prove its capacity for adjustment far beyond what has been true in the past. And in that time I shall hope, as its loyal son, that its virtues will tower over and conquer its faults and have the making of the Southern world to come. But of the future I shall venture

(continue excerpt, same graf)

> no definite prophecies. It would be a brave man who would venture them in any case. It would be a madman who would venture them in the face of the forces sweeping over the world in the fateful year of 1940.

It would take equal bravery--or equal madness--for a man to venture any definite prophecies in the face of the forces sweeping over the South, the nation, and the world in this, the fateful year of 1963.

-ENDIT-

Ay #1

THE DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT

Introduction

The Negro revolt has no precedent in American history. It involves ten percent of the nation's population. Yet it is a revolution in which the rebels carry no arms, throw up no street barricades, liquidate no rulers, and, with remarkably few exceptions so far, initiate no violence. It has as a rally song an old Baptist hymn, one described as "a now mournful, now serene piece called 'We Shall Overcome.'"

The Negroes still have not overcome the ignorance, intolerance, and injustice which have oppressed them for generations. Their "crusade for freedom" has yet to reach the promised land. But a major fraction, and a growing one, of some 18 million Negro Americans have reached the end of patience with the white man's pace of social change.

The concept of using non-violent means to achieve justifiable ends did not, of course, originate with the Negro American. Perhaps it is as old as Moses' struggle with the Egyptian Pharoah, and it embraces the same deep justifications. On the one hand, an outraged sense of justice and a constant reliance on God's leadership. On the other hand, realization that non-violence is the only practical protest available to a minority far weaker than the dominant powers of society.

But further than this the parallel does not go. The Hebrews wanted out. Negro Americans want in.

Where do we date the beginning of the Negro revolt? With 1910, and the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People? With 1941, and the threatened march on Washington which led President Roosevelt to create the war time Fair Employment Practices Committee? With 1944, when the Supreme Court's great white primary decision was handed down? With 1954, when all things changed, and America's oldest debate with and within itself ~~ended or~~ made a new beginning toward, one may hope, a national resolution for equal treatment and equal opportunity for all citizens?

In any case, and whether the means of protest and advance were law suits, ballots, or pressures of politics and economics, the revolt was non-violent.

In scattered places and at widely spaced times a new method appeared, which came to be called "direct action." As long ago as 1947, sit-ins led by the newly formed Congress of Racial Equality took place in Chicago, and even before then there had been instances of individual or group sit-in type activities, some of them in the South, and preserved only in word of mouth records. During ~~the~~ World War II years other sit-ins occurred in several cities, mostly of the North and West. In 1958, for the first time in a southern or border state, there were

planned, sustained, and effective sit-ins, led by the N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council in Oklahoma City.

But earlier, in 1955-56 ~~1956~~, something had happened in Montgomery (Ala.) which stiffened and inspirited the Negro revolt. The Montgomery bus boycott did not overthrow segregation. Once again, it took a federal court decision to achieve the victory. And though the Montgomery boycott quickly became a bright and widely believed in symbol, it was slow to inspire like action elsewhere. But its importance was great. It brought a new vision to Negroes and, just as important, to the white people of the South brought the first clearly perceived view of Negro discontent and determination and courage. Through the appeal of its leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., it brought also into the revolt of Negro Americans a new and powerful set of ideas, and a deeper commitment to deeper ideals.

These derived from Christianity, but with a profounder--and finer textured--understanding grasp of Christian love and suffering than was unfortunately common among believers and their pastors. In King's teaching, these old ideals were also tinged with the nonviolent philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi had struggled against the British with a new kind of warfare which denounced hate and hostility in favor of non-violent tactics such as mass, peaceful, and frequently sacrificial demonstrations against injustice.

Gandhi called his method "satyagraha" which literally means "truth force." Basic to the idea of satyagraha is the belief that one must not only combat evil, but must refuse to cooperate with it.

How has the weapon of satyagraha been wielded here? First, through refusal of Negroes in the direct action movement to retaliate against white harassment, to resort to the philosophy of an eye-for-an-eye, a life-for-a-life. Second, ~~in breaking local laws and~~ through refusal to obey local laws and customs which demean the Negro and deny him the rights and benefits guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution. Negroes have thus courted imprisonment to awaken the conscience of the nation to blatant injustice. This has brought mass picketing, mass demonstrations, mass peaceful protest. Such protest is accurately described by the Christian Century: "This is not a passive but an active protest which rejects violence and hostility but is nevertheless aggressive and compelling."

"But why," many Americans ask, "why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, and demonstrations? Why not negotiations instead?" Martin Luther King, Jr., in his Letter From Birmingham City Jail, answered:

> You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community

that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored.

This report is exclusively about the direct action movement, and deals with no other aspect of the Negro revolt. The report's coverage and assessment begin with the student sit-ins of February 1960.

THE SIT-IN MOVEMENT, 1960-61

A new epoch in the Negro revolution in America began February 1, 1960, at 4:30 p.m. in Greensboro, N. C., a small (population 119,574), upper South city named after American Revolutionary War hero Nathaniel Greene.

On that winter afternoon, four Negro students, freshmen at Greensboro's North Carolina A & T College, sat down at the lunch counter of a Woolworth five and ten cent store, where Negroes were forbidden, and tried in vain to get served. Thus began the sit-ins.

Later, the four said their action was on "impulse," and expressed surprise at what and how much it started. Recalling the event three years later, David Richmond, one of the four, now graduated from the college, said: "For about a week, we four fellows sat around the A&T campus where we were in school, talking about the integration movement. And we decided we ought to go down to Woolworth's and see what would happen."

Apparently, a lot of other students had been sitting around talking at Negro college campuses of the South. Within a week, the "impulse" which moved the four in Greensboro had moved others all over North Carolina (in Winston-Salem, Durham, Charlotte, Fayetteville, Raleigh, Elizabeth City, and High Point). Within six weeks, the demonstrations had spread to every southern state except Mississippi. "We had been ready to do something like this for a long

time," the students told reporters.

The spread of the sit-ins was largely spontaneous and imitative: Students (including some white ones) were the participants, and lunch counters the targets. The protest was easily understood. It was against the refusal to serve food to Negroes by stores only too glad to sell them anything else. The spirit (and in all but the rarest of cases, the performance) was in the tradition of non-violence.

Demonstrations were also, at this early stage, despite impulsiveness and spontaneity, guided by careful rules of decorum (neat dress, polite behavior), and elaborate training (~~strategy~~, how to be non-violent). Sophisticated methods of subtle pressure were applied behind the raw act of demonstration at nearly all levels of the white community. These included boycotts.

All unplanned, the sit-ins seemed designed to destroy a series of white southern myths and stereotypes. Just by their presence, the demonstrators were saying: (1) that not all Negro Southerners were content with their lot; (2) that agitation for change was not from outside, but burst from within the local Negro community; (3) that there were polite, educated, well-dressed Negro Southerners; and (4) that moreover there were ones brave enough and dedicated enough to conduct the demonstrations.

Against such a barrage, new rationalizations had to be invented. A chief one, more or less beside the point, was that the sit-ins were the acts of irresponsible kids,

out of control, unsupported by their elders. Indeed, in many cases adult Negro Southerners were probably as surprised and aghast as their white contemporaries at the effrontary of the younger generation--not just in the way their demonstrations threatened the old social structure, but also how they impinged upon the old and established Negro leadership.

But as the demonstrations gained momentum through the Spring of 1960, and as they broadened their goals to include a variety of other types of segregation not immediately threatened by court actions (churches, libraries, movie theaters, even bathing beaches), it was possible for this kind of appraisal (by Nashville newspaperman Wallace Westfeldt) to appear in a report prepared for the Nashville Community Relations Conference:

> This boycott was not started by outsiders nor was it maintained by outsiders. It was executed by the Nashville Negro, for the Nashville Negro, and any attempt to charge anyone else for its responsibility is indulging in wishful thinking.
>
> This boycott, incidentally, also destroyed another concept about the sit-ins widely held by Southerners, the concept that the sit-in was purely a student movement, unsupported and unrecognized by responsible adults in the Negro community.

There were of course many other reactions. In Chattanooga, demonstrators and whites openly clashed until police controlled the situation. In Montgomery, where students from Alabama State College sat in at the Montgomery County Court House on February 25, 1960, the police later crushed a Negro demonstration in the name of pre-

venting "trouble," in effect doing the bidding of a white mob.

The demonstrators during the waves of sit-ins went out realizing that they faced possible beatings, imprisonment, even death. (The only fatality recorded was indirectly connected with demonstrations. A Negro man who was not a demonstrator, was, in fact, a former convict, ran a road-block set up by police in Jacksonville, Fla., during a night of rioting on August 27, 1960, and was shot by a white service station attendant.)

Many demonstrators were beaten and arrested. Disciplinary action from their own colleges became another risk faced. The Southern Regional Council, in a special report of September 29, 1961, The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation, gave this summary of sit-in statistics:

> --At least 70,000 Negroes and whites actively participated in sit-in activities affecting each southern and border state, as well as Nevada, Illinois, and Ohio--20 states in all.
>
> --An estimated 3,600 students and supporters in southern and border states were arrested.
>
> --At least 141 students and 58 faculty members were dismissed by southern colleges and universities.

In many other southern cities, however, genuine attempts were made to offer more justice to Negroes as a result of sit-ins.

The first large southern city to desegregate its lunch counters was San Antonio, on March 16, 1960. (The

first breakthrough had come a week earlier, March 7, at three drugstores in Salisbury, N. C., a smaller city where there was precedent for lunch counter desegregation at other downtown stores.)

By June, target eating facilities in 18 cities had desegregated. By August 10, officials of national variety chain stores reported to U. S. Attorney General William Rogers that lunch counters in their stores in 69 southern cities had opened to all. And by late September of the following year, 1961, the Southern Regional Council estimated that one or more eating establishments in 108 southern or border state cities had desegregated as a result of sit-ins.

This was the most spectacular thing. "They work, they work," demonstrators told reporters and themselves and other Negroes, partly in surprise, partly in self-congratulation, mainly in a pragmatic rallying cry that helps explain the quick spread of the sit-ins and the birth of an era of direct action.

For the first time in history, large numbers of Negroes across the South had expressed more or less simultaneous discontent with the status quo of segregation--and what was more important, had succeeded in forcing large numbers of communities to remove some segregation without legal compulsion.

It is no wonder that for participants and for the watching millions of Negroes of the nation, there came a new sense of pride and power, morale upward surging, and

a new determination to have done with discrimination. The psychological effect upon Negroes probably cannot be overestimated.

The psychological effect on white Southerners was also big, but less easy to describe. If there was a feeling of a new necessity to concede, reluctant or otherwise, that discontent was prevalent, and not just from outside agitators, there was also for many surely a hardening of prejudice, and a new version of the old haunting fear of slave rebellion. There was also genuine anguish on the part of some people of both races who feared in the sit-ins the doom of whatever good in an evil situation they had been able to establish in their own interracial relationships.

But on a practical level, the sit-ins meant most of all a convincing of white Southerners that desegregation, in degrees not previously conceded, was inevitable. The most compelling, persuasive force was the dollar loss incurred or feared in racial disorders by the white business communities.

It is important to note, however, that most of this convincing occurred in the border states and upper South. A state by state summary of cities where sit-ins produced desegregation, released in late 1961 by the Southern Regional Council, shows this:

> Arkansas, 1 city; Florida, 15; Georgia, 3; Kentucky, 9; Maryland, 3; North Carolina, 17; Oklahoma, 5; Tennessee, 7; Texas, 10; Virginia, 23.

No desegregation in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, or South Carolina, ~~although sit-ins occurred in all but Mississippi~~.

The sit-ins did not crack the deep South.

Where they did succeed, one of the good achievements was the process of negotiation involved. For out of the sometimes torturous and almost always time-consuming sessions of negotiation came communication between the races of a quality that had not occurred in the South before. White Southerners faced Negro Southerners across the bargaining table man-to-man, as equals. This experience came in a number of cases through the formal creation of biracial committees. Most were for merely the duration of the particular sit-in crisis, but some were permanent, becoming community agencies of communication in the general problems of race relations.

In these cases, communication and mutual respect were continued and strengthened. And the municipalities were able to keep their racial problems locally controlled, out of the storms of state politics. Studies made two points about such committees: they were formed by initiative of white leaders under pressure; but they were not successful unless the Negro leaders named to them had the trust of the Negro community.

Out of the sit-ins also came the youngest and most militant of the Negro civil rights organizations, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. SNCC was set up by southern Negro students at the close of an April,

1960, meeting at Shaw University in Raleigh, N. C., sponsored by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Initially, it was a loose alliance of local student groups. But after a second conference, October 14-16, 1960, in Atlanta, a permanent headquarters was established and a separate identity as a full-time civil rights organization established.

With bold invasion of workers into the deepest strongholds of segregation, in Southwest Georgia and the Mississippi Delta, and sometimes with tactics and timing that made older civil rights leaders shudder, SNCC has been in the vanguard of virtually all direct action since the sit-ins, gradually gaining the respect and confidence of older hands. Its members are often in the vanguard, also, of introspective enunciation of goals and philosophical meanings of the Negro revolution.

SNCC took its place among the other organizations whose own roles were in various ways affected by the sit-ins.

Two factors in retrospect stand out for being missing during the sit-ins. One was the absence of any overt action of the federal government. Efforts to help national store chains work out local problems of desegregation by Attorney General Rogers were reported at the time, but these were largely behind the scenes. The second

missing factor was a sophisticated model of resistance by southern communities. Local police forces (and chambers of commerce) coped with the sit-ins individually by instinct and as best they could.

But by the end of the next phase of direct action in the Negro revolution, the federal government was deeply involved, and a tough southern pattern of resistance had emerged. These came during the saga of the Freedom Rides.

THE FREEDOM RIDES

After the main thrust of the sit-ins during the spring and summer of 1961, a period of relative little activity in direct action occurred. It seemed to be a time of recuperation, of taking stock, of organization and reorganization.

The first indication of new activity came from the Congress of Racial Equality, ~~a Chicago-based direct-action group formed in 1942 and active in the sit-ins.~~ Almost exactly a year after the sit-ins began, CORE announced on March 13, 1961, that a small bi-racial group would travel on interstate buses from Washington to New Orleans to test racial discrimination in interstate travel terminals.

It was no secret that many had segregated waiting rooms and lunch counters. This was despite Supreme Court rulings, including one a Richmond case in 1960, which had found discrimination to be in violation of the Interstate Commerce Act.

After first advising President Kennedy when the rides would begin and requesting federal protection, CORE on May 4 sent out the first 1961 freedom riders (there had been similar rides in previous years). There were six white and six Negro riders, 18 to 61 years old, on a Greyhound and a Trailways bus.

They encountered few obstacles traveling down through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Some facilities which had until that moment been segregated were among those open to them. Others were simply closed.

Trouble began in Alabama. The Greyhound bus was met by a mob six miles outside Anniston. Its tires were slashed, and it fled on flats for six miles. Then fire was thrown into the bus by the mob, and it was destroyed. Passengers escaped serious injury, though some were treated for effects of inhaling smoke.

The Trailways bus encountered the mob at Anniston, but made it into Birmingham. There, the freedom riders stepped from the bus into the mob and were savagely beaten. One required 50 stitches for injuries to the head.

Birmingham police were warned by the Justice Department to expect violence when the bus arrived. They did not arrive at the bus station until ten minutes after the bus did.

Thus received, the original 13 freedom riders took a plane to New Orleans. But they were followed by many more through the rest of May.

In all, ~~twelve different~~ freedom rides ~~occurred, involving~~ more than 1,000 riders, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, and the Nashville Student Movement sent riders, and formed a Freedom Riders Coordinating Committee.

In varying degrees, from jeers to beatings, these 12 freedom rides that followed ran into trouble -- at first, mostly in Alabama. There were arrests, some for protective custody, some for violation of injunctions against freedom riding. Mobs and tension had built in Montgomery on May 20, 21, and 22 until President Kennedy ordered some 600 federal marshals into the city for its own safety.

The final lap was from Montgomery to Jackson, Miss. Heavily guarded along the way by the National Guard in Alabama and state troopers in Mississippi, the freedom riders arrived in Jackson and stepped off the busses to meet a newly forged form of southern resistance. They were arrested. As fast as they might arrive, they were taken to jail.

This finally stopped the Freedom Rides short of the destination of New Orleans, but not before they had accomplished their overt purpose -- setting in motion federal action that would end virtually all discrimination in carriers and terminals used by interstate travelers.

A series of government actions accomplished this: a petition by Attorney General Robert Kennedy asking that the Interstate Commerce Commission issue urelespprohibiting racial discrimination in the interstate facilities; action by the ICC on September 22; subsequent posting of signs in interstate carriers on November 1 that seating "is without regard to race, color, creed or national origin"; and an ICC order that interstate carriers could not use terminals where travelers were segregated by race.

Thus, although as late as July 20, 1961, the Justice Department had reported "open racial segregation" in 97 of 294 bus terminals throughout 12 of 17 states surveyed, there was virtually none after the November 1 order.

This, on the face of it, was a clearcut victory. Unlike the delay and compromise which blocks many goals, here was

swift action by the federal government motivated by direct action protest against the violation of federal law. Here, also, was the first federal action to keep the peace in a direct action situation.

Moreover, the rides took the fight effectively into the deep South. Alabama, where governmental power was used the previous year to wreck the sit-ins, and Mississippi, the only state where there had been no sit-ins, ultimately lost to the freedom riders. And the face of Alabama mobs, officially tolerated, was shown to the nation.

The positive effect on Negro morale again was large. But the victory was not without cost. In actual money, this amounted to upwards of half a million dollars, largely in legal expenses. Much of this money is still tied up as jail bond in cases not yet brought to trial.

The cost in good public opinion may have been even greater. Like the sit-ins, the freedom rides showed the nation and the world a just cause and a courageous determination, and inspired in Negroes more feeling of solidarity and of solid power. They also revealed to an amazed nation and world the crudity of Alabama and Mississippi injustice. But the freedom rides reinforced the old rationalization of white Southerners that race trouble is always caused by outside agitators. Sophisticated explanations that local Negroes would not normally use

local bus terminals, and that therefore outsiders had to ~~be~~, did not get far. Thus, the rebuttal made by the sit-ins against the outside agitator theory had been undermined.

For another thing, the freedom rides seemed to many to go beyond the needs of the moment in order to antagonize white Southerners. Even people sympathetic to the goals of the riders became critical of their tactics, particularly the continuation of the rides after the Attorney General had con- Commenced vinced the government's action.

This brought the South, and indeed the nation, up against the question of the moral and legal validity of non-violence that provokes violence. A June 1961 Gallup Poll showed that while a majority of Americans approved of ending segregation in interstate travel, 64% disapproved of the freedom riders's methods, largely on grounds they "were causing too much trouble."

Thus, was the almost solid sympathy for sit-ins outside the South, and a certain grudging admiration from even die-hard southern segregationist, also undermined.

An even more significant development (though probably inevitable eventually), was the use in Jackson of a new weapon which could be imitated and refined over the South against direct action. This was the concept of quick arrest of demonstrators, filling the jails as fast as they came.

Beyond these gains and losses, there were in the freedom rides other factors that were new.

Emotional and tone coloring was changed from the sit-in days. For example, the anger and violence they attracted seemed deeper, stronger, uglier. There was also a notable decline in the previous emphasis of demonstrators on good manners and neat dress.

The very nature of the rides, simple and concentrated in one kind of action, made it easier for the rest of the nation to follow what was happening in the South.

And there were, because of the involvement of the federal government, political ramifications. What the Kennedy Administration did would ultimately be weighed by voters. This was slightly different from the one bit political ramification of the sit-ins -- the Negro votes that a campaigning Kennedy may have picked up because of his telephone call of solicitation to Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. when her husband was jailed in connection with a Georgia sit-in. Now there would be white votes involved, also, on both sides.

So direct action in the second big campaign in the second year of its emergence was becoming more complex in the national consciousness.

And, beginning in Jackson, there was a need for the nation to make a new, subtle distinction about the role of police power in direct action. Was the nation, standing back startled at the implications of the freedom rides, coming to the point where just the absence of violence was all that

it asked in the handling of demonstrations? Something close to that is suggested by what happened in the next great cirsis. It occurred in a small place in Georgia called, by its Chamber of Commerce, "the tenth fastest booming city in the U.S.A." The place was Albany.

THE QUESTION OF THE BALLOT

Between the Freedom Rides and Albany, however, there occurred a debate and a development of great interest.

With so much to struggle against and so much to change, Negro leaders for years had to set priorities. During the late 1940's, for example, the NAACP decided to commit its heaviest resources to the court battle to desegregate public education. One basic outcome of the sit-ins and the Freedom Rides was to throw into the civil rights campaign thousands of new troops and several new centers of planning and initiative. The question of priorities could no longer be decided by a few. Henceforth, the campaign was to require the consensus ofmany, or else it would -- as it several times did -- go on unplanned.

The titanic energies enlisted by the sit-ins and the Freedom Rides -- where were they to go? To some, it seemed that they could best go into making the South the kind of place which could and would solve its own problems, i.e., that they should go into a huge effort to get the full measure of Negro Southerners registered to vote, through establishing for the first time the possibility of true representatiive government in the South. During the late Spring and the Summer of 1961, it was hardly a secret that the Department of Justice was among those quietly, but strongly urging this emphasis.

Voter registration presented three kinds of problems, and manpower was needed to defeat all of them. There are areas

of the Black Belt where crude discrimination still denies Negroes the right to vote, and workers were needed here ~~if for no other reason than to help out potential plaintiffs or complainants.~~ to encourage people to set aside their fear. Workers were needed also to try to cope with the second problem: illiteracy. And finally, and most of all, workers were needed to persuade the apathetic and the disillusioned to register and vote in the ~~large~~ many areas of the contemporary South where bars to Negro registration no longer exist.

A large, concerted registration drive did get underway, though not until early 1962. Though this report does not deal with its occurrences, they form from the Spring of 1962 an interweaving thread to the whole civil rights movement, and its direct action phase. Inevitably, voter registration and direct action sometimes interlocked, and one led to the other. This was to happen, for ecample, in 1963 in Savannah and Birmingham, in a different way in each place. In one town, -- Greenwood, Miss., -- a frustrated, angered, terribly tormented voter registration program took for a few days to the streets in protest during early 1963, and then renewed its patient work on registration.

In the context of this report, however, what was of keenest interest was the debate which took place within student ranks during the Summer of 1961. Fresh from the heady 'Freedom Rides, with the grand, bright days of the 1960 sit-ins still clear in vision, some student leaders looked with suspicion on the

adult-inspired suggestion that they work for registration. In the jargon of the season, "direct action" and "voter registration" became opposing terms, and for a time SNCC had two divisions labeled such.

This may seem a misguided dispute, unless one remembers with humility that it was youth who had stirred the great movement of 1960, and that it was adults who now in 1961 were advising them what to do. But even more basic was the students' fear that, by turning to the drudgery of voter registration, they would depart from the open, often self-sacrificial confrontation of the South's and the nation's conscience, and their own development in action of the philosophy of nonviolence. They were wary of politics and political processes, and voter registration implied them.

In the outcome, no group has worked harder or more patiently to register voters than SNCC and other student groups, and none has been more ready to work without headlines. But the tension which vibrated their 1961 debates still exists, and should. For in essence, the students perceived what is still and more than ever the essential question of the Negro revolt.

Are the established processes of American democracy capable of providing justice for this generation of Negro Americans?

THE AGONY OF ALBANY

There had been an undercurrent of unrest in Albany. Negro leaders early in 1961 had presented fairly modest proposals to the City Commission, which were ignored. But it was not until November of that year that, out of entirely avoidable friction over the ~~Freedom Ride ... won~~ ICC terminal ruling, the energies of discontent were set off in Albany so furiously that it was to become notorious worldwide as a site and symbol of Negro protest and white resistance.

Various attempts were made at Albany in November to test the ICC ruling, beginning the first day it went into effect. These resulted in some cases in police ordering Negroes out of the Trailways bus terminal, and in others of arrests near the terminal on charges of breach of the peace. Protests of these arrests with mass marches began. For the protests, there was a loose organization composed of ministerial alliances and an outpost of SNCC field workers engaged in voter registration activity, with some support of the local NAACP. This later came to be called the Albany Movement.

Out of the at-first unclear focus of protest of the Albany Movement there gradually emerged a frontal assault on all forms of segregation in the small city -- but and train station, library, park, hospital, bus, jury, public and private employment -- and against police brutality. It was the first such attack by direct action, although tere were smaller-scale precedents in other cities. And it was the most ambitious

undertaking so deep in the heart of the segregationsit deep South, in the blackbelt country of the old plantations where social patterns of segregation had been instilled in both races as deeply as law and custom could do it.

The bus station protests began a pattern -- of crowded church meetings, singing and praying, marches into the business district, arrests, and protest marches against the arrests. This chain reaction built up to an explosive night meeting in mid-December when Dr, Martin Luther King, Jr., head of SCLC, andthe Rev. Ralph Abernathy of that organization agreed to march with the movement on the next morning.

The next morning was a Saturday in the county-seat town, with trade from the surrounding area on the broad downtown streets festooned with Christmas decorations. Hundreds of Negroes marched behind King and Abernathy toward these streets, silently at first, singing their hymns of defiance when trouble came. Trouble, as in previous demonstrations, met them in the form of beautifully disciplined and efficiently deployed forces of Police Chief Laurie Pritchett. They quickly arrested the demonstrators, and as swiftly marched them safely, singing their songs, to jail.

To keep the city jail from overflowing, to keep its threat potent, the demonstrators were taken to prisons of surrounding counties made available to Albany in its emergency. Including Dr. King, and those who followed him on that Saturday, arrests stood at 737 since demonstrations began.

At this point, negotiations were begun with leaders of the Albany Movement. These were conducted by Chief Pritchett

rather than the City Commission which had adamantly refused all along all approaches for negotiation. These negotiations resulted in release of all demonstrators on bond (including King and Abernathy), some indications that negotiations on other points would continue, and the end of the mass demonstrations.

Albany Negroes were told they had won. But the congratulations pouring in from all over the country, including one from Attorney General Kennedy, were not so much to the Albany Movement for what it had tried to achieve for Albany Negroes, but to the city for having avoided violence.

And the police force unquestionably had achieved this in a trying situation. Superb police work broke up anything that had the potential of a white mob; it controlled streets and alleys; it moved marchers out of harm's way straight into jail. Only in the aftermath, and from only those especially concerned with civil rights, came suggestions of a further function and duty of police power -- protection of the rights of citizens, including those of the Negro demonstrators of Albany to petition and protest.

Constantly in the background of this first siege of demonstrations in Albany was the U. S. Justice Department. To what end? "The department," said the Southern Regional Council afterward, "apparently decided not to exercise any enforcing power in Albany; it confined its efforts to attempted persuasion and mediation...By its nature, as an enforcing agency, the Department is not a good instrument of mediation and

persuasion. The Administration has made it its principal, almost its only, spokesman in the South..."

Evident from the beginning in Albany was something of importance true in most other mass movements -- the role of the Negro church in the Negro revolution. Ministers, ever in Negro society more influential than most of their white contemporaries, showed in the deeds of the hour and, probably more importantly, in the effect of their words about freedom uttered through the years from their pulpits, their great value. The many tenets of the Judeo-Christian tradition in support of Negro aspirations wound through mass meetings in songs, in prayers, in the reading of the Bible, and in the awesome spirit that moved many individuals to acts of courage and selflessness far beyond any that are demanded ordinarily in the normalcy of American life.

The first six months of 1962 saw the uneasy truce won by these acts disintegrate. White leaders refused to make any concessions, attempt any compromises; what had seemed to be promises evaporated; the frail lines of bi-racial communication snapped.

Then surprisingly, with a hot Georgia governor's race underway, the Recorders Court of the City of Albany called Dr. King and the Rev. Mr. Abernathy back to the city to stand trial. This was on charges incurred in the pre-Christmas demonstration -- parading without a permit, obstructing the sidewalk, and disorderly conduct. They were found guilty on July 10, and chose to go to jail for 45 days rather than pay $178 fines.

The Albany Movement, already stirring with boycotts and sit-ins, began to march again.

There were more mass meetings, more fervent even than those six months before; more demonstrations and mass arrests; an injunction against demonstrations issued by a newly appointed federal judge, J. Robert Elliott; a night march in violation of the injunction; a setting aside of the injunction by Judge Elbert P. Tuttle of the U. S. Court of Appeals; release and re-arrest of Dr. King; a federal court suit filed by Negro plaintiffs against all segregation in Albany,.... and continued demonstrations.

But there was not as much eagerness to march during July and August as there had been in November and December when success seemed certain. The only thing certain during that Summer campaign was jail at the end of the march. Nevertheless by Labor Day, when the thrust of the campaign more or less gently collapsed, to continue sporadically the rest of the year in minor sorties of picketing and boycotts, total arrests, including the 700 during the Winter and others in between, stood at 1,500.

Some of the Summer marches were at night, and they moved their emotion through a row of Negro beer joints and honkey-tonks, bringing occupants, in various degrees of intoxication, into the streets in near-mob condition. From such crowds,

rocks and bricks were thrown toward police. The violence was not from demonstrators or Movement regulars (indeed leaders of the Movement performed bravely and effectively to calm the crowds attracted to the demonstrations), but such distinctions were not made by Albany white people, including police, hostile to the movement. "Look what those non-violent bricks did," police called to reporters as one of their number was carried off with an injured jaw.

There was violence from other sources during that muggy-hot time of tension. C. B. King (no relation to Dr. M. L. King, Jr.), first and only Negro lawyer in Albany and a Movement leader, entered the office of Dougherty County Sheriff Cull Campbell on July 28, to inquire about a prisoner. A few moments later he staggered out of the office bleeding from head wounds. A witness said Sheriff Campbell had caned him. Sheriff Campbell told the New York Times: "He didn't get out so God-damit I put him out."

Mrs. Slater King, wife of the Movement vice-president (and sister-in-law of C. B. King), on July 23 had been kicked and knocked to the ground by deputies at the Mitchell County jail in Camilla, where she was visiting prisoners transferred there from Albany. Mitchell County Sheriff John W. Maples, who denied that she was struck or kicked, said that she attacked deputies, and that her injuries came from a fall when she swung at one of them. Mrs. King was six months pregnant at the time. (She

subsequently lost the child.) Her three children were with her, a three-year old in her arms. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was reported at the time to be investigating.

To date there has been no Justice Department action in either of these cases, nor no federal action against the police for defying in November 1961 the ICC ruling at the bus terminal. There has been, however, in another case. It was against Albany Movement leaders. A federal grand jury brought indictments on August 9, 1961 against the president and two other members of the Movement on charges of obstructing justice. It indicted six others for perjury before the grand jury. The indictmenes grew out of a boycott campaign in April 1963. They alleged that a supermarket was boycotted and driven out of business by the Movement because its owner, while serving on a federal trial jury, voted against a Negro plaintiff in a civil rights suit. (The plaintiff had unsuccessfully sought $125.00 damages on grounds that Sheriff L. Warren Johnson of Baker County had shot him after he had been placed under arrest.) One of the defendants on the obstruction of justice charge entered a guilty plea from the new home in New York state. Dr. W. G. Anderson, former president of the Albany Movement, who has since moved to Detroit, was tried in Albany during October 1963, and a hung jury resulted. The case was expected to be retried. The perjury trials are scheduled for November.

The contrast between Justice Department diligence in this case, and its failure to act on the others was noted in an editorial in the Atlanta Journal:

> The Justice Department in the past usually has acted as if it could forget Albany. Although the federal government has clear authority in cases involving conspiracy to deny constitutional rights, the department has never moved against any such denials in Albany.

After the end of the second phase of the big Albany campaigns, national magazines and most observers were appraising the efforts of the Negro people there as having lost much, gained little. The gains: transportation terminals had been used on a desegregated basis; the city library , after first removing its chairs, removed barriers to Negroes.

Perhaps the most positive achievement was the effect on some other small Georgia cities. "We don't want another Albany here," said their white leaders, and sat down to work out desegregation problems. This happened most successfully in Brunswick and Macon.

Albany in 1963 dropped all its segregation ordinances, but this was generally viewed as a technical move to aid in legal actions defending segregation. "Albany is just as segregated as ever," said Chief Pritchett. In 1963 also, the city sold its large Tift Park swimming pool and tennis courts to a private owner -- the former New Englander who publishes the segregationist Albany Herald and dabbles in segregationist-tinged state politics, James C. Gray. These facilities which had been built by taxpayers would be for whites only, said their new owner.

Albany represents "at once the triumph of sophisticated

segregation and the low point for the mass demonstration..." said Atlanta newsman Reese Cleghorn writing in The New Republic. Said Charles F. Wittenstein, Southeast Director of the American Jewish Committee:

> We have seen an enormous amount of time, effort, money and sacrifice expended in an effort which has, to this day, failed to desegregate anything whatsoever. All it has succeeded in doing is to create bitterness locally and embarrassment for the United States internationally. The explanation for the failure is the lack of clear thinking about tactics...

His argument was that direct action was the wrong tactic to use in a situation like Albany's, where it had little chance of changing minds or prevailing against a police-state apparatus of resistance.

The blanket suit seeking desegregation of all public facilities, filed by the Albany Movement in the heat of the Summer campaign, was thrown out by Judge Elliott. Subsequently, Judge Elliott, in a suit brought by Albany Negroes, ordered the Dougherty County Board of Education to submit a proposal to begin desegregating public schools on a grade-a-year basis, beginning with the first grade. Such a plan has been submitted, to go into effect in 1964.

Thus the dismal dragging on of the Albany story seems to do nothing but point up failures of direct action -- a thing, undreamed of during the early heady days when "it works" was the rallying cry.

(On further aspect of failure that showed plainly in Albany were evidences of dissension and open competition between the various civil rights organizations. This was mostly behind-the-

scenes, but apparent enough to be noted in newspaper stories.)

In defense of what happened in Albany, in claiming for it a certain kind of victory, officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and others have stressed intangible gains, in the individual attainments of dignity and the group of attainment of cohesiveness among Albany Negroes.

No one who saw and felt the spirit of the Albany Movement, knew the moments of truth and of individual courage and strength which quite ordinary Negro people came to in their fight against all the fears and furies of segregation instilled since childhood, can question that there was an extraordinary intangible quality to it all. Once he had felt and seen what was there, an individual would never again be the same.

But America tends to watch public events like baseball. Winning is important. Also, despite the heavy press and television coverage, it is doubtful if much of the intangible quality of Albany was communicated effectively to the nation. Maybe the nation wasn't ready for anything quite this powerful. Certainly it was not ready to admit that police action "to keep the peace" could be an instrument of oppression.

And this was the key. If Albany were a failure, it was a failure of the American people and their national government, who gave tacit and frequently outspoken approval

to the use of the ~~public~~ police in behalf of the interest of one race of people, to the theory that preservation of order required the repression of individual rights. Over the county, people forgot who had caused the Albany demonstrations, and applauded now quietly and now decisively, those same people for repressing what their own defiance of federal authority in November 1961 had caused. If Albany were a failure, it was because the forces ranged against the Albany Movement were too powerful.

But by the next big phase of direct action, the nation was better prepared to understand and even act on the implications of Albany. All of these implications, for good, for evil, were present on a larger, clearer canvass in Birmingham -- and after Birmingham, over the nation.

BIRMINGHAM AND BEYOND

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. went into Birmingham, Alabama, the most segregated big city of the South, in the spring of 1963, saying, "As Birmingham goes, so goes the whole South."

Following up on direct-action campaigning by the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (an SCLC affiliate) led by the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, he turned loose a siege of demonstrations and sit-ins that lasted for five weeks -- and in the process managed to tell the nation what Albany had never been able to communicate.

He was ably assisted in part of this communication by Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Conner, commanding the Birmingham police force in his last lame-duck days in public office. Spread in graphic action photographs across newspapers and magazines and snarling out of the television screen were Birmingham police dogs used to halt the demonstrators, many of whom were teen-agers. Never to be forgotten were the shots of young women being knocked down and rolled over by Birmingham 's high-pressure fire hoses. The hoses would be turned full blast on the civil rights demonstrators, then played idly against trees, tearing the bark off with a machine gun-like rattle.

Birmingham, in such scenes, came to the nation after a year-long build-up of comment and interpretation about the Negro revolt. There was awareness of a new anger among Negroes. People were pondering James Baldwin's almost shrill, Old-Testament prophet's warning of the "fire next time" if

Americans could not come to know the meaning of what Negroes were offering in non-violent action this time. Thus prepared, the nation received from the Birmingham campaign what seemed to be a final full awakening to the meaning of direct action.

It was the number-one topic not just in the South, but over the nation, and the best minds of government, journalism, business, and scholarship were put to its problems. All the good of goals and intentions so apparent in the sit-ins, and all the frightening potentiality of the freedom rides, and all the implications of the struggle with police apparent in Albany—all of these and all the questions they raised were in focus finally.

There were local pecularities. The question of Dr. King's timing was criticised. This was done mainly by those who feel no timing is right for demonstrations, but also by some proven friends of civil rights. The criticism centered around political developments. A reorganization of Birmingham city government had resulted in an election which ousted a segregationist administration typified by Police Commissioner Conner, long-time symbol of anti-Negro sentiment, accused often by Negroes of police brutality. A "moderate" mayor, Albert Boutwell, and council were to take office, and it was urged that demonstrations should wait until this new government had a chance to show what it would do. Replies to this included the familiar one that Negroes had been waiting too long.

Specifically, it was pointed out that demonstrations had been postponed over a period of months with no notable results from a series of negotiations with white leaders.

There was much evidence of local misgivings, but the Negro leadership closed in behind King and Shuttlesworth.

As the demonstrations gathered momentum, a tactic that had been used in Albany (and other cities) was developed fully: the use of the young -- high school and grammar school children, some as young as seven -- in heavy numbers, marching and singing. One estimate had all but 887 of the 7,386 pupils of Birmingham's seven Negro high schools absent during one day at the height of demonstrations. This roused criticism; it also resulted in photographs of children, in the grips of Birmingham police, which hurt the conscience of the nation.

Under pressure of bad publicity and the hurtful effect on business, Birmingham's white leaders on May 4 began a series of conferences with Negroes to try to settle things. These were mediated by Burke Marshall, chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. He had been flown specially in from Washington.

Out of the negotiations on May 10 came the Birmingham truce. Its terms were not the all-out capitulation of Birmingham which Dr. King had predicted would crack the remaining solidarity of the Souty, or even previous demands.

The terms amounted to a promise to desegregate some down town lunch counters and public facilities within 90 days, any a

lunch counters - kept; but probably in less than a dozen places could sit down together
employment - little evidence kept

promise to improve job opportunities within 60 days. Further, all demonstrators then in jail were released under nominal bail or on their own recognizance.

Behind the scenes of the truce was pressure from Washington seeking an end to a situation not the least of whose embarrassments were those to the nation in its international relations, particularly with emerging nations of Africa and Asia. According to the New York Times (May 26, 1963), cabinet members and such important private citizens as Dean Eugene V. Rostow of Yale Law School were involved, busied with talking to Birmingham men of power. (Dean Rostow volunteered his aid. It included urging alumnus Roger Blough, president of U. S. Steel, to elicit more cooperation subsidiary, Tennessee Coal and Iron, the city's largest industry.)

The truce had been in effect two days when, on the Sunday morning of May 12, a reporter telephoned a member of the Justice Department in Washington and told of how he had just witnessed havoc on the streets of Birmingham.

Late that Saturday night, bombs had exploded a half hour apart at the Gaston Motel, headquarters for Dr. King and other civil rights leaders, and at the home of the Rev. A. D. King, brother of the SCLC leader. Spontaneously, in rage and in outrage, Negroes poured into the streets -- an estimated 2,500. Bricks and stones were thrown at police and firemen. A taxi cab was set on fire. A policeman was stabbed.

Dogs arriving with police reinforcements further enraged the mob, but pleading by Negro leaders and police quieted the people finally to sullen muttering. Then on the scene arrived AL Lingo, Alabama director of Public Safety. As the mob's anger began to roar again, Birmingham Police Chief Jamie Mooore, according to Newsweek, said to the state policemen: "If you'd leave, Mr. Lingo, I'd appreciate it."

Commissioner Lingo refused, in effect took control of the police situation. Two Negro stores had suddenly blazed up and were spreading fire. Rocks were flying again, one hitting Birmingham Police Inspector Bill Haley in the face. Lingo and 35 troopers went into action. Here is how Newsweek described it:

> Armed with shotguns, rifles, and billies..., up and down the street they went, shoving and clubbing spectators, clomping up on front porches, swatting bystanders with billies and gun butts, ordering 'Get inside, goddamit!' 'I can't, I can't, the door's locked,' one Negro screamed as police walloped him. The troopers dashed the door open with gun butts and shoved him inside. Then they joined a mixed party of deputies outside the motel and, 60 strong, charged a crowd gathered in the entrance, billies and guns flailing ...

By 4:30 a. m., the last of the rioters had been dispersed in such fashion, and the area was sealed off by state police.

"What does it mean?" asked the Justice Department official who had been phoned by the reporter.

"Go back," was the answer,"and read James Baldwin again. This is the fire next time."

And so it must have seemed on that night of terrible provocation which drew probably the worst violence from Negroes in the growingly angry history of direct action. So it must have seemed also to the nation in the spread after Birmingham of demonstrations across the South and, for the first time on any large scale, into the North of the United States.

The catch-phrase, "new militance," thought up during the Spring to describe an intellectual attitude in the civil rights movement, was coming for some to mean angry crowds of demonstrators verging on violence.

The new demonstrations in the South were heaviest in the border and upper South states which had already known sit-ins, and the degrees of desegregation they won. Now the call was for "all, now" in cities like Durham, Greensboro, Raleigh, and Nashville. Through the hot summer it went, the largest siege of direct action to date. And' "wherever the problem festered, the name of Birmingham was invoked as a warning, a symbol, an epithet," said Newsweek.

Danville, Virginia, became the scene of a full-scale, volatile campaign, with Dr. King and the Rev. Mr. Shuttlesworth urging the demonstrators on. (It was in Danville that police went into a church, kicked an office door in, and arrested three civil rights leaders.) For a period, Cambridge, Md., was spotlighted on a peculiarly ugly stage, where the races of men had for weeks to be kept from each other's throats by National Guardsmen. In the still strongly resisting deep South, demonstrations and arrests wound on -- in such places as Americus,

Georgia; Savannah, Georgia; Jackson, Mississippi; and Plaquemine, Louisiana, among many others.

One fatality occurred during the summer's fierce demonstrations. In Lexington, North Carolina, a white automobile mechanic was killed by a 22-calibre rifle bullet in a round of shots fired as whites and Negroes faced one another in crowds after a demonstration. Three Negroes were indicted on charges of murder in the case.

Another murder occurred that was not directly connected with a demonstration, but to a Negro leader who had been active in the civil rights movement. He was Medgar W. Evers, shot to death in the carport of his own home in Jackson, Miss., on June 12. A white fertilizer salesman of Greenwood, Miss., was subsequently charged with murder in the death.

A Justice Department report at the beginning of August showed 758 demonstrations in 186 cities during the ten weeks after Birmingham. Reports on accomplishments of demonstrations vary, the fact that total figures on southern desegregation are almost impossible to develop is an encouraging sign of how much activity is afoot. Often, desegregation occurs in a context where it is just no longer news.

An attempt by the Southern Regional Council to determine specific desegregation that occurred from April 1 to November 1, 1963 in the South shows change in at least 261 cities and counties of eleven states.

What it took to achieve this is indicated in arrests figures, which were at least 14,733 for the same period in the same number of states. This compares with an estimated 3,600 arrests between February 1, and September 1, 1960. Such press reports as have been available show that between April 3 and June 24, there were 10,~~240~~ 770 arrests; between June 24 and July 24, 1,323; between July 25 and August 28, 2043; between August 29

and September 30, 1947

Intellectual ferment during the preceding year had clearly articulated for the first time the frustrations and terrors of life for Negroes in parts of the nation outside the South. Not by law but by custom and practice Negroes (including the many who had fled the South) found themselves shoved into inescapable ghettos and segregated de facto in schools, labor unions, and almost all other phases of life. After Birmingham, direct action -- with perhaps the harshest, angriest tones of all -- became the expression of rage and hopelessness among these who felt twice tricked -- by a birthright of segregation in the South, by hypocrisy elsewhere which promised surcease but brought only the same old segregation all over again.

In New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and many other cities, the familiar forms of direct action -- pickets, marchers, boycotts -- and some imaginative variants -- demonstrators chaining themselves to pillars of the New York City Hall -- came home to non-southern populaces accustomed to seeing them on television far away, and sympathizing. The strain of having the Negro revolution so close showed. The voice of moderation spoke out in northern cities from official positions, ones which often in the past might have scorned that same voice when it was heard in the South. The voice of white resistance and of racism was also heard, without the usual southern drawl.

In the midst of all this, the wrangling and infighting for position among civil rights group came into the open -- in speeches and public arguments. This did not help the Negro revolution in public opinion. Realization that it did not, along with an important move led by foundations in New York city to put strong and conventional economic security behind the Negro movement, soon put an end to the battling in public.

(With the sit-ins and increasingly afterward, these organizations in their relationship to each other, both drew together and competed. Some of the fantasies spun by segregationists about vast wealth of the direct action organizations flew in the face of the fact of their often desperate need for funds. If the competition for these funds (and members) sometimes pushed them into actions that a coordinated thrust toward the mutual goal would not seem to justify, there were also creative qualities to the tension that brought ~~xxxxx~~ breakthroughs probably not otherwise achievable.)

On the positive side of the summer's developments was a long-building burst of activity in support of direct action by white churches and religious leaders. Congregations were confronted more often and more burtally with the conflict in their religious belief and the American treatment of Negroes. Ministers joined in demonstrations. This rising at last of the white church (or at the least, or most, some of its hierarchy) to its responsibilities and true meaning was hailed by Dr. King in a speech at Atlanta University in the Fall of 1963 as the most heartening happening of all the previous Summer.

Perhaps the chief of all developments that stemmed from Birmingham was its contribution to what some observers call a danger of polarization of racial attitudes ~~xxxxxx~~ outside the South, and stronger polarization in the South. must clear

This came with the strong thrust forward of the Kennedy Administration on civil rights legislation.

The President's televised speech of June 11 announcing new intentions made clear how much of the motivation came from the Birmingham spread of direct action.

> ...Fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South... Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades, and protests which create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives.
>
> We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and as a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or tort. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and above all, in all of our daily lives.

This speech was the strongest ever made by a President on Negro rights. And it proposed the strongest ~~xxxx~~ legislative remedies ever to be taken seriously for securing those rights.

So the message that was built up from the beginning of direct action, but that had failed to be communicated by Albany, had finally reached to the topmost leadership of the nation. A great Congressional battle had begun over it. It was a projective key issue for the 1964 Presidential election. And it was the subject of another great debate on race in American public opinion.

Two more events of the fateful summer of 1963 helped to round out the meaning of Birmingham.

The first was the August 28 March on Washington by 200,000 Americans, mostly Negro, in general support of Negro rights, and specific support of civil rights legislation. This was a coordinated effort of many groups, including those of direct action. (One of its effects was to drain off energy during the late Summer from demonstrations.)

It caught and held for a day, for most of the nation to see, the inspiring, spiritual qualities of direct action, its highest motivation and performance.

There had been consternation -- pious fear, articulated at its most soulful by southern Congressmen, that the march would set off a national capital race riot with never-edning, disastrous results. But the march was as peaceful and non-violent, even benevolent, as the all-day camp meeting that it in many ways resembled. The air had been full of predictions about its political effects -- that it would ruin chances for civil rights legislation, that it would make passage certain. But when it had come and gone, it did not seemed to have changed things either way.

Its effectiveness had to be considered in whatever it said to the American conscience -- out of the speeches of the many leaders at the formal ceremonies at the Lincoln Memorial, and out of the spectacle of so much of the humanity of American protesting betrayals of the American dream, asking for better for themselves, for their children.

What this said had the immediate effect, at least, of offsetting the ugly images of violence and mobism that direct action was coming to mean to some.

The second event was to show quite clearly from which side of the racial struggle violence was most to be feared. It was another bombing in Birmingham. It came this time not on Saturday night, like the previous one, to bring out Saturday-night drinkers rioting.

This time it came on Sunday morning, during the Sunday school hour, and this time it killed children worshipping God in a Christian church.

Four Negro girls, two of them 14, one 11, and one 10, were killed by the blast of dynamite that ripped through the sanctuary and Sunday School of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on September 14. The church, is the scene of some of the past spring's most turbulent demonstration scenes, was badly damaged, with broken glass, fallen wood, and plaster throughout. A huge stain-glass window was somehow left standing among the many destroyed. On it the depiction of the body of Christ, as shepherd, was left intact, but His face and a small place at His heart were ripped out.

Dozens of worshippers in the church were injured, and, as they were carried away for hospital treatment, a crowd wailing grief was dispersed by police.

Then in shock, and a strange silence, the city waited for whatever reaction would come. Extra-duty city police and state troopers patrolled through a fear-filled day and night, expecting retaliatory violence. It did not come. The only added violence that Sunday was the shooting to death of a Negro boy on a bicycle without provocation, and the shooting to death of a Negro youth by police who said he ran when ordered to halt.

As ever after such raw outrages as the dynamiting, a shocked nation expressed sorrow and indignation. In Birmingham, the City Council passed a resolution of regret; there were prayers in segregated churches; one lawyer, Charles A. Morgan, Jr., spoke angrily the guilt of racism shared by all in the dynamiting.

The case joined a long list, including the previous one, of unsolved dynamitings in Birmingham. And the nation waited to see if this finally would bring the city to more reasonable, conciliatory efforts to meet the demands still being pressed by Negroes -- taking one appropriate form in the plea that Negro police be hired. They were not hired. When it was suggested to Roger Blough that U. S. Steel use its influence, as the biggest employer in Birmihgham, to reduce racial tension, he said he felt the corporation was meeting its responsibilities by following a non-discriminatory hiring policy, and that anything else would be "repugnant." Charlie Morgan moved to Washington... And there were threats of demonstrations anew in Birmingham.

It had not been the fire this time, even in Birmingham, even at the dramatic, grief-filled moment of greatest provocations. It had not been, either, the hoped-for time of a reaching of a clear consensus in American public opinion on the demands of direct action.

What it seemed to be was merely the communication of the message of direct action, and in various ways a beginning of the development of the national answer. The message demanded (no longer begged) full (no longer token or gradual) rights of American citizenship for Negroes. And once communicated, such a message had to be answered.

The forces necessary to finding the answer seemed finally set in motion, in Congress, in business, in public debate, and, most importantly, within the conscience of the individual American citizen -- where ultimately decisions rest and to which all along direct action had been speaking.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND THE LAW

From its beginning, the direct action movement has involved an issue as old as tragedy, as undying as human conflict -- the right of an individual to disobey the law. In refusing to obey laws they considered unjust, in knowingly and openly violating respass and other similarly intentioned laws, Negro Southerners have followed an ancient winning acceptance in tradition - but one which has had the hardest time of all in modern American public oponion.

It is a tradition found in the Old Testament story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego who refused to bow down before the golden idol of King Nebuchadnezzar. It is found in the martyrdom of the early Christians who died for their faith. It was carried on by the abolitionists in this country, who deliberately violated the Fugitive Slave Act of 1950. It runs throughout the history of Gandhi's long passive resistance campaign against the British raj in India. Moreover, the Negro demonstrators are not the only Americans who engage in civil disobedience in our time. Those people who refuse to answer questions of census takers, those religious sects which in some states will not obey compulsory school attendance laws, those pacifists who boldly set sail for a prohibited atomic testing area, all engage in a form of civil disobedience.

But the Negro demonstrators -- those who have sat-in, paraded, and demonstrated throughout the South in recent years, (and throughout the nation in recent months) -- have attracted

the greatest amount of attention, anger, and anxiety. On the one hand, Negro civil rights leaders call for Southerners to obey the Supreme Court's 1954 decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. On the other, they consciously urge their followers to break state laws and ordinances. How can they advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?

In his Letter From Birmingham City Jail Martin Luther King, discusses "one has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws." The difference between the two, according to Dr. King, is:

> ...A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saitn Thomas Acquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality.

For almost four years now, Negro demonstrators have openly and deliberately violated laws they believe to be unjust; and they have openly and deliberately accepted the consequences of breaking such laws by peacefully submitting to arrest and imprisonment. By acting so openly, with no attempt at concealment, by fully accepting the consequences of their action, they have made their case for civil disobedience an ethical one. But they have also raised anew the basic issue of civil disobedience: the effect which it has on men's always tenuous commitment to the rule of law. In seeking law and justice, they have, by causing community discord, posed a threat to law and order.

Some have argued against civil disobedience not only on the ground that it is a threat to law and order, but also on the ground that it is illegitimate in a political order like that of the United States, where political and judicial means exist to work for the change of laws. Such means do exist on a federal level but it is hard to see where they exist on a state level in such states as Alabama and Mississippi. And it should be emphasized that Negro Southerners have remained loyal to the national system while aiming their direct action campaigns against the laws of southern states. These provoked a vigorous and vicious legal counterattack.

Throughout the South, local and state officials dissatisfied with the powers provided them by the usual public safety statutes ransacked their legal codes and came up with dusty, long-unused, and long-forgotten laws to apply in opposing civil rights demonstrators.

In Americus (Ga.), for instance. four young men arrested during demonstrations there in August 1963 were charged with "inciting an insurrection," a crime that under an 1871 Georgia statute is punishable by death, and held without bail for weeks. They were finally released on bond November 1 after a federal court ~~voted 2 to 1 to~~ declared the 1871 statute and the state's unlawful assembly law unconstitutional. The court ordered no further state prosecution of the youths on other charges "unless ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ reasonable bond" was arranged.

Since it was the first time a federal court has used the 1957 Civil Rights Act as a basis for taking jurisdiction of a

which was case before a state court

state court case because of alleged violation of constitutional rights, the ruling was viewed as setting a precedent for demonstrators to go to federal court with complaints of excessive bond or other violations of constitutional rights.

In Danville, (Va.), to take another case of legal resurrection, 18 civil rights leaders are to be tried under a Virginia law originally designed to prevent slave uprisings. They are charged with conspiring to incite Negroes to "acts of violence and war" against whites.

Besides applying the rusty legal weapons of a bygone day against Negro demonstrators, southern state legislators and municipal authorities rushed through new statutes and ordinances designed to bring the direct action movement to a halt. Following the outbreak of the 1960 sit-ins, every state legislature which met that year passed laws to regulate -- and restrict -- sit-in activities. The most elaborate and comprehensive new laws were those of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia, but neither of these states appeared to have accomplished anything more than Georgia, which passed a statute as simple as it was brief. The Georgia statute (Act 497, February 18, 1960), said that a criminal trespass was committed by a person when he failed to leave the premises of another when requested; in practice, this required that the request be made in the presence of a police officer.

If the Georgia law was simple, it carried a severe sentence for the misdemeanor of trespass. Under Georgia law, misdemeanor is

punishable by a maximum fine of $1,000, or six months in jail, or twelve months in a public work camp, or all three.

The first person actually to be tried and convicted under the Georgia trespass law was Tom Taylor Tolg, a young white sit-in demonstrator who was arrested in the state capital on June 17, 1963. He was convicted in a state court on August 31 and given the maximum sentence (all three of the above). However, Superior Court Judge Durwood T. Pye said that if Tolg would make a written promise to obey the law after serving four months on the public works, the remainder of his sentence would be suspended. The judge set bond at $5,000 and set a hearing date on a new motion by Tolg's attorneys for December 13.

The Tolg case is but one of the latest in a long line of cases resulting from sit-in activity and involving such issues as the constutionality of a state using police power to help a private storekeeper maintain segregation.

The first such case was decided in a state court in Raleigh, (N. C.) on April 22, 1960, when trespass charges were dismissed against 43 Negroes students arrested for demonstrating on the sidewalk of a privately-owned shopping center. The dismissal was based on a 1946 U. S. Supreme Court ruling in a similar case (Marsh v. Alabama), where the Court held that property ownership "does not always mean absolute dominion. The more an owner, for his advantage, opens up property for use by the public in general, the more do his rights become circumscribed by the constitutional and statutory rights of those who use it."

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One year after the Raleigh ruling, the U. S. Supreme Court handed down a decision which, though not directly related to the ever-increasing number of sit-in cases, did involve the refusal of a restaurant to serve Negroes. In this case (Burton v. Wilmington Parking Authority), the Court held that a privately owned restaurant on space leased from a state agency could not offer discriminatory services. The case concerned a coffee shop in a garage owned by the Wilmington(Del.) Parking Authority, as state agency. Six justices concurred in the ruling.

On December 11, 1961, in its first decision on cases directly involving the sit-in movement, the Court unanimously reversed the breach-of-the-peace convictions of 16 Negro students who had staged sit-ins in Baton Rouge. The students were arrested in March 1960 for seeking service at three white lunch counters, in a drug store, a department store, and a bus terminal.

Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote the opinion in this case (Garner et al, v. State of Louisiana), pointing out that a Louisiana law defined disturbing the peace as acting "in such a manner as to unreasonably disturb or alarm the public." He ruled that there was "no evidence ...that petitioners disturbed the peace, either by outwardly boisterous conduct or by passive conduct likely to cause a public disturbance."

The Court's most important decision to date on sit-in cases was rendered 17 months after the Louisiana ruling. On May 20, 1963, the Court swept aside the convictions of 31 sit-in demonstrators in four states (Alabama, Louisiana, North and South Carolina).

The Court overturned trespass and criminal mischief convictions in four lunch-counter cases)Peterson v. Greenville; Gober v. Birmingham; Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham; and Avent v. North Carolina) on the ground that local government -- not storekeepers -- actually required the discrimination. The Court found that the owners were compelled to invoke the trespass laws in order not to be in violation of city ordinances and official policies which required segregation.

In a fifth case, from New Orleans, (Lombard v. Louisiana), there was no segregation ordinance. But the Court said that statements by New Orleans' mayor and police superintendent had created, or maintained, a climate of customary segregation which amounted to the same ~~thxx~~ thing.

The May 20 series of decisions indicated that many of the thousands of other convictions of demonstrators were unconstitutional. Furthermore, on June 17, the Court also overturned the 1961 trespass convictions of eight Negroes and whites convicted of violating the Virginia trespass laws in Alexandria, telling the Virginia Supreme Court to reconsider the case in the light of its May 20 ruling.

In essence, the May 20 decisions on the treatment of sit-in demonstrators at lucnh-counters established the right of citizens to ~~s~~ request service and said that local agencies of law enforcement may not interfere with them if segregation is supported or required by the policies or ordinances of the local government.

But these decisions sidestepped two key constitutional questions raised by the anti-segregation protests. These are: 1) whether a restaurant or store owner can, entirely at his own discretion, choose to discriminate; and 2) whether, if he so chooses, the state may help him.

These questions confronted the Court this Fall when it heard arguments on five other sit-in cases soon after convening for the 1963-64 term. The five cases argued came from Maryland, Florida, and South Carolina. Each involved a situation in which demonstrators were arrested for trespass after they refused the owner's request that they leave. The demonstrators were convicted for trespass after refusing to leave segregated lunch counters or, in two Maryland cases, an amusement park at Glen Echo and a restaurant in Baltimore.

Attorneys for the demonstrators urged the Court to rule that no state may enforce racial discrimination by a private restaurant or other shop. Lawyers for the states asked the Court to make clear that there is a right to use business property as the owner wishes and a right to state enforcement of the owner's decision.

The issue before the Court -- does the Constitution permit a state to prosecute individuals for demanding service without racial discrimination at privately owned businesses -- is, of course, also being debated in Congress, where the administration's bill forbidding racial discrimination in places of public accommodation is being considered. Congressional passage of the public accommodations bill would lighten the burden of the Court. On the other hand, Congress would be relieved of much of the problem if the Court were to hold that the Constitution forbids state enforcement of segregation in public accommodations.

In the past, the Court has held that the 14th Amendment's ban on racial discrimination is applicable only to action by the states andtheir officials, and not to purely private discrimination. A brief field by the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund in the sit-in cases heard this fall contended, however, that "a property right no longer includes a privilege in the individual owner to act substantially to the ~~ing~~ detriment of his fellow citizens." What the Court will decide remains to be seen.

Since these cases were argued before the Court, the Delaware Supreme Court has, on November 6, decided a sit-in case in a way which breaks new legal ground.

It has ruled that although an owner may try, if he wishes, to enforce a policy of exclusion he may not call on and receive state power to aid him. Thus the Delaware Court has gone directly to the key issue now before the U. S. Supreme Court.

This much seems likely though: direct action campaigns are not likely to succeed against the determined hostility of local las and local law enforcement officers, as in places of the South, particularly of the Deep South. Some southern judges have become ~~mp~~ adept at issuing sweeping injunctions which effectively bring the difect action movement grinding to a halt. In Danville during the Summer of 1963, for example, a Virginia court enjoined civil rights leaders from "participating in, financing, sponsoring, encouraging, or engaging in meetings or other activities," that could result in a violation of state or local law, or "engaging in any such act in a violent and tumultuous manner, or holding

unlawful assemblies such as to unreasonably disturb or alarm the public within the city of Danville." In short, this ruling ran the gamut of restriction from A to Z.

Another tactic employed against civil rights groups has been that of setting excessively high bail for arrested demonstrators, thereby depleting the treasuries of the organizations. In Savannah, for instance, a bond of $30,000 was set for Negro leader Hosea Williams following his arrest there in early July 1963.

Confronted by hostile local law enforcement officers and local judges, Negro demonstrators have turned to the federal courts for a redress of grievances. But the procedures of litigation and judicial review are costly and time-consuming.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

The determination of Negroes to win full American citizenship had by the Fall of 1963 confronted the nation with its most serious domestic crisis since the depression of the 1930's. Direct action had been the largest factor in pushing the situation to the crisis point.

So, in the process of individual confrontation of the crisis, there arises a more urgent need than ever for a weighing and understanding of direct action itself--an act of judgment.

There are various approaches to evaluation.

It is possible to see direct action in pragmatic, win or lose terms of its own specific goals in specific situations. The sit-ins for example caused desegregation of lunch counters across a wide sweep of the land, but failed effectively to penetrate the deep South. The freedom rides desegregated interstate travel and terminal facilities, more or less, across all the South, but created ill feeling. Mass demonstrations desegregated many private and some public facilities in many towns and cities. But again the deep South, with Albany as a symbol, Birmingham as a still-resistant example, has not really been cracked. In competitive sports score terms, these specific efforts have resulted in some wins, some losses, some draws, and several more innings left to play.

Out of the experience of these specific situations, there has been a growing awareness by Negro leaders of the need to select the appropriate form of action (direct or otherwise) to fit the circumstances. The days when a

crisis situation was in part a staging ground for a particular form of demonstration, or for proving demonstrations better than court action, for example, seem about over.

It is possible, also, to see direct action as a tactical operation in a large-scale war. The sit-ins unleashed full scale a new weapon, and from its first surprise onslaught, the enemy retreated in panic. But during the freedom rides, a counter weapon of mass arrests was thrown up. Both weapons have been improved and refined. The mass marches, the conscience-hurting voices of children piping freedom songs as they demonstrate, the boycott and other techniques for pressuring economic and political power sources, the growing awareness of the power of the ballot and enlarged effort to gain it--these by direct action. The mass arrests, police use of dogs, fire hoses, electric prod poles and other methods of making arrest unpleasant, the imposing of severe charges and large bonds (such bonds were attacked successfully for the first time in a case in Americus, Ga., during October), economic reprisals--these by the community power sources resisting direct action, along with enough old-fashioned lawless methods of intimidation (shotgun blasts into homes, dynamitings) to make necessary their noting.

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Here, the battles go first one way, then the other. Increasing success of direct action in involving the federal government on its side is, in these tactical terms, a victory, perhaps the crucial one. (It is still true, how-

ever, that in the South, the Justice Department serves as the chief administration contact with people, seems often to be mediating clashes rather than enforcing federal law. Appointment of staunch segregationist judges to the federal bench in several instances remains an anomaly in the administration's stance toward race relations.

Of all the achievements on the governmental level, getting the civil rights question before Congress is greatest. Many commentators (including Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta, the only deep-South politician to testify in early hearings for the public accommodations bill) have pointed out how Congress has shirked its duty in this area--while all other parts of government, the federal judiciary and executive, and the municipal and even some southern state governments, in recent years have been desperately trying to cope with it.

Almost as important as the governmental developments has been involvement of national and local private business, the white church, and individual leaders at all levels of society.

Creative, constructive thinking and working on all levels in the best tradition of the nation continues to grow. The important question is whether all these forces, including governmental, will move in response to the real demand of direct action (for all, now), or whether they will merely attempt half-way, palliative responses.

It is possible, finally, to see direct action through public opinion--what people think about the issues it raises and about it. The most extensive research has been conducted by Newsweek Magazine, with national polls by the Louis Harris organization. What they show more than anything else is the discrepency between almost full support of direct action and its goals by Negroes, and the great splits on the various questions by whites.

These polls show: more than a majority of white persons nationally favor laws guaranteeing equal rights in job opportunities, voting, housing, on buses and trains, at restaurants and lunch counters, in schooling, and in "any public accommodation," a majority even favors a fair employment practices commission. In the South, the majority disappears after buses and trains in the above list. The national majority is against such things as a quota system on jobs, a law forbidding discrimination in housing, a daughter dating or relative marrying a Negro.

On direct action itself, whites nationally by a margin of two to one think Negroes are "moving too fast," according to the poll. "Though they accept the idea of demonstration in general, the whites strongly object to picketing, boycotts, sit-ins, and lie-downs." Only three per cent of Negroes, on the other hand, think they are moving too fast, and 91% support the Negro revolt.

Such polls and statistics are of course only guides and indications of what people are thinking. Similarly

are such indicators as the reiterated statements of Southerners who, while denouncing federal legislation on private business, accept desegregation of public institutions. Ten years ago, their denunciations were of the desegregation of public institutions.

Some of the complexity of measuring public opinion is indicated by the question of what effect the many direct action negotiations between Negro and white leaders might have had on the white persons involved. For many, these sessions were the first confrontation with Negroes as well educated and self-assured as themselves. Since these white negotiators are opinion leaders, their new insights and respects have wide influence.

What the Negro thinks becomes increasingly important. The Harris poll on such crucial questions as whether violence will occur, and even on whether courts and negotiation are preferable to demonstrations, shows a conservative majority. But it also shows, as have many other reports, an increase in anger and bitterness, and some hatred of whites. Increasingly, direct action leaders tell white America that the alternative to their approach is the reverse-racism of the Black Muslims. The describe a new function of direct action: to let off the steam of pent-up emotion that would otherwise go into hatred and violence.

As ever, there is prejudice against the hatred of Negroes on the other side. Neither is a majority nationally. In the South, prejudice, while perhaps as deep as or deeper than ever in some individuals and in some areas like Alabama and Mississippi, would seem to be, in sum, diminished. (How does one decide this? Attitudes, despite the severest of pressure, the greatest of impatience, change slowly. The guide is as much as anything the intuitive feelings

about the climate of opinion by sensitive individuals comparing things now with things ten years ago.)

Hatred and bitterness and their fruits of violence have ever been a problem for the concern of rational, responsible institutions and individuals. Presumably these are strong enough in our society to prevail in the crisis--assuming they will act.

There is still more to see about direct action. It cannot, for example, be viewed in a vaccum. Much of its meaning and many of its targets are parts of larger problems, larger movements in current American history.

This is obvious in the case of votes. The fight for the fundamental right of enfranchisement for the Negro goes on simultaneously with a growingly successful fight for the same fundamental right for urban white voters who long and with increasing weights against urban them have been disproportionately represented in the state legislature. Or, as with the county unit system of Georgia which was declared unconstitutional, they have been disenfranchised in electing state officials. Belief in democracy alone makes necessary the belief that out of these battles for more representative government will come more responsible, more responsive government. In the South, this alone would likely solve many of the problems direct action is concerned with.

It is also increasingly clear that the end of segregation and discrimination will not mean the end of Negro problems. With inferior education and inferior jobs out of the legacy of segregations inferior envioronment, Negroes will need to master the knowledge and skills, and meet the competition, of an organized, increasingly automatized society. And it is also clear that such needs are not confined to

Negroes. They are an aggravated part of the nation's troubles with periodic economic depression, prolonged unemployment, inadequate schools, substandard housing. The crime, the hopelessness of slums now visited upon the second and third generations dwelling there (trapped, no longer a part of a passing-through wave of immigration) are a blight eating away at the affluent society. Out of such deprivation comes a frightening figure whose anger transcends the racial struggle. He may be on one or the other or neither side of it. The real object of his wrath is society.

Thus it may well be that in finding a solution for the American dilemma, the nation will find a new opportunity for greatness for all of its people. In the process of freeing themselves, Negro Americans may bring about "a new birth of freedom" for all Americans.

This gets close to the concept of direct action that seems most important, most pertinent in the crisis-pressured processes by which a whole nation reaches out for consensus against prejudice.

Witnesses have spoken of the inspirational, emotional catharssis of direct action. Some of this came through to many previously untouched by it during the Washington March. Proponents of direct action, often most eloquent when defending it, cite its spiritual overtones, its effect upon the individual being of participants and witnesses, as its real reason for existence. In this are combined, they say, powerful methods of moral renewal and persuasion from the mysticism of the East, from the Old and New Testaments, from the basic tenets of democracy, and the philosophical heritage of civil disobedience. Lillian Smith, the noted novelist and commentator on psychic ailments and strengths of the South, speaks of direct action

as an act of love by Which Negroes, less culturally inhibited in the ability to love, are seeking to save not just themselves, but the white population and the nation itself--from nothing less than a fatal soul sickness.

In this kind of final analysis, it is necessary to go to the beginning premise of the direct action movement. It is simply a belief that the founding principles of America, as set forth in its great documents, embodied in its government and its social, religious and economic, institutions, are right. It protests the exclusion of Negroes from benefits of these principles. It demands American citizenship. And by implication, it demands of every American an action--either with it for the best that the nation believes in, or against it in calamatious repudiation of what the nation believes in.

It is speaking to the deepest and highest moral and political commitments and achievements of mankind. It is drastic; it may seem to some unnecessarily so. But its existence--its spontaneous rise, development, and refusal to die, although ~~against~~ so much ~~that~~ tries to end its existence is evidence of necessity. This is a kind of necessity within the souls of individual human beings which makes nations great, or which, opposed, destroys nations. Against it, so far in human history, nothing has been able permanently to prevail.

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Comfortable people, ever, when confronted with a revolution wish it would go away, shrink from its unplesant confrontations with the status quo. Americans look at the slow and gradual (but generally heartening) results of court-ordered desegregation of schools, and say, "isn't this enough?"

The answer by the existence of direct action is no. Direct action has made impossible southern pretense that the denial of citizenship is a joint agreement by whites and Negroes, a happy acquiesence. It makes impossible any longer belief by the rest of the nation is such a myth. It makes impossible in the rest of the nation subterfuges for the same purpose of denying citizenship. And it makes impossible any longer the process described by psychiatrist Robert M. Coles whereby the rest of the nation uses the South in its excesses as a scapegoat with which to placate its own guilt about the Negro.

So direct action must be dealt with by history. And so in the final evaluation of direct action, it is necessary to reach out for the kind of perspective by which historians look back upon the resolution of important upheavals in a nations's life. Like the lives of great men, such movements in history are not evaluated finally by day-to-day success and failure, or by tactical victories and losses, or even by what contemporaries think. Ultimately, they are assessed by history according to the validity of their objectives.

Thus, it would seem to be that it is no longer direct action which will be judged in the developments ahead. It is the nation itself.

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TENATIVE OUTLINE: DIRECT ACTION HISTORY

Working Title: 'We Shall Overcome': A Short History
Of the Direct Action Movement

I-Introduction

1) What is purpose of this Report? To describe and discuss, to analyze and assess a non-violent revolution unlike any in American history.

2) The concept of non-violence

a) Historical origins: Thoreau and Ghandi

b) As defined by Martin Luther King, Jr. (Letter to B'ham Ministers)

c) As practiced by Negroes throughout the the South

3) Brief summary of what this report covers

II-The First Sit-ins: Greensboro and Elsewhere, Winter-Spring 1960

1) The Greensboro story

a) origins of the Greensboro sit-in

b) earlier examples

2) Spread of the Sit-ins

a) spontaneous outbreaks throughout the South

b) common characteristics of these outbreaks

c) initialx successes

3) White Reaction

a) Mob Violence (e. g., Chattanooga, Montgomery)

b) Successful Settlements through Bi-racial Negotiations

c) New state anti-trepass laws

d) Recognition of the Negro's legitimate grievances--and of the Negro's economic power

III-The Movement Gets Organized

a) Atlanta Manifest, March 1960

b) The Founding of SNICK, May 1960

III-The Movement Gets Organized (cont)

c) Role of Other Negro Organizations

d) Spread of protest (e. g., kneel-ins, wade-ins, economic boycott, etc.)

IV--A Tale of Two Cities, September 1960

a) Riots in Jacksonville

b) Peaceful Desegregation in Atlanta

c) Comparison of the different ways in which each city confronted a similar problem

V--The Freedom Rides, 1961

a) Origins and aims

b) Stopover Birmingham

c) Stopover Montgomery

d) Stopover Jackson

e) Immediate Results and Lasting Repercussions

VI--The Agony of Albany, 1961-1963

a) The First Demonstrations, Nov-Dec. 1961

b) The Long, Hard Summer, 1962

c) A Struggle Unresolved: Albany Today

VII--The Battle for the Ballot, 1962-1963

a) Historical Background

b) The Launching of VEP

c) The First Registration Drives

d) The Greenwood Story

e) Outlook

VIII--Birmingham and Beyond

a) Brief synopsis of Birmingham episode
b) Significant Repercussions of Birmingham
c) Recent Southern Hotspots

IX--Conclusion
The Non-violent Direct Action Movement: Retrospect and Prospect

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM June 20, 1958

To: Harold C. Fleming

From: LWD

:

A new and rather abstruse book, titled The Economics of Discrimination and written by G. S. Becker (economist, Univ. of Chicago) has been received here, and I thought you might like a note on it, especially as it is, by claim and probably fact, the first book-length attempt to apply economic theory to the subject. As only a mathematical economist or mathematician can judge the theoretical soundness of the study, and only an expert statistician can evaluate its empirical data, and as I am none of these, I can only set down what seem to be chief conclusions; some of them you will recognize as old familiars, but some others, if valid, do suggest that our usual thinking may need revising.

(1) His purpose is to supplement the analysis of causes of discrimination made by psychologists and sociologists with an analysis of the economic consequences. Thus, he develops a theory of non-pecuniary motivation applied quantitatively to discrimination in the market place.

(2) Some terms:

(a) Taste for discrimination = to act as if willing to pay, or to forfeit income, in order to associate with some persons instead of others.

(b) Discrimination = the actual payment or forfeiture for this purpose.

(c) Market discrimination occurs when Negroes' income is reduced, through discrimination, more than that of whites.

(d) Market segregation occurs when Negroes have more contact with each other than they would if no discrimination existed.

(e) Segregation is caused by difference in tastes for discrimination, not merely by tastes for discrimination (e.g., At a given wage rate, the employer's taste for discrimination is not strong enough to deny employment to Negroes; other white employees' tastes being stronger, segregation is required. Thus, you can have discrimination without segregation; because Negroes are an economic minority - i.e., they have less wealth - you cannot have segregation without discrimination.)

(3) Discrimination in the labor market reduces (N.B. this is shown to be theoretically necessary) whites total income as well as Negroes, but less.

(a) Discrimination harms white capital, benefits white labor; harms Negro labor, benefits Negro capital. But net loss to Negro population is greater than net loss to whites; this is so, because Negroes gain more relatively from transactions with whites than do whites from doing business with Negroes.

(b) This being so, the worst situation for Negroes is economic segregation.

(c) Therefore, retaliation by Negroes against discrimination is harmful to Negroes because it increases segregation.

(4) With Negroes constituting about 1/9 of labor force, and assuming that whites own 150 times more capital (very conservative), and assuming that no discrimination existed - per capita income of Negroes would approximate 66% that of whites; with complete segregation, approximate 39%. These percentages represent therefore the range of possible degrees of market discrimination on these labor-capital assumptions. (Actual 1949 percentages were: U. S., 47%; Kentucky - highest in South - 61%; South Carolina - lowest - 32%; Georgia, 40%).

(5) Employer discrimination is greater in monopolistic than in competitive industries. (His empirical data seems to bear out this theoretical conclusion: monopolistic industries include rayon and allied products; petroleum refining; aircrafts and parts; autos, and auto equipment; railroads and miscellaneous transportation; meat products; glass and glass products; tobacco products; non-ferrous metals and their products; electrical machinery equipment. All other industries called competitive.)

(a) On the other hand, in competitive industries, discrimination increases as relative supply Negro labor increases; not so in monopolistic industries. Therefore, for any given occupation, discrimination may be greater in competitive industries.

(b) In a monopolistic industry, proportion of Negro to white in any given occupation should increase with increase in relative supply of Negro labor (I may say his empirical evidence here seemed pretty convincing. Put it differently; if supply of Negro machinists relative to white machinists increased, this should cause a proportionate - not necessarily exact-increase of Negro machinists in monopolistic industries, and a relative decrease in competitive industries.)

(6) In a competitive labor market, contrary to the widespread assumption, the more substitutable Negro is for white (i.e., the more direct competition), the less is the market discrimination. (His empirical data admittedly does not substantiate this conclusion; neither, however, does it refute it, and he believes that it must be true.)

(a) However, a non-competitive, i.e., unionized, labor market might operate to the opposite end (Becker says that the empirical data for testing this possibility is not available).

(7) In apparent consistency with #6, is the fact of greater economic discrimination against Negroes of better education (i.e.,uneducated, unskilled Negroes and whites are the workers most easily substitutable for each other, and yet at this occupational level there is least discrimination.)

(a) This inevitably raises the question of whether lowering educational barriers will not increase discrimination.

(8) Differential in housing costs is caused by segregation on the part of white residents and not by discrimination on the part of landlords or sellers of housing.

(9) The smaller the work establishment, the less discrimination (I frankly cannot follow Becker's interpretation of data here). Negroes tend to be most numerous in occupations where there is least direct contact with whites.

(a) These conclusions help to explain, e.g., why more Negros go into medicine, dentistry and law than into engineering (which requires less schooling and should therefore be more attractive to Negroes because of relative inexpensiveness); engineers typically work in large establishments.

(b) Also, why more Negroes go into medicine and dentistry than into law.

(10) Taste for discrimination varies directly with proportion of Negroes in a community.

(a) But does actual discrimination similarly correlate?

(1) By statistical analysis of all the standard metropolitan areas, Becker shows that it does. But the analysis also shows that education of Negroes decreases relative to proportion of Negroes in a community. By statistical computation, he shows that this is the causative factor; in other words, the greater the proportion of Negroes, the less education for Negroes, and as a result, the less income, not vice versa.

(2) The corollary of this is that the explanation of the relatively worse incomes of Negroes in, say, Charleston as opposed to Atlanta is <u>political</u> discrimination which denies education to Negroes, and that the worse incomes

are not due to greater market discrimination in Charleston; in other words, if you want to correct it you work on politicians and not business men.

(11) Between 1910 - 1950, the occupational position of Negroes relative to whites has been stable: a small improvement in the North, a slight worsening in the South. Between 1910 - 1940, little change in North, a worsening in the South. Between 1940 - 1950, small improvement in both regions.

(a) Therefore, almost all the occupatinnal improvement of Negroes since 1910 caused by forces which improved position of W as well.

(b) Occupational improvement of Negroes since 1910 or since 1940 not due to any large decrease, North or South, in discrimination.

Memo from **STAIGE BLACKFORD**

Low quality of Negro school education as result segregation

1) inadequate facilities

2) poorly prepared teachers

3) fact many Negro teachers enter profession only because it

Memo from **STAIGE BLACKFORD**

offers them a job
status otherwise
unobtainable in a
segregated society.

White

Father Gibson

vs Florida

Negro v. S.

D. A.

April 6, 1959

To: Les Dunbar

From: R.S.Eckaus

Subject: Suggestions for research on the economic aspects of segregation and desegregation in the South

The following topics are meant to be complementary to your own ideas for research. They could be quite substantial pieces of work or limited surveys, depending on your own preferences. As you will see they could be further subdivided.

A. Labor force and population studies

1. It would help in determinging the effects of desegregation on the South to have a clear picture of the Southern labor force, both white and Negro; its skill and industrial distribution as scompared to the rest of the U.S., relative wage rates, and so on. This could then be compared with the labor force requirements of an industrialized South (based on some reasonable estimates). My hunch is that the conclusion probably would be that, at least with a moderate rate of growth, there will be jobs enough for all in the South.

2. It might be possible, depending on data availability, to isolate those sectors in which white labor and/or capital are benefiting from segregation. That would permit evaluation of their significance in the Sourthern economy. I am not too optimistic about this, but it would be worth some thought and effort, I believe.

3. Much could be done in research on the size, composition and effects of population movements into and out of the South and their relation to segregation. For example, I believe it would be possible to make an estimate of money costs to the South, perhaps by states, of Negro emigration. In relation to estimates of labor force requirements in an industrializing economy some judgment could be made of effects of population movements on Southern economic progress.

good

B. Studies of savings and consumption patterns of whites and Negroes

I believe it would be possible with available data to make some estimates of the savings and consumption patterns of white and Negro. It would be possible also, I think, to estimate for each group the effects on savings and consumption of increases in income which foreseeable seem in the future. Such studies might even be done by states. They would provide a basis for judgment about the potential contribution of the Negro to Southern development via saving.

C. Costs of segregation

Much could be done, I believe, in estimating the additional costs of providing the various governmental services on a segregated basis. It would be more difficult, but worth a try, to make estimates of the relative tax burden on white and Negro and, thus, of the degree to which each group bears the additional costs.

The private costs of segregation would be more difficult to estimate. Perhaps some surveys of business firms would turn up something but I am skeptical.

Proposed

Outline of Research Project

LWD
1959

THE COSTS OF SEGREGATION

Herewith are three approaches to an estimate of the cost of segregation. Each is valid, though each employs a different concept of "cost."

I.

Some costs can be itemized through patient and skilled fact-finding. As yet, for example, no comprehensive investigation of the governmental costs of segregated facilities has been made. A systematic accounting would for the first time enable citizens and legislators to draw upon established facts for the shaping of policies. The accounting would be valuable even if confined to one state, or even if limited to one function (such as education or public health).

A second area wherein itemized costs, or reliable cost estimates, would be possible is that of the duplicate facilities which private businesses have to provide for customers and employees.

A third group of costs that can be itemized have to do with the funds, which must be vast, being spent to defend or eradicate segregation. These would include the expenses of litigation, to both sides; and the public funds used by Southern states for agencies, propaganda, special legislative sessions, and other efforts directed at preserving segregation.

II.

A second approach would probe the indirect costs of segregation. It would require that certain relationships be initially described, and here the economist might, at least in some cases, need the assistance of other social scientists. If valid relationships can be defined, the assignable costs would in all probability exceed those which could be itemized under the Approach I.

The easiest relationship to establish is that between segregation and slums. By this time, the evidence has been well secured as to the high price which the whole community pays for the maintenance of slums. The bill includes abnormal allocation for police, fire, welfare and other municipal services; put differently, it includes a high ratio of expenditures to revenues. There are also identifiable costs arising from inefficient land use and the deterioration of the central city.

The hypothesis that segregated housing, apart from slums, diminishes real estate values generally can also be tested. There is evidence that "exclusiveness" contributes less to value stability than does a wide, unrestricted market of potential buyers. If so, this may be a cost individuals are willing to bear; they should at least know what it is.

More difficult to describe quantitatively would be the relationship between segregation in the Southern states and their position as net migration losers. The question merits examination, however, both because of its implications for Southern industrialization, and because of its patent plausibility. In one important respect, a relationship is seemingly clear: i.e. the loss by the South of many of its best Negro talent, and the reluctance of many well-educated and highly productive white persons to accept positions in the South.

Another relationship is similar: i.e. the loss of new capital investment, because of the continuing Southern educational crisis. The obscurity of investors motivation would, however, probably make the loss, if there is one, difficult to demonstrate. Comparative data on a time and regional basis would be possible, and would provide an interesting test for an hypothesis which is worth investigating.

More basically, the relationship between segregation on the one hand, and purchasing power and capital investment on the other, ought to be studied, though it would be well in advance of any existing research. Hypotheses such as the following would seem to merit testing:

1. Segregation retards purchasing power
   - by holding Negroes in low-income jobs. Although the jobs may well be economically necessary, the assignment of a whole "caste" of workers to them is uneconomic, in that the jobs could be done by fewer people: thus, a large number of Negroes are prevented from moving upward to higher paying jobs.
   - by diminishing the incentives of many white workers, who derive a satisfaction from simply being in a "white job."
   - by contributing to the general underemployment of Southern labor, and thus helping to attract a disproportionate number of marginal industries.
   - by maintaining a circular effect: purchasing power is the principal attraction for durable consumers goods industries to move South; segregation retards regional purchasing power and thus also these "new type" industries; "new type" industries are the strongest stimulants to purchasing power.
2. Segregation retards capital investment
   - by lowering purchasing power and thus savings.
   - by its drag on Southern savings, which contributes to the dependence of the South on Northern capital, and contributes to the thinning of capital funds nationally.

The relationship suggested by the Supreme Court, in its finding that no segregated school system can be equal throughout, could be studied. It is well known that education improves an individual's earning potential, i.e. enhances his value to society. If a segregated school system cannot provide an equal education for Negroes, can the resulting loss in potential value to society be stated quantitatively?

The above are only several of the topics that could be researched; others will occur to any student of the Southern economy. There are such issues, for example, as the inability of Southern cities, because of segregation, to attract their full share of convention engagements; or the tendency of what is reportedly a growing number of middle-class Negroes, especially those residing outside large cities, to buy personal and household effects through mail order houses instead of from local merchants: or the tendency of middle-class Negroes to go outside the South for medical, dental, and hospital services.

A final note concerns a problem of considerable economic interest, and one which is on the border between the indirect costs proposed for study in this section, and the itemizable costs dealt with in Approach I. It is well known that for some goods and services Negroes pay a higher average price than do whites. Whether this results in an eliminable cost for society probably depends on the circumstances. Negroes, for example, pay generally higher life insurance rates: if actuarial tables were recast on a non-racial basis, the resultant savings to Negroes presumably would be offset by an added expense to white insurors; whatever the gain to morality and justice, there might be none to public purchasing power for other services and commodities. On the other hand, because Negroes, typically, pay

more than do whites for housing, and because this price penalty results from the workings of a segregated market, there would be a clear gain in Negro purchasing power, in the entire measure of the differential, if segregation were ended; what now is pocketed solely by the landlord, landowner or lending institution, would be added to the general pipeline of economic demand.

III.

The most interesting approach to the costs of segregation would adopt a method unlike either of the above, more traditional, inquiries. It would form, instead, a chapter in the emerging science of development economics. Starting from a problem, rather than from observed facts or plausible hypotheses, it would seek to describe the conditions and policies necessary for the equalization of Southern and national ~~economic~~ economic indices; or, alternatively, it might try to describe the prerequisites of a selected annual growth figure for the regional economy.

Recent economic studies of underdeveloped countries have generally concluded that an economic "catch up" is often effect, and not cause, of altered cultural practices and attitudes, or that there is interacting cause and effect. There is, consequently, widespread attention to those non-economic factors which affect economic growth.

This sort of analysis could be applied to the South, and segregation brought into it only where, and if, it were encountered as an important element in the South's ability to reach economic parity with the rest of the country.

This would be an appropriate place to note that although this proposal has dealt specifically with the South, the study could be broadened to a

national one. The development problem could be cast in terms of the effects of segregation - North and South - on the ability of the whole country to sustain some desired rate of increase in gross national product. Several of the questions raised in Approach II are likewise susceptible to a national, as well as merely Southern, analysis.

A GENERAL PROJECT PLAN

A Southern economist of national standing should direct the study. An advisory committee should be established, though greatest care should be taken to insure the project director's freedom to plan the study responsibily and creatively. The committee should include several senior economists, recruited from both Southern and Northern ranks, and representing both academic and business vocations; it should also include a representative of the Southern Regional Council, as the responsible Southern organization concerned with the full development of the region's resources. The committee should be bi-racial. Administration of the project and its finances would be supervised by the grantor.

The results of the study should be presented in two phases. One would be the final report, designed and written by the project director and his associates. The second would be a program of releases throughout the life of the project, which would be issued to bring the findings of the study into public discussion. Various forms of release could be used, including press releases and pamphlets. The project director should not be saddled with this function, though he should of course review any materials before release. A possible procedure would be the submission of preliminary findings by the director to the foundation, and preparation and release of the findings by it, perhaps with the assistance of the Southern Regional Council, which has developed skills in this sort of publishing, and which has proven distributive and communications techniques.

INADEQUACY OF PRESENT RESEARCH

In his highly theoretical book, The Economics of Discrimination (University of Chicago Press, 1957), Gary S. Becker noted that his was the first book-length treatment of the subject. Probably the only other investigation is the article by Donald Dewey, "Negro Employment in Southern Industry," in The Journal of Political Economy, August 1952. Both Becker and Dewey conclude that the economic status of the Negro, relative to that of whites, has hardly improved since 1900, and that the cause for the imbalance is discrimination. Professor Dewey, who teaches at Duke, is currently at work on a pamphlet for the Southern Regional Council, with completion expected in Spring, 1960.

Dewey was also among the group of authors who wrote several case studies for the NPA, published in 1955 under the title Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South. Another of that group was John Hope II (of Fisk University), who has written extensively on employment discrimination. An unpublished study, Post-War Industrial Development in the South, prepared by Hammer and Company for the SRC, is oriented toward the segregation issue.

There are available in many sources a mass of data on the Southern economy, and many sociological, political, and psychological studies of segregation.

William H. Nicholls

Born Lexington, Kentucky, 1914. A.B., University of Kentucky; M.A., Ph.D., Harvard. Has taught at Iowa State College, University of Chicago, and, since 1948, at Vanderbilt. He has been a fellow of the Social Science Research Council, and was editor from 1946-48 of the Journal of Political Economy. He was a staff member of the Council of Economic Advisers 1953-54. President of the Southern Economic Association 1958-59, and President-elect of the American Farm Economics Association. He is understood to be at work on a book dealing with the non-economic factors inhibiting Southern economic growth.

Benjamin Higgins

A Canadian by birth, and formerly on the faculty of McGill University. Has been for several years visiting Professor at M.I.T. In 1959, he moved to the University of Texas as Chairman, Department of Economics. He is the author of Economic Development: Problems, Principles and Policies. In a letter of July 6, 1959 to Southern Regional Council he wrote:

> What I should like to discuss with you is the possibility of setting up a small team at the University of Texas to study segregation in the American South as a parallel to the "dualism" so apparent in underdeveloped countries--in short, to consider the thesis that segregation, like dualism, is both a symptom and a cause of underdevelopment. My own thinking on this subject is outlined in my recent book on economic development called Economic Development: Problems, Principles, and Policies. What I'd like to do, with the help of another economist and perhaps a sociologist and an anthropologist, would be to apply some such analytical framework to the economic development of the South.

(This is neither an outline nor a finished argument. It is rather an attempt, first, to define the major areas from which segregation can be critized, exclusive of the moral issue; and, secondly, to indicate the direction which analysis and criticism in each area might take. These pages represent then a selection of themes expressive of the case against segregation.

(The treatment of each area requires undoubtedly more body. Discussion may reveal that the selection of areas is not the best. The approach taken within each of the nine areas may be proved inadequate.

(The assumption, however, is that there is benefit in bringing areas of southern self-interest under critical, open inquiry. This is assumed to be so even if, in any particular area, a decisive case against segregation cannot be made.

(This is intended, therefore, as a basis for further and intense consideration, and as a possible framework of ideas within which the Rockefeller Brothers program can be usefully planned.)

Segregation in an Industrial Society

1. Continued growth of an industrial economy requires an abundant supply of varied skills in the working force.
2. Sustained industrial growth requires a rising level of purchasing power.
3. Sustained industrial growth requires adequate funds for capital investment.
4. Sustained industrial growth is not likely in a society where law and order are threatened by pers

serious challenge.

5. The competition between an American led West and the Communist bloc makes impermissively costly the waste of human and other economic resources in the United States.

6. Segregation patterns are an important added cost to taxpayers and businessmen.

7. Realism requires recognition that the forces attacking segregation are strong and probably too strong to be resisted. The South can choose the agony of struggle or the opportunity of providing local leadership in re-adjustment. In short, may choose whether again to be "reconstructed," or whether "to reconstruct."

8. Segregation henceforth must be enforced against unwilling Negroes, and no longer can be practiced with their acquiescent cooperation. Does the South genuinely desire a social order based on continuous coercion?

9. Defiance and evasion of the law sets back again the emancipation, at national, state, and local levels, from "nigger politics."

Memo from JAMES A. MOSS

Sept. 28, 1961

I shall take a stab at what I feel is weak in this statement.

(1) Not having read the Hammer memorandum, I confess I'm making some of these statements in the dark.

- I would raise some questions as to the need to execute another "definitive analysis of the South's pre-1940 economy".

Unit I

- I wonder here if the work of Vance, Nichols, Odum, and Becker. If these works are not adequate, what additional questions will serve as the focus for the present research.
  - For example, given the predominant agrarian economy of the pre-1940 South, with consequent low income, education et al levels, and the extensive migrations of Negro manpower, how does one measure the resultant economic, social and psychological costs and what have these costs been?

XII

- I think ~~more specific targets for Unit II~~ questions might well be raised here about the historic role of major corporations in shaping the racial patterns in the South - set the stage for an analysis of their current influence in regional decision-making.

~~Unit II~~

UnitII - I find vagueness in this paragraph also.

- In addition to rural urban migrations spurred on by war industries, weren't there also major interregional migrations of both Whites and Negroes?
  - Isn't this a period also of heightened union activities (John

Memo from **JAMES A. MOSS**

Hope mtls). In fact, absent from these unit descriptions is any reference to the specific institutional forces (Press, Union, ~~Organization~~ Law, etc) that serve as the channels through which ~~both~~ changes were both advanced and retarded.

- I suppose I am hitting these two units hard because the author states that this will serve as background mtls. for the "hard analytical core of the study in units III, IV and V.

- I am sorry but I cannot feel excited about his hypothesis. I think the presence of conflict and change and the movement of the South from a rural to urban base is an acknowledged fact, that can be assumed and not tested.
  - Naturally, I would like to see his hypotheses cast in terms of social change.

    e.g. In its economic role, the South is confronted with three forces claiming the power prerogatives for change: Politics, Industry, law and possibly ~~organized minority group~~ informal pressures from gov't. and minority group protest, ~~that~~ in the next twenty years, political dominance may well yield to industrial influence, ~~shaped and~~ itself shaped and modified by changing laws and changing sentiments within the Negro and White community.

Memo from JAMES A. MOSS

-Some more thoughts with respect to the hypotheses, may well assure that part IV analysis will reflect "meaning and content well beyond ordinary description of eco. trends and characteristics.

- Units V and VI are ~~xxx~~ self-explanatory. I don't have any comments here.

- I think the comment on page 7 illustrate an eerie feeling that I have.

" A study of the attitudes....will constitute an important phase of this analysis".

- If this is to be another study of ~~xxxxxxx~~ economic trends in the South. The statement is appropriate, but if it is to deal with " a study of "use or waste of manpower..., with special reference to the Negro (pg 4) - then there is a marked absence of relevant questions dealing with this minority in the statement.

- a minor question ~~W~~ho are the "other ~~X~~ underemployed groups in the labor force" (pg 4) to be studied.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS IN THE SOUTH

Introduction

For most of the past two decades the U. S. economy has enjoyed a high level of employment and rapid increases in productivity per worker. The South has shared in this long period of prosperity and has shown greater relative increases in average per capita income than most other regions. Today, however, as for many decades in the past, the South remains "The number one problem area of the nation." It is the largest low-income region in the country. It has the most rapid rate of natural population increase of any region of comparable size. Yet, it is woefully short of capital; it relies heavily on non-mechanized agriculture; and its industry, though expanding significantly, is preponderantly of a type that is highly competitive and heavily dependent on low wages.

In addition to these handicaps, the South pays a heavy price for an inherited set of psychological attitudes and cultural values which impose serious handicaps to the full and efficient use of much of its manpower. Many of these attitudes are based in a backwoods type of agrarian romanticism which places a low value on modern commercial industrialism. Closely related, and generally interwoven with the romantic agrarian values, is the widespread belief that a large share of the South's farm population - Negroes and sharecroppers - are naturally poor.

In the period in which we now live, when southern agriculture is becoming increasingly commercial and capital-intensive, when industry is expanding in the South with much of it being financed and managed

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from non-southern sources, when job opportunities are expanding almost wholly in the commercial and industrial sectors of the economy but at rates too slow to provide jobs for people who are losing their places in agriculture, and when many young leaders are challenging traditional habits, laws and customs, the society of the South is in a state of turmoil and flux.

In this period of transition and conflict, it is highly important that the educational institutions of the South engage in objective study and analysis of the southern economy. From properly designed and well executed studies, the prospective course of development of the southern economy can be projected, and the most probable consequences of alternative courses of development can be reasonably well foreseen. With conflicts and tensions between old and new attitudes and values at high tide, the need for sober and objective analysis of development prospects was never greater.

It is in view of this need that the Agricultural Policy Institute of North Carolina State College solicits the financial cooperation of The Twentieth Century Fund in conducting a study of "Economic Development and Manpower Requirements of the South." The proposed study will follow the general outline suggested by Philip Hammer in a memorandum of March 13, 1961, to August Heckscher, Director of The Twentieth Century Fund.

Aims and Objectives

As set forth in Hammer's memorandum, the major aims of the study will be:

1. To get a clear understanding of the basic changes that are taking place in the regional economy of the South and of

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the current capacity of the economy (as expressed in factual employment experience) to utilize its available manpower.

2. To make a realistic projection of the economy's structure and profile in 1970 and 1980 and to estimate its manpower requirements and supplies on those dates.

3. To evaluate the costs of the South's not fully utilizing its available manpower now or in the future and the extent to which future economic development will depend upon such full utilization, with particular reference to utilization of the capacities and potential capacities of the Negro.

The final conclusions of the study will rest largely on predictions of future industrial and manpower characteristics. Primary emphasis will, therefore, be given to understanding the forces that will determine the directions and rate of change in the southern economy. Particular attention will be given to analyzing both the economic and socio-psychological forces which will have an important bearing on manpower requirements in the South.

Methods of Procedure

The study will be carried forward in the following six major units of work:

I. A definitive analysis of the South's pre-1940 economy.

II. An analysis of the unleashing of forces of change in the South's economy by World War II.

III. A careful examination of the dynamic forces in the southern economy that began to take shape in the early transitional years immediately after World War II.

IV. A conceptual description of the structure and profile of the South's present economy following the initial period of transition.

V. A projection of the structure and profile of the South's economy to 1970 and 1980, eventuating in tight estimates of manpower requirements.

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VI. A re-casting of the basic research in terms of the actual and potential use or waste of manpower (past, present and future), with special reference to the Negro and other underemployed members of the labor force.

In Unit I an attempt will be made to distill from the great body of existing literature covering the period between the Civil War and World War II the principal factors which resulted in the southern economy being isolated from the mainstream of national growth and industrial development and led to a set of regional mores which resisted change and fettered the region's economic growth for seven to eight decades. This analysis must be made from the vantage point of recent changes--changes which indicate that the South is now in a period of rapid transition.

Unit II will be concerned with the impact of World War II on the South. This war, with its stimulation of both old and new industries, with its heavy investment in military establishments, with the massive population shifts from farms into urban areas that were associated with the war effort, and with the beginnings of changed attitudes toward industrial development, marked the early phases of a new period in southern economic history. The full implications of the impacts of the war on southern economic development, however, have not been analyzed. Some of these impacts carried the germs of change which only became evident in later years. A careful analysis of World War II impacts should shed important light on the early stages of a transitional phase in regional economic development.

Both Units I and II will provide an important background for the hard analytical core of the study which will be in Units III, IV and V. Units III and IV may be merged into a single analytical job. The main

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task in Unit III should be to discover and describe those forces which characterize the post-World War II years as a genuine transition period, in which the foundation was laid for the development of a modern, industrial society in the South. If these changes can be properly identified and related one to another, they will lead directly to Unit IV--"A conceptual description of the structure and profile of the South's present economy." Here the analysis will need to come to grips with the dynamics of the transition period, and to show clearly how the forces of the past 15 years have led to the economic organization, social relationships, and psychological attitudes of the present. It demands new and creative thinking which will show those forces which, within the past few years, have brought the South to a point where it has most of the material accoutrements of a budding industrial society, but still leaves it with many of the social, political and psychological characteristics of an agricultural society. The first hypothesis to be tested in Unit III is that the South is presently at a stage of conflict between a growing and new type of economic entrepreneurship on the one hand, and a declining, but still strong, pre-industrial, social and political leadership on the other hand. This is the region's "cold war."

If this hypothesis proves to be correct, we will have the conceptual apparatus for Unit IV--the description of the South's present economy. If it is incorrect, we must find a substitute, and the place to work it out is in Unit III. The findings there can then be applied in Unit IV so that the description of the present economy of the South would have a meaning and a content well beyond ordinary description of economic trends and characteristics. Units III and IV, therefore, not only

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tend to flow together, but they become highly important and crucial parts of the total study.

If a valid conceptual approach can be constructed and verified in Units III and IV, the groundwork will have been laid for moving constructively into Unit V--a projection of the South's economy to 1970 and 1980. This task of projecting the future of the southern economy, with particular reference to its manpower requirements, must clearly involve more than the extensions of past trends into the future. If, as now appears to be the case, the South is in an important period of transition, both with respect to its economic organization and its inherited goals, values, and mores, past trends will be poor guides to the future. The projection in Unit V must not only analyze past trends, but it must take accurate account of, and give proper weight to, those dynamic forces of change which have been at work in the southern economy since about the beginning of World War II. Careful attention must also be given to the rate of growth in the national economy. One of the most crucial set of forces operating on southern manpower requirements is the level of employment and rate of growth in the total economy. The task posed in Unit V is, therefore, one which will involve careful statistical analysis of past relations tempered by a deep understanding of the new forces at work in virtually all sectors of southern society.

In Unit VI, where an attempt will be made to pull together the main threads and results of the preceding analysis and apply them directly to the prospective role of labor which is currently underemployed in the southern economy, we must face still another thorny problem of analysis. The prospective demand for Negro manpower and other underemployed labor, which will be derived from the analytical work in Units III, IV and V,

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will have to be confronted with an analysis of the potential supply of this labor. A study of attitudes and opinions with respect to what the Negro thinks and believes his various roles to be will constitute an important phase of this analysis. It will be important to gain an understanding, in as concrete a manner as possible, of the kinds of jobs to which Negroes realistically aspire, the types of employment for which they are being trained, and the future images of employment which their teachers and local leaders have in mind for the younger generation.

Staffing Requirements

The proposed study is obviously a major research undertaking. Active work on the project, except for minor explorations into some of the pertinent literature, would begin at the end of the next fall semester (February, 1962). The aim would be to complete the study and have a manuscript ready for publication 2½ years later, that is, by July, 1964. The director of the study, James G. Maddox, would devote full time to it during the period February, 1962 - July, 1964, except for teaching a course in Economic Development the fall semesters of 1962 and 1963.

It is proposed that work units I and II be carried out by contracting for the services of two outstanding scholars at other institutions. They will be expected to do the analysis and manuscript preparation for these units at their regular places of employment with relatively little guidance from the study director. Every effort will be made to arrange for these units of work to be performed by men who are already working on closely related subject matter.

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The work on Units III, IV and V will all be done at North Carolina State College under the immediate guidance of the study director. The work on Unit VI will be done in part at North Carolina State College, but several of the small surveys involved in this unit will be done at selected points in the South as well as in a few Northern and Eastern cities through contractual arrangements with sociologists and psychologists. For most of the work to be done at State College a special staff of qualified and experienced men, to assist the director of the study, will be recruited. It is expected that one or two mature men of professorial rank at other institutions can be brought to the campus as visiting professors to spend full time for a year or more on this study. The particular men who can be recruited will depend on their availability, but priority will be given to men of the type suggested in Hammer's memorandum of March 13, 1961.

In addition to the time of the director and his immediate staff, it is estimated that four man-years of professional time, three man-years of statistical-clerical time, and three man-years of secretarial time will be utilized on Units III, IV and V. Likewise, it is estimated that one and one-half man-years of professional time, three man-years of statistical-clerical time, and two man-years of secretarial time, in addition to the time of the director and his immediate staff, will be performed at North Carolina State College on Unit VI. In addition, a minimum of 120 man-days of off-campus professional time will be required for the small surveys planned in connection with Unit VI, to which has to be added allowances for subsistence and travel of the interviewers, as well as the consulting services of a psychologist and a statistician in designing proper schedules and drawing a valid sample.

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The estimated budgetary requirements, by calendar periods, are shown on the following page. No provision for publication costs has been made in the budget estimates.

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Special Report
Fayette County, Tenn.
Dwayne Walls

b

Registration
Apr 4, 1968
Apr 3, 1968

70's
Black Pg

THE VOICES AND THE MOOD

"I've always said that someday something like this would happen and then we would see America happen -- we would see leadership come forth and say this is wrong. But it didn't happen here. Whatever goodness was present in the white community was totally paralyzed by latent racism -- by the hoodlum element."

The words are those of Rev. Baxton Bryant, executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

The place is Fayette County, Tennessee in the autumn of 1969. ~~where, contrary to some popular theory, the old Civil Rights Movement and the principles of and tactics of the late Dr. Martin Luther King are still alive and well this autumn of 1969.~~ The events have brought the economy of a town to a standstill, shattered such racial communication as existed and turned the countryside into a place of fear and midnight terror.

"He ~~called~~ cussed me ~~a white muldefucker~~," the deputy said, "and anytime ~~anybody calls~~ anybody cusses me ~~a white muldefucker~~ I'm gonna find out who it is."

That is the Voice of Law and Order as it prevailed

in Fayette County a few weeks ago. Specifically it is the voice of a Special Deputy ~~Bob Collier~~ as he explained in court why he could positively identify a young Negro charged with throwing a rock at a police car.

"I have prayed and agonized over this thing trying to decide what is the right thing -- the Christian thing -- to do. I just don't know. Sometimes it is awfully hard to know what is the right thing, what God would have us do."

That is one voice of the white church in Fayette County, beginning a halting and obviously painful explanation of why the organized [redacted] white churches of the county have done almost nothing to ease a ~~tense, potentially dangerous~~ the racial conflict that has gripped the county since mid-August.

"Come up here and get your damned hoodlums." That is the voice of the county school superintendent demanding in an angry telephone conversation that the black principal of the Negro high school forthwith ~~get his~~ remove 200 or so of his pupils ~~off~~ from the grounds of the white high school, where they had staged a demonstration.

Fayette County, an hour's drive east of the Memphis

motel where Martin Luther King was murdered, is the freshest evidence available that the Negro's fight for equality is far from ended in rural America, that ~~the King tactic of direct action in non-violent confrontation will continue playing an important role in that fight.~~ many still place abiding faith in non-violent confrontation with oppression.

Remarkably, the Fayette County conflict has remained non-violent despite an almost total intransigence of the white community and the fact that the preservation of law and order has been entrusted partly to a citizen posse of untrained "special deputies" mobilized in mid-August by Fayette County Sheriff James Bowling.

~~To say that it is non-violent is not to say that violence has not occurred. It has.~~ To speak of In the first four weeks of conflict about 150 to 160 persons were arrested. Some of them received slight injuries from club-wielding deputies and police. Others claim to have been roughed up by deputies after their arrest. One young demonstrator was treated for a slight head wound ~~supposedly~~ which he claimed was received when a deputy sheriff shot him. He identified the deputy by name and said he saw the man unholster his pistol and shoot. But Sheriff Bowling insists

that not one shot was fired by any law enforcement officer throughout the first four weeks ~~until~~ when a tentative peace settled over the county.

The surface calm was imposed by Federal Judge Bailey Brown of Memphis ~~who~~ who extended, withdrew partially and then re-extended federal protection to the demonstrators.

~~Although the situation is~~ ~~it is not nearly~~ ~~resolved.~~ Today The little county-seat town of Somerville is under siege economically -- or, as one local attorney put it, it is a town that has been treed -- by a black boycott so effective that ~~at least one~~ three local stores ~~has~~ have gone out of business. Organized demonstrations in protest of long simmering grievances are being conducted regularly.

The incident which precipitated the present conflict began as no more than a trifling chance encounter.

~~Unless the white community shows a great deal more willingness to come to terms than it has so far, both the boycott and the demonstrations likely will continue at least until late November, when a grand jury and the circuit court will be asked to resolve the incident that touched off the current conflict.~~

~~Because it has received very little mention in either the local newspaper or the Memphis papers, that incident bears recounting in some detail.~~

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THE HOBSON FARM INCIDENT

The incident which precipitated the present conflict began as a trifling chance encounter. Returning home from a shopping trip into ~~the xixixix county~~ Somerville about noon on August 12, Miss Vester Hobson veered her car slightly around a truck parked on the side of one of the town's narrow streets and nearly collided with an oncoming car driven by ~~Gerald Pulliam, 17~~, the 17 year old son of a local grocer.

Miss Hobson, 25, is a teacher at Fayette County High School, and she recognized ~~Pulliam~~ the youth as the driver of the oncoming car. She judged that ~~Pulliam~~ he was driving too fast.

As ~~Pulliam's~~ his car passed her ~~car~~ Miss Hobson called out the open window: "Boy, watch where you're driving."

Even in Fayette County the matter might have ended there ~~exp~~ except for several ~~things~~ factors. ~~Gerald Pulliam is~~ The youth is white and the son of a man known locally for his short temper, especially when he is dealing with Negroes. Miss Hobson is a Negro. Her sister is an employe of the local Farmers Home Administration office, and there had been friction previously between Miss Vernell Hobson and ~~Mrs. Julian Pulliam, another~~ the youth's mother a former employe in the FHA office.

Miss Hobson, her sister Vernell, her mother Mrs. Raymond Hobson, and her nephew Michael had, in fact, forgotten

the incident by the time they arrived at the Hobson farm about 3½ miles northeast of Somerville.

~~Pulliam very definitely had not forgotten~~ it. Miss Hobson had started up the steps to unlock the back door of the Hobson home when she saw ~~the Pulliam~~ a pick-up truck turn into the yard and skid to a halt next to the Hobson car.

~~Pulliam and~~ The youth and his father, ~~Julian Pulliam~~, jumped out of the truck and demanded of the other members of the Hobson family, who were just getting out of their car, "who was that driving that car?"

"What difference does it make?" Vernell Hobson replied.

"I was driving," Vester Hobson said, coming toward the car.

"What was that damn smart remark you made?" ~~Gerald Pulliam asked her~~ the son asked.

Instead of answering, Vester Hobson asked a question of her own: "Do you realize you're on private property?"

"Why, hell yes," ~~young Pulliam~~ the younger man said. And with that he grabbed Miss Hobson by the neck with his left hand and started hitting her on the side of the head with his right hand. Miss

Hobson estimated later that he hit her five or six times.

When Vernell Hobson intervened ~~to try to pull Pulliam~~ him ~~away from Vester Hobson~~ the ~~elder Pulliam~~ father joined the fray with a similar attack on Vernell.

The girls' 62 year old mother watched horrified for a moment and then asked ~~of Pulliam:~~ "Mr. ~~Julian~~, why are you beating these girls? What have they done?"

Receiving no answer, she tried to pull the elder assailant ~~Pulliam~~ away from Vernell. ~~Pulliam~~ He then turned on her with several blows with his fist and finally a blow on the head with a blackjack he had pulled from his hip pocket.

Mrs. Hobson fell to the ground bleeding and called to Vernell to run into the house and try to get a gun, but ~~Julian~~ the young man ~~Pulliam~~ knocked her ~~off~~ from the steps.

The fight ended at this point, ~~at~~ as Mrs. Hobson's daughter-in-law ~~Jennie Ray Hobson~~ arrived from her home across the road.

As the father and son backed toward their truck Mrs. Raymond Hobson pulled herself off the ground and told ~~Pulliam~~ them: "~~Mr. Julian~~, You won't get away with this. We're gonna call the

sheriff right now."

"You damn right," ~~Pulliam~~ he said. "That's just what I'm gonna do -- have you all arrested."

(This reconstruction of the incident and the conversation was provided by Miss Vester Hobson and corroborated by Mrs. Jennie Ray Hobson, who witnessed the entire scene at the Hobson home from her home across the road. ~~Julian Pulliam~~ The white man, whose business ~~ix~~ caters almost totally to Negro customers, declined to discuss the events of that day. "But I will tell you it was a made-up thing," he said. "Not one-tenth of it was true." He denied that he used a blackjack. He blames the Hobsons for starting the trouble. The whole thing started, he said, because "it was just time for somebody to do a little clowning.")

The Hobsons' call to the sheriff's office somehow was routed to the fire department, which sent out a truck with several men on board plus two carloads of volunteers. A deputy sheriff arrived at the Hobson home only because a deputy routinely accompanies the firemen to any fire outside the city limits of Somerville.

The firemen and the volunteers left as soon as they

learned there had been no fire. The deputy remained long enough to ~~get~~ hear a rough outline of what had happened and then advised the Hobsons they could come to the courthouse and swear out a warrant, ~~for the Pulliams~~.

The Hobsons first drove to Memphis, about 45 miles west, for treatment of their injuries, postponing their legal action ~~against the Pulliams~~ until the following day. The elder Mrs. Hobson had a cut on the head which required several stitches. The daughters suffered ~~only~~ bruises of the arms, neck and chest.

At 9 a.m. Wednesday, Aug. 13, the Hobsons went to the sheriff's office and signed warrants listing several charges against the ~~Pulliams~~ men who had attacked them. Sheriff Bowling then read to them warrants signed by ~~Julian Pulliam~~ the whites the previous day charging the Hobsons with disorderly conduct. The sheriff suggested a hearing at 1 p.m. that day but the Hobsons declined ~~because of~~ due to lack of legal counsel. The hearing was scheduled for Friday, Aug. 15, and the ~~Pulliams~~ whites were cited to appear. They were not arrested and they were not required to post bond, points which later caused resentment within the local black community.

The ~~Pulliams~~ father and son were arraigned in different courts.

The youth ~~Gerald Pulliam~~ was tried by ~~Jux~~ Juvenile Court Judge T. V. Luck and found guilty of assault and battery, disorderly conduct and trespassing. He was sentenced to an indefinite probation and put under the supervision of his parents.

General Sessions Judge Paul R. Summers heard the charges against (the father) ~~Julian Pulliam~~ and bound him over to the county grand jury on the same charges as those against his son plus assault with intent to commit murder. He was released and posted a $1,000 bond for an appearance before the grand jury on November 24. If the grand jury indicts him he will stand trial in circuit court.

The status of the warrants against the Hobsons is still unclear. ~~Clerk of~~ Clerk Court Thomas German said the Hobsons also were bound over to the grand jury, although the Hobsons have not been informed of this. They do recall that the sheriff read out three additional warrants to them at the Friday hearing, all of them signed by the elder white ~~Julian Pulliam~~. Vester Hobson was charged additionally with reckless driving and Vernell Hobson and her mother were charged with striking a minor.

To some people within the black community of Fayette County the beating of the Hobson women came as the ultimate

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outrage in a long history of indignity, insult and repression suffered at the hands of white.

Negroes in Fayette County are among the poorest in the nation.* Historically they have enjoyed about as little individual freedom as anyone in the nation. Less than 10 years ago sharecroppers and tenant farmers were forced off their land for attempting to register to vote. White businessmen refused to trade with them. White physicians (it is recalled by some) would not treat them.

The Civil Rights Movement, federal legislation and 10 years of constant effort on the part of the local Negro leaders have wrought the old order into an almost passable accommodation to the latter half of the 20th century. Still, the county's 17,000 or so Negro citizens -- about 69 per cent of the entire population -- have little status as first-class citizens.

Almost all of their gains of the civil rights movement have come ~~mostly~~ in school desegregation, and this ~~have come~~ within the past three years, ~~-- three years in which~~ as the white community gave ground grudgingly and with increasing withdrawal from communication or social intercourse with the black population.

The result was that racial tension in the county

* Median family income in the county is $1,363 according to ~~the~~ most recent Department of Commerce statistics. It is the third poorest county in the United States.

already was tight when the incident happened at the Hobson farm. Local civil rights leaders had been planning throughout the summer to intensify their activities with the opening of the new school term. Mass meetings had been held, discussions with attorneys had been going on regularly and grievances were being enumerated.

A report of the Hobson farm incident did not appear in print until Saturday, when one of the Memphis papers carried a brief story of the hearing. ~~for Pulliam~~. The Fayette Falcon, the local weekly newspaper, did not run the story until its edition of August 21, the following Thursday. Although the Falcon later proved to have talons considerably blunted in tackling the local racial scene (the word Negro is not capitalized in the Falcon, for example), it likely can not be blamed for not printing the story in its edition of August 14. The paper carries a Thursday date each week, but it is published on Wednesday. The incident happened Tuesday afternoon, and legal action did not fall within the public purview until Wednesday morning. Thus, it is conceivable the paper simply did not know about it.

Nevertheless, the news spread rapidly throughout the Negro community and a large number of black citizens -- variously

estimated at 600 to 1,300 -- attended a mass meeting Thursday night to hear details of the incident and to consider a course of action.

What they ~~arrived at~~ decided upon was an economic boycott of the town of Somerville, to be conducted with picketing and periodic demonstrations. The picketing began the next day, after the court hearing ~~for Publism, and~~ the elder white charged in connection with the beating. The following Tuesday, Aug. 19, another meeting was held to organize the black community for a sustained campaign.

DEMONSTRATIONS AND SPECIAL DEPUTIES

It is extremely difficult to compile an exact, impartial account of events in the county during the succeeding three weeks -- first because news coverage of the situation was spotty, at best, and second because the white community had withdrawn so completely unto itself that almost no one was willing to discuss the situation with an "outside" reporter.

The local newspaper editor simply did not have time, he said, and pointedly recommended officials at the courthouse.

In ~~the initial~~ an initial meeting the sheriff also did not have time to talk that day. How about the next day, then? Well, the sheriff allowed, he had planned to do some dove hunting the next day and he did not think he would have time then, either.

Judge Summers of the General Sessions Court graciously consented to discuss the situation at length as soon as he could find the time, but in four days there never was time enough.

Down the line of authority a regular deputy sheriff's verbatim comment was: "I ain't telling you a goddamn thing. If you want to know anything ask the sheriff -- if he'll talk to you, and I doubt that."

The attitude of the special deputies might be characterized by the comment of one who was given to menacing glower as he leaned close to look over the shoulder as a reporter took notes: "Boy, you people (the press) really got the sheriff riled up. He's madder'n hell, ~~and if y'all don't watch out we goan have to tear up some asses around here.~~" You all watch out."

In a second meeting the sheriff walked off from the interview abruptly when he was told (erroneously) by one of his deputies that the reporter had been seen talking earlier with Rev. Baxton Bryant.

"I can sum up how this whole thing happened in one short sentence," the sheriff said before ending the interview. "It was Baxton Bryant and Jim Mock starting trouble."

Baxton Bryant, Executive Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, is a ~~stout hearty~~ amiable ~~man~~ (of vast energy) and a veteran of many civil rights confrontations including the garbage strike in Memphis last year. He had been active also in Fayette and neighboring Haywood (counties) ~~counties~~ for some time prior to the Hobson incident. (He is a tough organizer and an astute negotiator.) Those who know him best say (and) that he he does not commit himself rashly or judge events on the basis of surface appearances. He has the confidence of the black community of Fayette county and his presence on the scene no doubt (has) strengthened the resolve of local black citizens. Being white he has also increasingly been the target of local white resentment, ~~which has come~~ But to blame him-- ~~or credit him as the case might be~~-- for the situation in Fayette county (seems) ~~is~~ fatuous. He was in Somerville in response to appeals from local citizenry and in taking a leadership role in the demonstrations, he (was) ~~simply proceeded to~~ doing his job as he saw it. His organization, composed of many prominent Tennesseans, black and white, issued a statement endorsing his actions after he was twice arrested.)

(James Mock is a black student at Memphis State University who was invited into the community by black citizens to help train, organize and direct the ~~direction~~ direct action part of their campaign.)

But ~~What this kind of attitude tended to produce was the very element of one-sided reporting the white community was so angry about from the beginning.~~

~~The problem was complicated further because Negroes in Fayette County have been fractionated into at least two and possibly three ideological groups during the decade of civil rights activity.~~ Although Negroes are not 100% unified behind it, one organization ~~One group~~ tends to speak for the entire black community because it is the group most readily available to the press and most willing to discuss the situation openly.

That group is the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, Inc. John R. McFerren, a local grocer, is president, ~~of the League. McFerren's wife~~ His wife, Mrs. Viola McFerren, is perhaps somewhat more active in League work than her husband. She is a woman of some national reputation in civil rights and she is a member of the national representative advisory committee of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. Locally she is chairman of

the League's steering committee, the 15-member group which directs strategy for the boycott activities.

The original League was founded in 1959 and launched the first significant civil rights work in the county -- a voter registration drive that increased black registration from fewer than 50 persons to several thousand. The League's success brought retaliation from the white community through eviction from the land of tenants and sharecroppers and a trade ban against Negro citizens. Such action seemed only to make the League stronger. The once-famous "Tent City" of dispossessed black farmers erected in late 1960 was built and operated under League auspices. Since that time the League has been the dominant force in periodic civil rights activities.

This account of events in August and early September relies rather heavily on interviews with Mrs. McFerren and League members, plus Rev. Bryant and notes Bryant made for subsequent publication by his organization.

The League's steering committee met on August 18 and, at the same time, a group of younger men who had been involved in picketing

set itself to the details of direct action. At the invitation of Mrs. McFerren, a member of his organization, Rev. Bryant had arrived in Somerville that day and met with the younger men that night while the steering committee was in session. The youngsters were concerned about their lack of knowledge in and training in the tactics of non-violence and, at their suggestion, Bryant agreed to contact Mock in Memphis.

Mock agreed to train and direct the group and arrived the following day for the second mass meeting. He later was to bring with him a small group of friends who call themselves "The Memphis Mobilizers" -- about a dozen young men who already had decided to resign their staff positions with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to work as an independent team in direct action planning and consulting. The group, however, did not develop any substantial following among local Negroes and after its initial visit, did not return.

By the end of that week picketing had been organized into a routine, and the pickets -- mostly high school students carrying signs -- tramped the little business square around the courthouse without incident. Generally they were protesting white attitudes, which were regarded as having been uniformly illustrated by the Hobson Farm incident.

They began having trouble on Saturday, Aug. 23, after Sheriff Bowling's call-up of his special deputy force. The special

deputies are ordinary citizens, mostly farmers, who have no training in law enforcement techniques and principles and whose role in the past apparently had been more honorary than anything else. They had been used at least once before to direct traffic during a Christmas parade. Upon call-up for duty during the boycott they were issued military-type helmet liners and billy sticks and, in some cases, khaki shirts with an identifying shoulder patch. They brought with them their own assortment of guns, with the result that ~~men like~~ they Bob Collier, ~~for example~~, gave the town the appearance of a movie set during the filming of a ~~John Wayne~~ ~~fx~~ cowboy ~~pictures~~ saga. Some of them wore western style hats instead of helmet liners. ~~Collier, himself~~ One, wore cowboy boots and a long, western-style pistol holstered low on his hip. ~~If they tended to look like extras in a~~ John Wayne movie it is because ~~if~~ some of them actually seemed to ~~be projecting themselves as extra cowhands on posse duty and sometimes as Wayne himself leading the posse.~~

Rev. Bryant and several other observers claim to have counted about 50 such deputies on duty at various times during the worst of the confrontations. On Aug. last 26 the Memphis Commercial

Appeal carried a story by the Associated Press quoting Sheriff Bowling to the effect that "in excess" of 50 men had been called to duty. But the sheriff estimated later that "not more than 12" special deputies had ever been on duty at any given time.

Whatever the true number, it did include several Negro special deputies at first. But they served only one day and quit -- very likely, as it was reported to the sheriff, because of pressure from their fellow Negro citizens.

The lack of training among the special deputies was evident their first day of duty. Although no arrests were made that Saturday, numerous pickets complained of harrassment by the special deputies. Pickets were informed they were in violation of a 1963 town ordinance, and the picket signs were confiscated.

According to Bryant, the pickets surrendered their signs peacefully but in each case with a reminder to the deputies that constitutional rights were being violated. Bryant reported the following reply by one special deputy: "Constitution, constitution, constitution. I'm sick and tired of hearing ~~xxxx~~ constitutional rights from you kids. I'm going to take your

damn constitution and beat the hell out of you."

The first arrests came Sunday, Aug. 24 at the end of a three-mile march from the League-owned community center south of town into the courthouse square. The League had obtained a town permit for the march and expected no trouble. When the 250 marchers arrived at the courthouse, however, they and others who had joined them at the square were halted by the sheriff and told they could not rally on the courthouse lawn. At the direction of the county attorney, he said, anyone stepping from the street onto the lawn would be arrested. After a quick conference on the spot the march leaders decided to test the county's order. Another conference with the sheriff produced an agreement whereby anyone choosing to step onto the lawn for arrest could do so peacefully provided they do it one at a time and that they pass between the sheriff and Rev. Bryant.

By Bryant's count, 86 adults and 55 juveniles were thus arrested while other demonstrators sat around the lawn and listening to speeches. (Newspaper accounts later put the number of persons arrested at 63 and again at 100, without distinguishing between juveniles and adults. The

sheriff later estimated around 70, although he did not have the exact figure handy.)

All but six of the persons arrested were charged with trespassing and disorderly conduct and released on their own recognizance for a court appearance the next day. The six, all from out of town, spent the night in jail. The county had set a bond of $350 each and required that it be in cash.

The six persons besides Bryant were Miss Joanne Cooke, a writer for a religious publication in Nashville (Motive magazine); Dr. Bill Griffen, a professor at Cortland State College in New York; and three of his students, Carol Morganstein, Charles Wilson and Bob Tiletz. In addition, two other persons charged and released Sunday afternoon later were arrested and jailed until the hearing Monday. Cash Williams was arrested at his home about 11 p.m., and Terry Saine of the nearby community of Moscow turned himself in for arrest early Monday morning when he heard that the sheriff was looking for him.

proper names correct? Try pp16-17

Five of the eight were bound over to the grand jury, along with all others arrested, and released on bond after hearings Monday and Tuesday. But charges against Bryant, Williams and Saine

were upgraded to the felony charge of inciting to riot, and bond was set at $2,500 each. Williams and Saine were bonded out Monday. Bryant ~~waited~~ on ~~until~~ Tuesday, ~~because the professional bondsman had not brought enough money with him from Memphis~~.

Meantime 13 other persons had been arrested Monday for picketing in violation of the town ordinance. Adults were fined $50 and costs. Juveniles were given the same penalty as all other juveniles arrested, 60 days probation.

The picketing and the arrests ended for a while Monday when Judge Summers signed a temporary restraining order enjoining all persons connected with the movement from picketing local business ~~xx~~ stores. The petititon for the injuction was submitted by a group of 19 local merchants.

The boycott continued, however, and picked up additional strength. Another rally, this time with Sheriff Bowling's consent, was held Saturday, Aug. (1st) 30, without incident. Joined by a caravan of supporters from Memphis under the leadership of Jesse Epps of the American ~~Xxxx~~ Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes there, several hundred persons ~~sand and~~ ~~lixxxxx~~ listened to a battery of speeches on the lawn of the ~~xxx~~ courthouse.

But the following weekend the official attitude toward demonstrations (s) had changed again when the League marched into town for another Saturday rally. The demonstrators were met at the courthouse by Sheriff Bowling and refused permission for the rally. After three unsuccessful attempts to reach the lawn, the group began a sit-down in the streets. It was broken up when demonstrators were hosed down with water from firehoses, and ~~ex~~ 18 persons were arrested. (Among those hosed was a representative of the state human relations commission, who was on the scene as an o ~~for the governor's a~~ observer.)

~~During the march into town Rev. Bryant, who had joined the youngsters at the head of the line, was approached by two white men. One of them, who held a small knife in his hand at his side, grabbed Bryant by the arm and told him, "We want to talk to you."~~

After the hosing Dexton Bryant joined a group of students on the courthouse lawn and was ordered to leave by special deputies. Bryant noted that the sheriff was in charge there. The sheriff overheard his remark and also ordered him to leave. He did so, but was later arrested, ~~and~~ jailed, and held (in isolation) without bond for nearly 24 hours before his attorneys were able to get bond set again at $2,500. The charge against him was violating the local injunction. After his release he was talking with a group of pickets downtown when two white men approached him. One held a small knife at his side. They took him by the arm and said, "We want to talk to you." Four of the Negro students moved up to separate Bryant from the men and the men stepped aside.

~~Four of the black students moved up to separate Bryant from the two men and the men stepped aside. Bryant later was arrested and again required to post a $2,500 bond.~~

Mrs. Virgie Hortenstine of Cincinnati, Ohio, coordinator of the ~~Fayetteville~~ Fayette-Haywood Workcamps, took a picture of one of the two men. He grabbed her camera and broke it, injuring Mrs. Hortenstine's thumb. ~~[illegible]~~

One possible reason for the sheriff's switch again

to a ~~hardline~~ hardline attitude was concern among whites that ~~continued~~ continued demonstrations might carry over into the schools, which were scheduled to open the following Monday, Sept. 8. During ~~the~~ school registration on Sept. 4 about 14 Negro parents and their children had staged a sit-in at Somerville Elementary School in an effort to register there. Enough white parents had decided privately to keep their children out of school on opening day that white attendance was estimated at something ~~[illegible]~~ ~~per~~ like 20 per cent of expected attendance.

League members also were looking toward the opening of school, but the firehoses were something that had to be dealt with immediately. They turned to federal court in Memphis ~~and~~ for relief and got it from Federal Judge Bailey Brown.

THE FEDERAL COURT ACTS

At 8:30 p.m. that Sunday, Sept. 7, Judge Brown signed a temporary restraining order guaranteeing the black community of Fayette County the right to peacefully picket and assemble at will on any streets, sidewalks or public places, subject only to normal regulation of traffic and access to premises.

Pickets were to be allowed in any number and with signs, as long as free access to business establishments was

permitted.

Further, the order voided the previous restraining order issued against the demonstrators by Judge Summers in the local court and barred local officials from proceeding with prosecution in any manner of those previously arrested for violation of the restraining order or local or state laws. It ordered the immediate release of any demonstrators still in jail at the time.

Judge Brown's order was in effect less than 24 hours when it, too, fell to the seemingly capricious on-again-off-again indecision of law enforcement that had been displayed for nearly a month.

At mid-morning the day after Judge Brown's order was signed several hundred black students at W. P. Ware High School left their desks by pre-arrangement, assembled outside the school grounds and marched into town. From the courthouse, about 200 of the 700 assembled then turned and marched back the same street and into the halls of the predominantly white high school.

Their purpose in going to the white high school was to dramatize the point that they had been assigned to

Freedom Democratic Party

an all-Negro school with right of transfer only if they sought re-registration at the predominantly white high school. Ostensibly they marched to the school to register for classes there. ~~Later reports that the students~~

According to the local newspaper account, Sheriff Bowling then called Judge Brown in Memphis for instructions and was told to "get them out of the school and off the grounds." This the sheriff's force and local police proceeded to do, using billy sticks and getting rocks and verbal epithets in return.

Several students received lumps and bruises when deputies and police were clearing them from the grounds of the white high school.

One of the demonstrators, 25-year-old Velma Coach, later was admitted for treatment of a slight head wound at a Memphis hospital. Coach was sitting in a car with James Mock and two other men when he was injured. Coach said he saw a deputy just outside the car draw his pistol and fire into the car. "He was looking at Jim Mock when he fired," Coach said. "I think he was aiming at Jim and hit me instead," He said also

that the deputy fired a second shot but that another deputy hit the man's arm, knocking it upward so that the shot went wild. Sheriff Bowling was asked about the reported shooting and repeated his previous insistence that his men had not fired a single shot throughout the month-long conflict. Apparently Coach was the only person either in the car or near it who can say definitely that a shot was fired, although others said they heard a noise that sounded like a shot.

No arrests were made at the school, but the deputies singled out about half a dozen demonstrators for arrest later in the afternoon and into the evening. Five youngsters were arrested. One juvenile was given 60 days probation for obstructing traffic, and another got four months probation for using profanity. One adult was bound over to the grand jury under $250 bond for obstructing traffic, and another charged with disorderly conduct was bound over on ~~$2x~~ $350 bond because he "took the Lord's name in vain.

The fifth defendant, ~~Brew Hilliard~~, was charged with throwing a rock at a police car, a felony under the specific state law cited in the warrant, and was bound over on a bond of $1,000.

If it had been angry before, the white community was positively outraged by the mass march into the predominantly white high school. School Supt. John E. Bagwell was so incensed when he learned of it that he placed a telephone call to the principal of ~~the~~ Ware High and told him: "Come up here and get your damned hoodlums." (Interestingly, however the principle later testified in federal court that the students were waiting quietly to register.)

Thus, while law enforcement people were rounding up demonstrators, attorneys for the city and the county were on their way to Memphis to petition Judge Brown to impose some restraint on the demonstrators.

Judge Brown complied by amending his previous restraining order. By consent of the attorneys for both sides the judge stipulated that peaceful assembly should be limited to once a week; that the demonstrators would have to give three days advance notice before each march or ~~parade~~ rally; that each march would be subject to reasonable regulations as to routes and time; that they should be limited to not more than 200 persons; that marchers would be allowed to carry signs and posters, but that they must march no more than eight abreast.

He further stipulated that no assembly could be held on public property, streets, sidewalks or thoroughfares except for a reasonable time each Sunday on the north side of the courthouse property.

Picketing was allowed to continue. But pickets henceforth would be limited to not more than 40 persons at any one time -- 10 on each side of the square. Pickets would have to wear an identifying armband, walk single file and remain at least 12 feet apart.

The League and its supporters were appalled by the judge's amended order and angry with their attorneys for consenting to it. They were especially concerned about the 200-person limitation on peaceful assembly, and began planning immediately to test the amended order by deliberately violating it the following Saturday. While limiting their own demonstrating force to exactly 200 they would be joined in Somerville by ~~xxx~~ several hundred other demonstrators from Epps' group in Memphis and possibly elsewhere.

As it turned out there was no need to test the order. After numerous conferences and telephone conversations throughout

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had put restrictions on without hearings

Saying the that judge yielded to public pressure?

the week Judge Brown was convinced to change positions. The arrival of two representatives of the Justice Department no doubt helped the decision along. On Friday, Sept. 12, ~~he~~ Judge Brown consented to an unlimited number of marchers, liberalized the rule on advance notice of marches and requested Governor Buford Ellington to send in state police to provide protection for the marchers.

NEGOTIATIONS WHEN?

It was at that point that both sides, but especially whites, began to see more clearly the need for negotiation.

What they were saying

Peace overtures had been exchanged several times since the week following the incident at the Hobson farm, but they had been half-hearted passes without any real conviction or desire. Blacks were unwilling to negotiate too quickly for fear of surrendering their momentum at too cheap a price. Whites were not really interested for reasons that go back as far as ante-bellum slavery.

Fayette County, lying hard by the Mississippi state line, is one of the oldest counties in west Tennessee and its white citizens are among the proudest and perhaps the most insular citizens of the region.

In some ways they are Tennesseans in name only. As

one visiting writer said of the county several years ago, "the state line that separates the county's southern edge from Mississippi is geographical only." From a sampling of the white leadership in Somerville there comes an irrepressible conviction that their feet might be in Tennessee but spiritually and sociologically their hearts are in Mississippi.

A speech by former ~~Gxxxz Rxxsxxx~~ Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett six weeks before the incident at the Hobson farm was one of the big social events of the summer season at the Fayette County Saddle Club. The speech and public rally was sponsored by the local Citizens Council, the same group that called another mass rally Sept. 9 that backed up traffic for nearly a mile on U.S. 64 west of town.

Somerville is a town where the Protestant Ethic rules the social conscience. The majority of its white people are not ~~bad~~ evil people ~~by a long shot~~. Its sheriff is not a Bull Connor or a Jim Clark. The distinguished looking lawyer reputed to be the political boss of the county is only a pale copy, at best, of a Leander Perez or a George Wallace. ~~He has neither the cold iron hand of a Perez nor the crass red neck of a Wallace.~~ When

the local ~~bar~~ newspaper continues to print the word Negro without ~~capitalizing~~ capitalizing it the reason probably is no more sinister than simply because that is the way the word has been printed throughout the paper's century-old life.

Fayette County has, in fact, produced ~~a~~ ~~state~~ an incumbent state senator whose record and philosophy on casual examination indicate a level of competence and concern not often found in state legislatures, north or south.

But Fayette County also is one of the few surviving fiefdoms of the old Cotton Kingdom, which produced a way of life that defies and survives the mere mortality of man. Somerville is a town whose residents could still happily proclaim to a visiting reporter in 1952 that there probably wasn't another town in that part of the state in which life went on so nearly as it did in the good old days of half a century ago.

Somerville is less than an hour's drive from Memphis. Yet it did not get its first non-agricultural industry until 1951 and, until a few weeks ago at least, life still went on to a surprising degree as it must have in the good old days.

And it does seem to be evident, as Rev. Bryant said

of it, that Somerville is a town paralyzed by latent racism. When Bryant first visited the community after the Hobson incident, he called on the sheriff, the mayor and two local ministers asking for some public expression of sympathy and assurance that the white community did not condone the sort of thing that happened on the Hobson farm. He asked the ministers to visit the Hobsons to give privately the same sort of sympathy or concern. He was refused in all requests.

Five weeks after the incident ~~happened~~ the Hobson farm had been visited exactly twice by white persons expressing sympathy. One of those persons asked, as an afterthought, that his visit not be mentioned publicly because he would not want his white friends to know that he had called.

On the other hand there is the report ~~a story, which might be apocryphal~~, that the white grocer involved in the Hobson incident ~~Julian Pulliam~~ approached a group of white men several days after picketing began and remarked lightly that the town appeared to be having some sort of trouble. The men reportedly turned their backs on him and walked away without answering.

Whatever its thoughts toward the men ~~Pulliam~~ now or then,

whatever it feels toward Negroes, the white community unquestionably is sorely, genuinely aggrieved. It does not yet accept the social revolution sweeping around it because it does not yet comprehend that revolution, nor does it really see the need for it. Many ~~The white man in~~ Somerville whites ~~is~~ are dumbfounded when ~~he is~~ told that they are ~~he is~~ the object of a non-violent movement. Non-violence, to their ~~his~~ way of thinking, is the kind practiced by the special deputies, not the demonstrators.

As one genteel, reserved woman of many harvests put it: "These officers (the special deputies) have been superb in the performance of their duties. They have stood and taken things that a month ago they wouldn't have thought about taking."

In its grief and bewildered anger the white community turned into itself. But in so doing, at least some of its citizens got an honest look at themselves.

One man, a layman who thought he had a finely developed social conscience, ended an interview with a confession.

He pressed his thumb and forefinger against the

upper bridge of his nose as if to relieve a mental strain and said in a quiet voice of near resignation: "Hate is in me. I see it and I feel it. I believe now the philosophies that Christ brought exist in individuals and not in groups."

He paused for a moment and then added, "six weeks ago I wouldn't have said ~~xxxxx~~ that."

But then six weeks ago, he said, he was accustomed to dealing with black men of humility -- a degree of pride, yes. But not an arrogant pride. Those people on the streets were not only proud. They were to his way of thinking arrogant.

In a relatively short life time he had ~~overcome~~ begun to question the ingrained social philosophy of a plantation upbringing, but events had moved faster than he and — like so many other good-intentioned whites in similiar situations across the South, he remains on the periphery, uncertain of his society's principles, but unable yet to break his ties to them ~~good works in behalf of his fellow man -- black and white -- can be documented. But then he discovered that the grain may be deeper than he had thought.~~

Sheriff Bowling is an insurance man elected three years ago with solid support from the Negro community. His ~~opposition~~ opponent in the sheriff's race later joined the Tennessee Bureau of Investigation and during August was the source of most of the information reaching Governor Ellington out of Fayette County -- a point of dissatisfaction among local

Negroes.

Although Bowling has been in office three years he actually has functioned only about one year. Soon after he was elected he was thrown by a horse and spent the next two years in medical treatment for a severe leg injury. He still walks with a slight limp despite a built-up shoeheel on his shortened right leg.

It was the sheriff who made the first overture for negotiation. He called John McFerren on Aug. 18 and asked McFerren to come to the sheriff's office. When McFerren declined because of the press of business at the store, the sheriff drove to the store and talked with McFerren and with Mrs. McFerren. That night he attended the meeting of the League's steering committee and delivered what later was described as a remarkable speech, although it did not include any specific proposal toward negotiation.

The surprising thing about the sheriff's speech was his comment about his special deputies. The black attitude toward these deputies is characterized by Mrs. McFerren's opinion: "They are a bunch of redneck hoodlums with no experience and no thought

of human decency toward black people. They are trigger happy and they believe they can beat Negroes down to where we were 100 years ago." Thus, the sheriff was questioned at length about his deputy force and his decision to mobilize them.

Some of the sheriff's comments were reported by Rev. Bryant, who attended the meeting: "This may surprise you, but I'm going to agree with most of what you've said about my deputies. It's a lack of funds to hire a man with the intelligence and calibre to know how to handle these things. Even down in Memphis, you look at the police officers and they're not hardly average citizens. I'd say they're below average. The county won't pay for better. ~~Some of these men, they think~~ Every man I have is below average intelligence. When they put on a gun, ~~they're almighty~~. Without a gun they don't feel like they're anything."

The sheriff added: "What we need is some good lines of communication. We need some good officers. If y'all can come up with two or three good names, they'll be up for appointment."

Of the ~~inxinx~~ incident at the Hobson farm, he said: "I have made a mistake. I took it too lightly. I'm only human. Different people have different ideas. If I made a mistake, then

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I'm sorry it's made and I'll try not to do it again."

Several days later Judge Summers made an abortive attempt at creating a negotiating committee but gave up in anger. The move foundered early over the disposition of jail cases, ~~and the judge at that point was inclined to declare a state of insurrection.~~ [illegible]

Judge proposed [illegible] explain [illegible] would be integral as solving demands so — Judge [illegible]

Judge Luck of the Juvenile Court then emerged as the principal spokesman for whites wanting negotiation -- first on a verbal basis and finally, at the League's insistence, in writing writing. The judge is chairman of the county court and the county's chief fiscal officer. As court chairman he is the nominal head of local government.

Whites insisted repeatedly that they could not conduct any meaningful negotiations because they did not know what the blacks wanted. Finally, on August 29, the League wrote to Judge Luck listing seven conditions that must be met before talks could begin on the issues.

(1) They demanded a public statement by leaders in the white community condemning the attack upon the Hobsons.

(2) They called for restoration of all constitutional

rrgzix rights, especially the right of peaceful assembly to protest grivance grievances.

(3) They demanded that the special deputy force be removed from the streets and replaced, if necessary, by federal marshalls.

(4) All charges against blacks were to be dropped. (5) Fines were to be rebated, (6) ~~and~~ the black community was to be re-imbursed for all funds spent in defense of its rights.

(7) Finally, the response was to be communicated in writing.

On Sept. (ember) 11 Judge Luck responded in writing, agreeing to meet with any committee selected by the steering committee and suggesting that the meeting be held the following day.

But one sentence in his letter indicated to blacks that he either did not understand their position or that he was unwilling to accept it. Referring to the seven points the League had listed as necessary as a condition to beginning talks, Judge Luck replied: "We feel that the matters set out are the prinzipix principal issues which we need to discuss."

The League replied the following day that the seven points were not issues to be discussed but rather conditions that

must prevail before the issues could be discussed.

The issues, the League letter repeated, are "'that all discrimination must end and justice must be done for all our citizens.' Once conditions are met for talks, We are ready to discuss specific proposals in all areas of concern of how the issues can be implemented."

It likely will take considerable time before negotiations will get to the point at which specific issues can be discussed. When the time comes blacks will have these items high on their list:

Equal representation on the board of education (currently they have none); reapportionment of the county's 36 magisterial districts to eliminate racial imbalance (the 36 elected magistrates constitute the local governing body in Fayette County. Currently six of the 36 are Negroes. Blacks are now planning to file a petition in federal court seeking court-ordered reapportionment with a new voting registration); Equal employment opportunities in both private business and government agencies (there is virtually none now beyond menial positions. There are two regular Negro deputies who work part-time.)

On September 18 Judge Brown re-amended his amended court

order of Sept. 12, restoring much of the freedom to demonstrate that he had first granted and then taken away. He also specified that the new order will remain in effect until a three-judge panel can hear the ~~matter~~ matter in November. That panel probably will be composed of Brown, Federal Judge Robert M. McRae, Jr. and Judge Harry Phillips of the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals.

Until then civil rights forces in Fayette County have the right of unlimited marches with an unlimited number of persons in each march provided they remain eight abreast. They can conduct marches through the town on any day of the week, provided they give a 24-hour notice. They can assembly on the courthouse lawn on Sunday, but not during business hours on Saturdays (and presumably, but not ~~xxx~~ so stated, on weekdays).

They may continue the boycott, with a maximum of 40 pickets on duty at any one time. Further prosecution of all arrests so far will be held in abeyance, except for the five persons arrested Sept. 8 during the march on the white high school.

~~Presently negotiations are in a state of limbo.~~

The League intends to continue its boycott, re-inforcing it with

a public demonstration at least once a week until it gets relief either through the courts or from the white leadership of Somerville or both.

One knowledgeable white citizen of Somerville said on Sept. 10: "Ten years ago the whites here tried economic pressure against the blacks and it didn't work. Now the blacks are trying it against the whites and I don't think it will work now either. The blacks ~~thing~~ think they'll bring the white man to his knees. But it will not happen. He might fall on his face, but he won't bow down."

He might be accurate. But it is significant that Fayette County's economy today is far different from what it was 10 years ago.

The affluent Somervillian drives to Memphis for much of his shopping. Local merchants are dependant on local black trade for the majority of their business. Even a buy-at-home campaign by local whites likely would not support the local retail trade ~~xx~~ at more than a passable minimum. Fayette County is a cotton county. It is the fourth largest cotton producing county in Tennessee. But also it is the fourth poorest county

in the United States, and while cotton has had some disastrous years in the past decade the poverty program has put an estimated $1 million into the county in ~~x~~ less than half a decade. Much of this money passed ultimately through local cash registers, and if merchants were not conscious of it before they are painfully aware of it now.

The boycott is devastatingly effective because it is enforced with every reasonable means available, including the clearly implied threat of physical harm to blacks who compromise it and the open threat of social ostracism. However, the liklihood is that neither enforcement tactic will be necessary in the near future. Negro solidarity on the boycott was illustrated in late September when the local Negro teachers association, hitherto considered much less militant in its attitude toward the demonstrations, voted to support the boycott.

~~One small indicator of its support xx among blacks~~ Another indication of its support among blacks came during a public meeting ~~of the xxx~~ at the League's community center two weeks ago. One woman explained to the presiding officer that she had some money on deposit in a local bank. She wanted to know if she could leave it there and also if she could visit the bank to withdraw funds to live on.

"Sister," she was told, "you got to keep your money somewhere and it's all right to keep it in the bank. But you be sure to let us know what day you're gonna visit the bank. We don't want to get you mixed up with some shopper."

CODA

On Saturday, evening September 27, after a demonstration in Somerville, shots were fired into McFerren's store from a speeding pick-up (truck). One bullet, identified as having been fired from a 30-30 Winchester rifle landed three feet over the head of Baxton Bryant. Pursuing Negroes were able to (get) the license number of the truck and turned it over to local authorities. Law enforcement officers moved swiftly. That same night the sheriff arrested two young white men on charges filed by the Tennessee Bureau of Invsetigation. In a hearing on Monday, September 29 the men were bound over to the general sessions court on the charge "of firing missiles into a place of business with the intent to inflict death." Bond was set at $7,500 each. The incident further heightened tensions in the beleagured county but some thought that the revulsion of more moderate whites against the shooting might stimulate meaningful negotiations. For the truth most assuredly is that for all the county's intransigence such acts are not condoned by more than handful of local whites. Many-- among them the most influential--would like to see peace and security restored, preferably on their terms, but if not then in some negotiated, face-saving way. The same could (probably) be said of the county's more affluent, less militant Negroes.

At this writing, only days after the latest and most serious act of violence since the incident at the Hobson farm, it was too early to say when negotiations might begin. ~~if such a peace could be successfully negotiated. Feelings were too high for the moment for the idea to be seriously entertained.~~ But one thing was certain. There would be no reversing of the clock in Fayette County, no return to the plantation way of life.

On the lawn of one of the comfortable white churches there is a large sign that stands as a constant admonition to the congregation and to passersby, an admonitiion that seems singularly appropriate today. It is man-high amid a neat, brick-lined flower-bed. Its blue letters against a black background proclaim: "By taking the easiest way out the flowing stream becomes crooked-- the same thing can happen to a man."

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Whites charge that idealism is not the total motivating force behind the boycott. Black storekeepers they say have raised their prices 30% since the boycott went into effect, a charge that Negro leaders dismiss as a divisive tactic to splinter the Black community.

On the lawn of one of the comfortable white churches in Somerville there is a large sign that stands as a constant admonition to the congregation and to passersby. It is man-high amid a neat, brick-lined flower bed. Its blue letters against a black background proclaim soberly: "By taking the easiest way out the flowing stream becomes crooked -- the same thing can happen to a man."

To an outsider, at least, the impression of Fayette County is that it will solve its racial conflict when its citizens start reading their signs.

end

June, 1967

Children in Mississippi

A Report ~~to the Field Foundation~~

by

Joseph Brenner, M.D. - Medical Department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Robert Coles, M.D. - Harvard University Health Services
Alan Mermann, M.D. - Department of Pediatrics, Yale University Medical School and private practice, Guilford, Conn.
Milton J.E. Senn, M.D. - Sterling Professor of Pediatrics Yale University
Cyril Walwyn, M.D. - Medical Adviser to Friends of the Children of Mississippi; private practice, Yazoo City, Mississippi
Raymond Wheeler, M.D. - Private practice, Charlotte, North Carolina

We are physicians who have had a continuing interest in the medical problems of rural American children in the South and in Appalachia. One of us works every day in Mississippi with impoverished children.[1] One of us has worked throughout the South with both Negro and white children, and specifically spent two years observing migrant and sharecropper children, and treating them as a physician associated with a mobile public health clinic.[2] Two of us have recently been doing a medical study in Appalachia.[3] One of us -- a pediatrician -- has observed southern children at close hand,[4] and another of us -- also a pediatrician -- spent several weeks last summer in Lowndes County, Alabama, living in a Negro community and observing its

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1. Cyril Walwyn, M.D. in Yazoo City, Mississippi.

2. Robert Coles, M.D. (see "Lives of Migrant Farmers," American Journal of Psychiatry, September 1965).

3. Robert Coles, M.D. and Joseph Brenner, M.D. (see "Report on Appalachia," presented at Annual Meeting of American Ortho-psychiatric Association, April 1967, Washington, D. C.) ~~(Impress)~~

4. Milton J. E. Senn in field trips to the South.

pediatric problems.[5] And, one of us practices medicine in North Carolina and is the chairman of the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council.[6]

In addition, four of us recently made a team-study of conditions in rural Mississippi, concentrating on the health of the children there. What we saw there we have seen in other areas of the South and in Appalachia, too. The issue at hand is the medical (and social and psychological) fate of those literally penniless rural families who are often enough removed from any of the services that even the poor in America can usually take for granted: that is, these families are denied medical care, adequate sanitation, welfare or relief payments of any kind, unemployment compensation, protection of the minimum wage law, coverage under social security, and even recourse to the various food programs administered by the federal and local governments. In sum, by the many thousands, they live outside of every legal, medical, and social advance our nation has made in this century.

What Children Need to Grow

We are here primarily concerned with children -- though obviously it is parents who have to teach children what the world has in store for them. Before reporting our recent observations in Mississippi we want to emphasize the barest needs of infants and children, if they are to survive and grow. Even before birth or at the moment of birth a child may be decisively and permanently hurt by the poor health of the mother, or the absence of good medical and surgical care. Again and again children are born injured,

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5. See the paper "Report on Medical Conditions in Lowndes County, Alabama," by Alan Mermann, M.D.

6. Raymond Wheeler, M.D., in Charlotte, North Carolina.

deformed, or retarded because their mothers could not obtain the doctor, the hospital care, they needed.

From birth on children need food, and food that has vitamins and minerals and an adequate balance of protein, carbohydrates, and fats. They also need from time to time a variety of medical services -- vaccines, drugs, diagnostic evaluation, corrective surgery. While all these facts are (or should be) obvious, we have to say them once again -- because in various counties of Mississippi we saw families who could not take food for granted, let alone any medical care. We shall now briefly state what such a state of affairs does to children.

Mississippi's Hungry and Sick Children

In Delta counties (such as Humphreys and Leflore) recently visited by us and elsewhere in the state (such as Clarke, Wayne, Neshoba, and Greene counties, also visited by us) we saw children whose nutritional and medical condition we can only describe as shocking -- even to a group of physicians whose work involves daily confrontation with disease and suffering. In child after child we saw: evidence of vitamin and mineral deficiencies; serious, untreated skin infections and ulcerations; eye and ear diseases, also unattended bone diseases secondary to poor food intake; the prevalence of bacterial and parasitic disease, as well as severe anemia, with resulting loss of energy and ability to live a normally active life; diseases of the heart and the lungs -- requiring surgery -- which have gone undiagnosed and untreated; epileptic and other neurological disorders; severe kidney ailments, that in other children would warrant immediate hospitalization; and finally, in boys and girls in every county we visited, obvious evidence of severe malnutrition, with injury to the body's tissues -- its muscles, bones, and skin as well as an associated psychological state of fatigue, listlessness, and exhaustion.

We saw children afflicted with chronic diarrhea, chronic sores, chronic leg and arm (untreated) injuries and deformities. We saw homes without running water, without electricity, without screens, in which children drink contaminated water and live with germ-bearing mosquitoes and flies everywhere around. We saw homes with children who are lucky to eat one meal a day -- and that one inadequate so far as vitamins, minerals, or protein is concerned. We saw children who don't get to drink milk, don't get to eat fruit, green vegetables, or meat. They live on starches -- grits, bread, ~~Kool Aid.~~ flavored water. Their parents may be declared ineligible for commodities, ineligible for the food stamp program, even though they have literally nothing. We saw children fed communally -- that is by neighbors who give scraps of food to children whose own parents have nothing to give them. Not only are these children receiving no food from the government, they are also getting no medical attention whatsoever. They are out of sight and ignored. They are living under such primitive conditions that we found it hard to believe we were examining American children of the twentieth century.

In sum, we saw children who are hungry and who are sick -- children for whom hunger is a daily fact of life and sickness, in many forms, an inevitability. We do not want to quibble over words, but "malnutrition" is not quite what we found; the boys and girls we saw were hungry -- weak, in pain, sick; their lives are being shortened; they are, in fact, visibly and predictably losing their health, their energy, their spirits. They are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly they are dying from them -- which is exactly what "starvation" means.

Specific Medical Observations

We have the following specific medical observations to report. They were made -- be it remembered -- on children who are not in hospitals and not

declared "sick" by any doctor. They are, in fact, children who are getting absolutely no medical care. In almost every child we saw in the above six counties during our visits in the May 27-30 period, we observed one or another parasitic disease: trichinosis; enterobiasis, ascariasis; and hookworm disease. Most children we saw had some kind of skin disease: dryness and shrinkage of skin due to malnutrition; ulcerations; severe sores; rashes; boils, abcesses, and furuncles; impetigo; rat-bites. Almost every child we saw was in a state of negative nitrogen balance; that is, a marked inadequacy of diet has led the body to consume its own protein tissue. What we saw clinically -- the result of this condition of chronic hunger and malnutrition -- was as follows: wasting of muscles; enlarged hearts; edematous legs and in some cases the presence of abdominal edema (so-called "swollen" or "bloated" belly); spontaneous bleeding of the mouth or nose or evidence of internal hemorrhage; osteoporosis -- a weakening of the bone structure -- and, as a consequence, fractures unrelated to injury or accident; fatigue, exhaustion, and weakness.

These children would need blood transfusions before any corrective surgery could be done -- and we found in child after child the need for surgery: hernias; poorly healed fractures; rheumatic and congenital heart disease with attendant murmurs, difficult breathing, and chest pain; evidence of gastro-intestinal bleeding, or partial obstruction; severe, suppurating, ear infections; congenital or developmental eye diseases in bad need of correction.

The teeth of practically every child we saw were in awful repair -- eaten up by cavities and poorly developed. Their gums showed how severely anemic these children are; and the gums were also infected and foul smelling.

Many of these children were suffering from degenerative joint diseases. Injuries had not been treated when they occurred. Bleeding had occurred,

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

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HUNGRY CHILDREN

INTRODUCTION

Increasingly across the rural South in recent years have come reports of poverty so extreme as to be -- in an era of comparative national prosperity -- beyond the comprehension of middle class America. A great deal of statistical data already has been compiled on conditions. During the past twenty years, for example, over 200,000 farm laborers in Mississippi have been displaced by mechanization of farming operations. According to Bureau of Census figures Mississippi has the lowest per capita income in the nation -- $1,608 in 1965 compared to a national average of $2,746. The median family income for whites in 1959 was $4,209; for Negroes, $1,444.

But what do figures such as this mean in human terms, in terms of day to day existence for thousands of impoverished people in the rural South? In May of this year a team of physicians toured a six county area of Mississipp to survey the health and living conditions of a representative group of Negro children enrolled in a pre-school program sponsored

by the Friends of the Children of Mississippi (FCM)*. Their preliminary findings together with an individual report filed by Dr. Raymond Wheeler of Charlotte, North Carolina, who serves as chairman of the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council, are released in the hope that immediate solutions can be sought -- throughout the South as well as in rural Mississippi - to what the entire medical team saw as the region's most pressing health problem, the terrible fact of hunger among children in poverty.

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*FCM is an organization which came into being in Clarke, Wayne, Neshoba, Humphreys, Leflore, and Greene Counties as an independent agency modeled along the lines of a federal Head Start program, following the refusal of OEO to permit the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) any longer to operate in the six county area. Lacking in substantial funds and opposed by powerful forces in the state, FCM has survived largely on the spirit and courage of its people, plus modest private grants and donations.

CHILDREN IN MISSISSIPPI

A Report by:

Joseph Brenner, M. D.	- Medical Department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Robert Coles, M. D.	- Harvard University Health Services
Alan Mermann, M. D.	- Department of Pediatrics, Yale University Medical School and private practice, Guilford, Connecticut
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Appalachia.[3] One of us -- a pediatrician -- has observed southern children at close hand,[4] and another of us -- also a pediatrician -- spent several weeks last summer in Lowndes County, Alabama, living in a Negro community and observing its pediatric problems.[5] And, one of us practices medicine in North Carolina and is the chairman of the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council.[6]

In addition, four of us recently made a team-study of conditions in rural Mississippi, concentrating on the health of the children there. What we saw there we have seen in other areas of the South and in Appalachia, too. The issue at hand is the medical (and social and psychological) fate of those literally penniless rural families who are often enough removed from any of the services that even the poor in America can usually take for granted: that is, these families are denied medical care, adequate sanitation, welfare or relief payments of any kind, unemployment compensation, protection of the minimum wage law, coverage

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[3] Robert Coles, M. D., and Joseph Brenner, M. D. (see "Report on Appalachia," presented at Annual Meeting of American Ortho-psychiatric Association, April, 1967, Washington, D. C.).

[4] Milton J. E. Senn in field trips to the South.

[5] See the paper, "Report on Medical Conditions in Lowndes County, Alabama," by Alan Mermann, M. D.

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under Social Security, and even recourse to the various food programs administered by the federal and local governments. In sum, by the many thousands, they live outside of every legal, medical, and social advance our nation has made in this century.

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Mississippi's Hungry and Sick Children

In Delta counties (such as Humphreys and Leflore) recently visited by us and elsewhere in the state (such as Clarke, Wayne, Neshoba, and Greene Counties, also visited by us) we saw children whose nutritional and medical condition we can only describe as shocking -- even to a group of physicians whose work involves daily confrontation with disease and suffering. In child after child we saw: evidence of vitamin and mineral deficiencies; serious, untreated skin infections and ulcerations; eye and ear diseases, also unattended bone diseases secondary to poor food intake; the prevalence of bacterial and parasitic disease, as well as severe anemia, with resulting loss of energy and ability to live a normally active life; diseases of the heart and the lungs -- requiring surgery -- which have gone undiagnosed and untreated; epileptic and other neurological disorders; severe kidney ailments, that in other children would warrant immediate hospitalization; and finally, in boys and girls in every county we visited, obvious evidence of severe malnutrition, with injury to the body's tissues -- its muscles, bones, and skin, as well as an associated psychological state of fatigue, listlessness, and exhaustion.

We saw children afflicted with chronic diarrhea, chronic sores, chronic leg and arm (untreated) injuries and deformities. We saw homes without running water, without electricity, without screens, in which children drink contaminated water and live with germ-bearing mosquitoes and flies everywhere around. We saw homes with children who are lucky to eat one meal a day -- and that one inadequate so far as vitamins, minerals, or protein is concerned. We saw children who don't get to drink milk, don't get to eat fruit, green vegetables, or meat. They live on starches -- grits, bread, flavored water. Their parents may be declared ineligible for commodities, ineligible for the food stamp program, even though they have literally nothing. We saw children fed communally -- that is, by neighbors who give scraps of food to children whose own parents have nothing to give them. Not only are these children receiving no food from the government, they are also getting no medical attention whatsoever. They are out of sight and ignored. They are living under such primitive conditions that we found it hard to believe we were examining American children of the Twentieth Century.

In sum, we saw children who are hungry and who are sick -- children for whom hunger is a daily fact of life and sickness, in many forms, an inevitability. We do not

want to quibble over words, but "malnutrition" is not quite what we found; the boys and girls we saw were hungry -- weak, in pain, sick; their lives are being shortened; they are, in fact, visibly and predictably losing their health, their energy, their spirits. They are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly they are dying from them -- which is exactly what "starvation" means.

Specific Medical Observations

We have the following specific medical observations to report. They were made -- be it remembered -- on children who are not in hospitals and not declared "sick" by any doctor. They are, in fact, children who are getting absolutely no medical care. In almost every child we saw in the above six counties during our visits in the May 27-30 period, we observed one or another parasitic disease: trichinosis; enterobiasis; ascariasis; and hookworm disease. Most children we saw had some kind of skin disease: dryness and shrinkage of skin due to malnutrition; ulcerations; severe sores; rashes; boils, abcesses, and furuncles; impetigo; rat-bites. Almost every child we saw was in a state of negative nitrogen balance; that is, a marked inadequacy of diet has led the body to consume its own protein tissue. What we saw clinically -- the result of this condition of chronic hunger and malnutrition -- was as follows:

wasting of muscles; enlarged hearts; edematous legs and in some cases the presence of abdominal edema (so-called "swollen" or "bloated" belly); spontaneous bleeding of the mouth or nose or evidence of internal hemorrhage; osteoporosis -- a weakening of the bone structure -- and, as a consequence, fractures unrelated to injury or accident; fatigue, exhaustion, and weakness.

These children would need blood transfusions before any corrective surgery could be done -- and we found in child after child the need for surgery: hernias; poorly healed fractures; rheumatic and congenital heart disease with attendant murmurs, difficult breathing, and chest pain; evidence of gastro-intestinal bleeding, or partial obstruction; severe, suppurating, ear infections; congenital or developmental eye diseases in bad need of correction.

The teeth of practically every child we saw were in awful repair -- eaten up by cavities and poorly developed. Their gums showed how severely anemic these children are; and the gums were also infected and foul smelling.

Many of these children were suffering from degenerative joint diseases. Injuries had not been treated when they occurred. Bleeding had occurred, with infections. Now, at seven or eight, their knee joints or elbow joints might show the "range of action" that one finds in a man of seventy, suffering from crippling arthritis.

In child after child we tested for peripheral neuritis -- and found it, secondary to untreated injuries, infections, and food deficiencies. These children could not feel normally -- feel pressure or heat or cold or applied pain the way the normal person does. What they do feel is the sensory pain that goes with disease: pricking, burning, flashes of sharp pain, or "a deep pain," as one child put it.

The children were plagued with colds and fevers -- in a Mississippi late May -- and with sore throats. They had enlarged glands throughout the body, secondary to the several infections they chronically suffer. Some of them revealed jaundice in their eyes, showing that liver damage was likely, or hemolysis secondary to bacterial invasion.

What particularly saddened and appalled us were the developmental anomalies and diseases that we know once were easily correctable, but now are hopelessly consolidated: bones, eyes, vital organs that should long ago have been evaluated and treated are now beyond medical assistance, if it were available. In some cases we saw children clearly stunted, smaller than their age would indicate, and drowsy or irritable.

In sum, children living under unsanitary conditions, without proper food, and with a limited intake of improper food, without access to doctors or dentists, under crowded

conditions, in flimsy shacks, pay the price in a plethora of symptoms, diseases, aches, and pains. No wonder that in Mississippi (whose Negroes comprise 42% of the state's population) the infant mortality rate among Negroes is over twice that of whites; and while the white infant mortality rate is dropping, the rate for Negroes is rising.

Recommendations

What are we to say? The communities we saw desperately need more and better food, and a beginning of medical care. (The communities we saw are of course not the only ones in the South where these recommendations would be applicable. Indeed, a first recommendation would be for a survey of the South to determine all places where children suffer these intolerable conditions.) Right now the government pours millions into a welfare program, a food program, and a public health service that are not reaching these people. We met families who have no money coming in. The father is declared "able-bodied" and so they are ineligible for welfare. The family does not have the money necessary to buy food stamps; they certainly have no money for doctors or hospitals -- and they are not offered any care by the county or the state. Welfare and food programs (including the commodity food program) are in the hands of people who use them selectively, politically, and with obvious racial considerations in mind. What is a human

need, a human right, becomes a favor or a refusal, and if the person is "lucky," that is, given some commodities and a welfare check, her children still don't get the range of food they need, or the medical attention.

We therefore feel that the food stamp program should be changed so that the rural poor can obtain food stamps free. The food distribution activities of the states should be closely regulated and supervised -- and if necessary taken over by the federal government or people within the particular (poor and aggrieved) communities. The government should change its system of welfare support, so that its funds directly reach those who need them, without political or racial bias, and reach them in an amount adequate to their minimum needs for food, clothing, and medical care.

Medical facilities and programs supported by the federal government should be required to serve these people, and emergency medical treatment provided them. The government should provide vitamin pills for such poor children, and other drugs such as antibiotics. Local doctors can be called upon -- and paid by money provided by the government to these families. If necessary, new medical institutions and training centers can be created and supported. (There is now exactly one Negro medical student in Mississippi's only medical school. Hundreds of Negro nurses are needed --

and are not being trained.) The U. S. Public Health Service could place in the face of this crisis one or two doctors and nurses in each county, to work with the rural poor. Emergency dental services also are needed.

It is unbelievable to us that a nation as rich as ours, with all its technological and scientific resourses, has to permit thousands and thousands of children to go hungry, go sick, and die grim and premature deaths.

REPORT OF RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D. OF A FIELD TRIP TO HUMPHREYS AND LEFLORE COUNTIES, MISSISSIPPI

Each doctor was taken separately into the homes of a number of young children who attended the FCM centers. We saw the children, talked with their parents and gained a mass of information from which emerged a pattern that seemed to fit every community we visited.

The homes were tiny, usually two or three rooms, in poor repair, located in narrow alleys, and surrounded by accumulated filth and debris. Most houses had running water, but few had inside toilets. Many were without screens or adequate ventilation. The land allocated to each dwelling was so limited that the houses were oppressively close, allowing for virtually no play area for the children and certainly no room for a garden through which a family might supplement its diet.

At one house the landlords reportedly had forbidden the tenants to have a garden, although in this particular case, there was obviously ample space for one. This -- from all reports -- is

common practice by landlords in the towns as well as on the plantations, though why this should be so in view of the well-known need for food seemed inexplicable on any ground other than outright spite.

Driving through the Delta one could see the tenant houses, grouped closely around barns and equipment sheds, crops planted almost up to doorsteps, leaving the tenants no room for garden, pig pen, cow or chicken coop.

The homes visited were usually occupied by mothers, worn and tired and looking much older than their actual ages. Their children would range in number from four to ten. Most often there was no father. Questioned as to his absence the response would be "we are separated" or, simply, "I don't know where he is." Although neat, the houses were pitifully bare. The children were often poorly clothed and always barefooted, in spite of a soil infested with broken glass and rusty tin.

When questions were asked about diet the answers were always the same: a little rice or biscuit for breakfast, dried beans or peas with occasional salt pork for lunch -- if lunch could be afforded -- and for supper more rice or bread

with occasional servings of molasses or peanut butter. Only one of the families I visited ever had milk at all and this was reserved for "the sickliest" ones.

One mother summed up the question of diet in a single, poignant sentence: "These children go to bed hungry and get up hungry and don't ever know nothing else in between." The physical appearance of the children made her comment easily believable. Running noses and legs covered with indolent sores were the rule -- evidence of lowered resistance to disease due to malnutrition and poor hygiene. Thin arms, sunken eyes, lethargic behavior, and swollen bellies were everywhere to be seen. Even cursory examinations of tongues, eyes, and nailbeds disclosed unmistakable evidence of anemia and vitamin deficiencies. An orthopedic surgeon in Jackson and a Negro physician in Yazoo City told me that almost without exception these children required pre-operative blood transfusions before any surgery could be performed.

Iron, vitamins, medicines were simply unobtainable, for there was no money to purchase them. In almost every household, serious illnesses of one or more children had occurred in the recent year. Yet mothers told me that they rarely even sought

medical services due to their inability to pay doctor's fees. I was told of the outright refusal of some hospitals to provide care for some youngsters due to the known poverty of their parents. One mother, however, with an incredibly small income told me of her struggles to make her weekly payments on a hospital bill for her child. Another said that she only went to the doctor herself or took her child when she was absolutely convinced that not to go would mean death.

At county health departments, we were repeatedly told, Negroes are not only segregated but subjected to personal indignities and discouraged from using the facilities. I saw a little girl who had a nasty, partially healed laceration of her hand. She had been taken to the health department for a tetanus booster. The child was given the necessary injection, but the nurse -- I was informed to my dismay -- not only failed to dress the cut, but refused even to look at it.

The health centers apparently do perform a few services such as tuberculin testing and innoculations for those whose parents know about such things and are able to transport their children to the centers. However, county medical authorities,

I was told, have formally and in writing refused to participate in organized immunization programs for children attending the FCM centers. The reason given for such refusal seemed flimsy, indeed, to me. Parents must accompany their children to the centers in order to be instructed in possible reaction to the shots.

Occasionally, it seemed, charity clinics are provided for ailing children but exams are brief; no follow-ups are scheduled and, most important of all, no medicine is provided for people who have no means to purchase it.

Hospital facilities for Negro poor in rural Mississippi are nearly non-existent. As one man told me, "If you are not protected through an employer with hospital insurance and if you don't have the $50.00 down-payment, your only choice is to go home and die."

The administration of medical care is still on a strictly segregated basis in most of the state. Negro doctors are not permitted membership in local medical societies. In communities where all-Negro hospitals exist, such as in Yazoo City, white doctors refuse to serve on its staff. Thus one Negro doctor in town is forced to provide all of the hospital care for Negroes, including

obstetrics and surgery. Complicated cases, beyond his experience, must be sent forty or fifty miles to Jackson, regardless of how grave the condition of the patient.

County sponsored programs in preventative medicine, health education, basic sanitation were unknown to the people whom I interviewed. No program of birth control is available to the poor, although every mother with whom I talked expressed a desire for help in limiting her family. A few who did know about "the pill" had not been able to afford it. Almost all of the mothers said they have had their babies at home, sometimes unattended, sometimes with the help of a midwife.

Over and over the urgent need for food was emphasized, so that any medical needs must be subordinated to seeing that the children are adequately fed. The very accomplishment of this would provide the single most important measure for maintaining good health.

Yet from a purely medical point of view, certain needs did seem most urgent and most possible of accomplishment with available facilities. These, as I saw them, would include:

(a) Physical examinations of each child to include blood count, urinalysis, stool examination,

tuberculin tests.

(b) Follow-up treatment and/or referral as indicated.

(c) A vitamin supplement for each child. This would need not be given daily since most daily vitamin preparations contain far more than minimal daily requirements.

(d) Immunization program. This could be done by a public health nurse under the supervision of a county medical director.

(e) Birth control information and medication. This program could be organized and conducted by the county health counselor under the supervision of the medical director and would not require his personal attention.

(f) A fund must be made available to buy medicines for those who cannot afford them.

(g) The above program, in my estimation, would cost a minimum of $50.00 per child per year.

(h) The above recommendations do not make provision for hospitalization of the children. Title 19 of the Social Security Ammendments of 1965 may offer the ultimate solution of this problem, but much depends on what each state is willing to do. A much wider definition of the term "Crippled Children" would offer hospital and

physician's care to a larger number of children. Apparently now in Mississippi the Crippled Children's Fund will provide only for neuro-surgical, plastic and orthopedic surgical needs of children. The state board of health could broaden that definition but has refused to do so and would probably need pressure put on it in the future to do so. This problem, unfortunately, seems almost insoluble given the apparent absence of Charity Hospitalization Funds and the state of public indifference to the health of the poor.

To summarize briefly, the medical needs of the people I talked with encompass the entire range of medical knowledge, from nutrition, sanitation and health education to the more technical and highly skilled services for medical needs, birth control and hospitalization. They are without them all and they desperately need them all.

Their financial resources, however, are so meager as to make it beyond rational comprehension as to how they were able simply to exist, to say nothing of being able to pay expensive medical bills. A few examples, I think, illustrate the point.

One young mother of five children worked a 55 hour week for weekly wages of $15.00. Her job was as a domestic for a locally prosperous family. Out

of her weekly income she paid $8.50 a week for rent and bought food and clothing for herself and her children with the rest.

Another mother said she managed to earn $25.00 a week, by holding three jobs.

Sources of public assistance are totally inadequate to provide even for survival. Dependent children receive payments amounting to approximately 25% of what the state of Mississippi estimates is necessary for minimal subsistence. Aid to dependent children in fact has actually decreased since June of 1964 from $13.30 to $11.35 in June 1965 and to the current amount of $9.25 in 1966.

Programs for the provision of food supplies by the welfare departments and the United States Department of Agriculture need to be reformed on the highest level of authority. Under present arrangements a family may use its welfare checks to purchase food stamps, but if it does, it has no money left for rent, medical care or clothing. If it subsists on surplus commodities, it is faced with attempting to survive on the most inadequate of diet, both in quality and amount. Commodities -- and there is only one issue available each month regardless of the condition in which commodities are received -- normally consist of flour, dried

beans, dried milk, and occasionally a little peanut butter or a can of processed meat. Food stamp programs and surplus commodity programs are not allowed to operate simultaneously in any county. Given a free choice in the matter most welfare recipients, however, prefer the commodities program since they at least are able to retain some of their welfare payments for other necessities.

Time after time we were told stories of dehumanizing treatment or refusal of aid by county welfare departments. There seemed to be no pattern or standards by which one could determine whether he could receive welfare help. There did seem to be a pattern of active discouragement by the welfare department of anyone applying for aid. Personal indignities, unexplained cuts in the size of checks, lack of welfare aid for hospitalization or medical care were frequent complaints.

One such report is burned indelibly in my memory. A 49-year-old woman told me that she herself had been the mother of 14 children, all but one of whom had died in infancy. Her husband was also dead. A year ago, she related, her husband's newphew abandoned his three small children, ages three, four and five, leaving them with her. She resolved to give them a home. Her eyes kindled as

she spoke. "Doctor, ever since I took these children on, my life has been hell." Then the story poured out.

She earns, she said, $5.00 a week working two days as a domestic. The welfare department supplies a maximum check of approximately $27.00 per month aid to dependent children. Her rent is $8.00 a week.

Each month as she goes to the welfare department for her check she is questioned extensively about her sex life. At regular intervals she is awakened at around 2:00 A.M. by white men who represent themselves as working for the welfare department. They demand to be admitted to her house and then they proceed to search the place for an alleged male occupant. On other nights, she said, she can hear them prowling around her home, listening at her windows evidently for sounds to indicate the presence of a man in the room with her. Her check may be delayed for days or arbitrarily cut while, according to her case worker, "we make an investigation." Her neighbors have been encouraged to report her activities by the simple expedient of a threat to their own welfare checks if they do not.

The pre-school centers, dotted about both the rural and urban areas of six Mississippi counties

offer an immediate and painful distillation of all the despair and aspirations, the dignity and the pathos of the parents and children connected with FCM. We visited a large number of the centers, some in churches, others in plain little wooden, barracks-like buildings and one in an American Legion hut. The impact was the same wherever we went.

The centers were crowded, oppressively hot, and filled with lovely little children between the ages of three and five. All children were scrubbed and dressed in their best clothes and all wore shoes. Mostly they were shy with strangers, but when unaware of observation, were smiling and obviously enjoying themselves. Some seemed healthy and sturdy; others weak and apathetic. Coughs and dripping noses were common and on several occasions acutely ill children were brought up to us by the teachers who had no place to turn for medical help. There were a significant number with congenital defects such as harelips and cleft palates; a few were mentally retarded or exhibited evidence of brain or spinal cord damage. All of these should have qualified for special schools or institutional care or for corrective medical care.

The teachers were usually mothers with children in the centers. Their devotion to the children and the pride in their work was unmistakable. Time after time we talked with a woman, uneducated, the mother usually of six to ten children, with no previous work experience except as a field hand or a domestic. Amazingly she would be articulate, poised and competent in her role as teacher. Through their love and concern for their children, these mothers had acquired the very sense of self-respect, dignity, and independence which they so much desire to nurture in their charges.

Repeatedly we asked what changes the teachers had observed in the children after they had been in the centers for a few days. The answers were usually the same. The children, previously shy, withdrawn or apathetic, became cheerful, outgoing, and active. They had learned to share, to participate cooperatively in group activity and to communicate with each other and their teachers. For the first time many of the children experienced a relationship with someone who cared and to whom they could turn when troubled.

One teacher told me with pride of how she had handled a youngster who had come to the school

defiant, combative, overly aggressive and generally unable to adjust to his group. Instead of punishment, she had given him simple tasks not assigned to the others and, as he performed them, she rewarded him with praise and affection.

Many of us go to school for years to gain the insights these teachers have acquired as they work with children in the centers.

The centers themselves were distressingly bare. There was never enough equipment. The few toys available were made by the teachers. Crayons, books, paper and musical instruments were all too scarce.

But most distressing of all was the lack of food. On the day of our visit, not a single center had been able to supply a full meal to its hungry children. Most had scraped together a few bites -- a cookie, Kool-aid, but some had nothing at all. "The most difficult part of this program," a teacher at one of the centers told me, "is when a child licks his plate clean and says, 'I want some more,' and you look in the pot and there ain't no more."

After visiting the homes and the centers for two days, we ended our stay in the Delta by attending a mass meeting of those associated with

FCM from Humphreys and Leflore Counties who came primarily to hear their visitors tell what they had seen and felt as they traveled around the communities. Two hundred strong they packed the tiny Legion hut and it took only a short while for us to sense their need for hope and encouragement and for assurance that what they were doing was right and necessary and important -- not only for their children, but important in bringing new meaning to our concepts of democracy and human dignity.

We learned that for too long they had experienced no contact with or encouragement from anyone outside their communities and that some were having doubts as to whether the difficult struggle was worth the pain and anguish it demanded of them. That hour of uninhibited exchange of thoughts and feelings betwen those parents and their only contact with a friendly world beyond was an experience that will always live in our hearts.

Frequently throughout the Mississippi Delta we heard charges of an unwritten but generally accepted policy on the part of those who control the state to eliminate the Negro Mississippian either by driving him out of the state or starving him to death. Af first, the charge seemed to me

beyond belief. And yet reviewing now all that we saw and heard it becomes more and more credible. Mississippi, it seems to me, is for its poor - and particularly its Negro poor - a kind of prison in which live a great group of uneducated, semi-starving people from whom all but token public support has been withdrawn. They are completely isolated from the outside world. They have no where to turn for material aid or moral support. Their story needs to be told not merely for their sakes -- but for the sake of all America.